The Kampiliya Arthasastra. Pant II

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UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY

of 3. %. Swesthi

THE KAUŢILĪYA ARTHAŚĀSTRA

PART II

UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY STUDIES SANSKRIT, PRAKRIT AND PALI, No. 2

The Kautiliya Arthaśāstra Part II

AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION
WITH CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY NOTES

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PREFACE

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Dr. R. Shamasastry's translation of the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra was first published nearly five decades ago. In subsequent editions he, no doubt, added notes derived from Bhaṭṭasvāmin's Commentary as well as 'the Malayalam Commentary. However, in view of the discovery of fragments of other Commentaries, and particularly in view of the many important contributions made to the study of this text by a large number of scholars since then, it has long been felt that a new English translation of the text is a necessity. The present is an attempt to supply this need.

This translation is prepared after consulting the available ancient Commentaries—unfortunately none of them complete—as well as the works of many modern scholars. Among the latter I must make special mention of R. Shamasastry himself, the pioneer of studies in this field, T. Ganapati Sastri, editor of the text and author of a complete Sanskrit Commentary on it, J. J. Meyer, author of the German translation with voluminous notes, and B. Breloer, the author of three volumes of penetrating studies of this text. My debt to these and numerous other scholars is incalculable. The Russian translation of this work, which was published a few years ago, came to my hands only after most of the present translation was already printed; it was, therefore, not possible to make use of it in the body of the notes. Some of the noteworthy renderings found in that translation are added at the end.

This translation aims at providing as accurate a rendering of the text as is possible. The Arthaśāstra is admittedly a difficult work, and very often it is not possible to be quite sure of the exact meaning of the author. Hence, in the notes a reference is made to the different interpretations found in the ancient commentaries as well as to those offered by modern scholars. In most important cases, the source of the interpretation adopted in the translation is mentioned, while brief comments are made on interpretations not found acceptable. An endeavour is also made in the notes to bring out the meaning of passages where the literal translation does not seem to make it quite clear. All important variant readings are, of course, referred to and discussed in the notes, though the discussion could not be very detailed in every case for obvious reasons.

During the course of the printing of the translation it was found that the text as printed in Part I needs revision in a few places. In about a dozen cases the translation presupposes readings different from those adopted in the text. These are listed separately at the end of this volume, along with misprints in the text that had escaped notice.

A few points referred to in the Introduction to Part I require further elaboration:

- (1) In connection with the transcript in the Government Library at Munich, viz., G_2 , it was suggested there that the transcript was made from the Malayalam ms. M_1 rather than from any Grantha ms., as stated in the Punjab Edition. Subsequently I had occasion to visit the Staatsbibliothek in Munich and to go through the transcript myself. That left no room for any doubt that the ultimate source of that transcript is M_1 . It seems that the transcript was made in 1907 by one Venkayya in Madras. And it is not unlikely that use was made by him of M_2 , an earlier transcript of M_1 , that was in Madras at that time. G_2 thus loses much of its independent value. Of Grantha mss. of the Arthaśāstra, therefore, we have only one, viz., G_1 .
- (2) Before this translation could go through the Press, the rest of Cb, the Malayalam Commentary, became available in print: Bhāṣā-kauṭalīyam, 4-7, edited by K. N. Ezhuthachan (University of Madras, 1960). Fortunately, it was possible for me to make use of this Commentary in the notes on Books 4 to 7 as well. In a learned Introduction, Ezhuthachan has analysed in detail the structure of the language of this Commentary and has argued that though it shows some Tamil forms and words, the language is different from Tamil. It represents, according to him, the earliest form of Malayalam, as it evolved from West Coast Tamil about the 12th Century A.D. It is, therefore, not correct to say that the language of the Commentary is Tamil or that it is a hotch-potch of Tamil and Malayalam.
- (3) As regards the Commentary referred to as Cj, it transpires that it really contains fragments of two different Commentaries. The Commentary on Book 1 alone is a fragment of the Jayamangalā, the rest being a fragment of another Commentary called Cāṇakyaṭīkā. It is only the latter which is the work of Bhikṣu Prabhamati. The author of the Jayamangalā fragment is probably the same as the author of the Commentaries on Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra, Kāmandaka's Nītisāra and other works, which also bear the name Jayamangalā. This is shown by G. Harihara Sastri in the Introduction to his edition of the Jayamangalā on Book 1 (published by The Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Madras, 1958). The fragment of the Cāṇakyaṭīkā by Bhikṣu Prabhamati is also being edited by G. Harihara Sastri and published in the pages of the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras. I regret that when I went through the transcript in the Government

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Oriental Manuscripts Library in Madras, I failed to realise that it really contained fragments of two separate Commentaries.

(4) The fragment of the Devanagari ms. from Patan, D, is now published along with the fragment of Yogghama's Commentary, Cnn, by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay: A Fragment of the Koutalya's Arthaśāstra alias Rājasiddhānta, edited by Muni Jina Vijay (Bombay, 1959).

In an article in the Schubring Commemoration Volume, Prof. L. Alsdorf refers to the existence of Folios 12-88 of a Commentary on the Arthaśāstra found in the Baḍā Bhaṇḍāra at Jaisalmer. My attention to this reference was kindly drawn by Sir Harold Bailey at Cambridge. I made inquiries about this fragment, especially of Muni Punya Vijayaji of Ahmedabad and Muni Jina Vijayaji now in Jaipur. Neither of them is aware of the existence of any such Commentary on the Arthaśāstra from the Jaisalmer Bhandar. Muni Jina Vijayaji tells me that he has ransacked all Jain Bhandars for anything that may concern the Arthaśāstra, and that if there really had been in existence such a fragment in the Jaisalmer Bhandar, he would have certainly obtained it and published it along with the other fragments from Patan. In any case, I have not succeeded in getting any fresh help as a result of the reference by L. Alsdorf.

This new translation of the Arthaśāstra is offered not without diffidence. I am keenly aware of the possibility that I may have very often misunderstood the text, and that such a misunderstanding may sometimes well be due to my own shortcomings rather than to the difficult nature of the text. Nevertheless, I am hopeful that scholars will find the translation generally acceptable. They will, no doubt, set me right where I may have gone astray.

I must repeat my feelings of gratefulness to the authorities of the University of Bombay for making the publication of this entire work possible.

Finally, I must record my sincere thanks to Shri B. A. Olkar, Superintendent of the Publications Section of the Bombay University, whose unstinted help in seeing this work through the Press has been of inestimable value to me. And to Shri V. G. Moghe, Superintendent of the Bombay University Press and his staff my best thanks are due for the great patience and diligence with which they carried out this rather exacting job.

The Errata at the end will, it is hoped, not be found inordinately long in a work of this nature.

R. P. KANGLE

October 1963

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES

AOr Archiv Orientalní (Praha) Br. Sam. Bṛhat Samhitā of Varāhamihira Cb Commentary Bhāṣāvyākhyānam or Bhāṣākauṭalīyam (in Malayalam) on Books 1 to 7 Cj Commentary Jayamangalā on Book 1 and Cānakyatīkā of Bhiksu Prabhamati on 2.1 to 3.1 Cn Commentary Nayacandrikā of Mādhavayajvan on 7.7.1 to 12.4.11 Cnn Commentary Nītinirnīti of Yogghama on 2.1.1 to 2.4.1, with marginal notes from it on Book 1 Cp Commentary Pratipadapañcikā of Bhattasvamin on 2.8.5 to end of Book 2 Cs Commentary Śrīmūla by T. Ganapati Sastri in his Edition of the Arthaśāstra (Trivandrum, 1924-25) D Fragment of a Devanagari ms. from Patan G Grantha mss. G_i Grantha ms. from Tanjore, now in the Mysore Government Oriental Library G, Transcript in the Staatsbibliothek at Munich HD History of Dharmaśāstra by P. V. Kane, Vol. III (Poona, 1946) HPT A History of Hindu Political Theories by U. N. Ghoshal (London and Calcutta, 1923) IA Indian Antiquary (Bombay) TC Indian Culture (Calcutta) Indian Historical Quarterly (Calcutta) IHQ India as known to Pāṇini by V. S. Agrawala India in Pāṇini (Lucknow, 1953) Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society **JBORS** (Patna) Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London) **JRAS** Kauţalīya Studien by B. Breloer: I Das Grund-KSt

eigentum in Indien (Bonn, 1927)

II Altindisches Privatrecht bei Megasther	II	Altindisches	Privatrecht	bei	Megasthene
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und Kautalya (Bonn, 1928)

III Finanzverwaltung und Wirtschaftsführung

(Leipzig, 1934)

Les Théories etc. Les Théories Diplomatique de l'Inde ancienne et

l'Arthaçāstra by K. Nag (Paris, 1923)

M Malayalam mss.

M₁ Malayalam ms. from Edappalli

Rev. Sys. Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue

System by U. N. Ghoshal (Calcutta, 1929)

s. sūtra

Some Aspects etc. Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity by D. R.

Bhandarkar (Benares, 1929)

Studies etc. Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity by N. N. Law

(London, 1914)

Über das Wesen usw. Über das Wesen der altindischen Rechtschriften

und ihr Verhältnis zu einander und zu Kauțilya

by J. J. Meyer (Leipzig, 1927)

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BOOK ONE

CONCERNING THE TOPIC OF TRAINING

CHAPTER ONE

ENUMERATION OF SECTIONS AND BOOKS

Om. Salutation to Sukra and Brhaspati. AT

- I This single (treatise on the) Science of Politics has been prepared mostly by bringing together (the teachings of) as many treatises on the Science of Politics as have been composed by ancient teachers for the acquisition and protection of the earth.
- 2 Of that (treatise), this is an enumeration of Sections and Books:

The first of the fifteen Books in this work deals mainly with the training of the prince for the arduous duties of rulership. It also discusses the question of the appointment of ministers and other officers necessary for the administration of a state. This prepares the ground for the establishment of a benevolent monarchy.

The First Chapter of this Book is called *prakaraṇādhikaraṇasamuddeśaḥ* in the colophon in D. The other mss. do not give this name. But that is the only appropriate name for this chapter which gives a table of contents of the work.

The work begins, as usual, with a mangala. The sacred syllable om is auspicious for purposes of all study. The homage to Sukra and Brhaspati, the preceptors of the demons and the gods respectively and the supposed promulgators of the science of politics, is quite appropriate in a work dealing with that science.

- 1 Prthivyā lābhe pālane ca: the aim of the Arthaśāstra is thus to teach the ruler how to acquire and protect a kingdom. 15.1.1-2 below state that artha refers to prthivī and that Arthaśāstra is the science dealing with its acquisition and protection. The plu. in Arthaśāstrāni refers to the numerous earlier works on the science. pūrvācāryaih: many of these earlier teachers and the schools founded by some of them are mentioned in the present work. prasthāpitāni: 'established,' i.e., composed. The reading prastāvitāni has the sense of 'set going, promulgated'. prāyašas tāni samhītya: this implies that the work is in the main based on earlier works, though in a few places the author expresses different views. The idea in samhītya is that of bringing together rather than that of abridgment.
- 2 prakaraṇādhikaraṇasaṃuddeśah: A prakaraṇa is a 'section' dealing with a particular topic of the śāstra. An adhikaraṇa is a 'book' dealing with one of the fifteen principal topics into which the entire śāstra is divided. There is no reference here to the division of the work into chapters.

A.S

- 3 Enumeration of the Sciences, Association with Elders, Control over the Senses, Appointment of Ministers, Appointment of Councillors and Chaplain, Ascertainment of the Integrity or the Absence of Integrity of Ministers by means of Secret Tests, Appointment of Persons in Secret Service, Rules for Secret Servants, Keeping a Watch over the Seducible and Non-seducible Parties in One's Own Territory, Winning over the Seducible and Non-seducible Parties in the Enemy's Territory, The Topic of Counsel, Rules for the Envoy, Guarding against Princes, The Conduct of a Prince in Disfavour, Behaviour towards a Prince in Disfavour, Rules for the King, Regulations for the Royal Residence, Concerning the Protection of the King's Own Person,—these constitute the First Book 'Concerning the Topic of Training'.
- Settlement of the Countryside, Disposal of Non-agricultural Land, Construction of Forts, Lay-out of the Fortified City, The Work of Store-keeping by the Director of Stores, The Setting up of Revenue by the Administrator, The Topic of Accounts in the Records and Audit Office, Recovery of Revenue Misappropriated by State Employees, Inspection of (the work of) Officers, The Topic of Edicts, Examination of the Precious Articles to be Received into the Treasury, The Starting of Mines and Factories, The Superintendent of Gold in the Workshop, The Activity of the Goldsmith in the Market-highway, The Superintendent of the Magazine, The Director of Trade, The Director of Forestproduce, The Superintendent of the Armoury, Standardisation of Weights and Measures, Measures of Space and Time, The Collector of Customs and Tolls, The Superintendent of Yarns (and Textiles), The Director of Agriculture, The Controller of Spirituous Liquors, The Supervisor of (Animal-) Slaughter, The Superintendent of Courtesans, The Controller of Shipping, The Superintendent of Cattle, The Superintendent of Horses, The Superintendent of Elephants, The Superin-010 tendent of Chariots, The Superintendent of Foot-soldiers, The Activity of the Commandant of the Army, The Superintendent of Passports, The Superintendent of Pasture-lands, The Activity of the Administrator, Secret Agents in the Disguise of Householders, Traders and Ascetics, Rules for the City Superintendent, - these constitute the Second Book 'The Activity of the Heads of Departments'.
 - 4 -cchidrāpidhānam is from D as in 2.2 below. There is little doubt that this is the original reading. -cchidrāvidhānam of M is an obvious corruption, which G has tried to correct to -cchidravidhānam. chidra presupposes apidhāna 'covering'.

 G M read durgavinivesah here, but even they show durganivesah in the colophon of the actual chapter 2.4. G₁ reads -ceyakarma for -nicayakarma; that is faulty.

 Cb reads košaprāvesya- both here and in 2.11. D G read grhapati- here, but the form grhapatika- is found even in them in other places.

5 Determination of (Valid and Invalid) Transactions, Filing of Law-suits, Concerning Marriage, Partition of Inheritance, Concerning Immovable Property, Non-observance of Conventions, Non-payment of Debts, Concerning Deposits, Law concerning Slaves and Labourers, Undertakings in Partnership, Rescission of Sale and Purchase, Non-conveyance of Gifts, Sale without Ownership, The Relation of Ownership, Forcible Seizure, Verbal Injury, Physical Injury, Gambling and Betting, Miscellaneous, — these constitute the Third Book 'Concerning Judges'.

Law a junce

6 Keeping a Watch over Artisans, Keeping a Watch over Traders, Remedial Measures during Calamities, Guarding against Persons with Secret (Means of) Income, Detection of Criminals through Secret Agents in the Disguise of Holy Men, Arrest on Suspicion, with the (stolen) Article and by (Indications of) the Act, Inquest on Sudden Deaths, Investigation through Interrogation and through Torture, Keeping a Watch over (Officers of) All Departments, Redemption from the Cutting of Individual Limbs, The Law of (Capital) Punishment, Simple and with Torture, Violation of Maidens, Punishment for Transgression, — these constitute the Fourth Book 'The Suppression of Criminals'.

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7 Concerning the Infliction of (secret) Punishment, Replenishment of the Treasury, Concerning the Salaries of (State) Servants, Conduct (proper) for a Dependent, Concerning Proper Behaviour (for a Courtier), Continuance of the Kingdom, Continuous Sovereignty,—these constitute the Fifth Book 'Secret Conduct'.

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- 8 Excellences of the Constituent Elements, Concerning Peace and Activity, these constitute the Sixth Book 'The Circle (of Kings) as the Basis'.
- 9 Enumeration of the Six Measures of Foreign Policy, Determination of (Measures in) Decline, Stable Condition and Advancement, Conduct when Seeking Shelter, Adherence to Policies by the Equal, the Weaker and the Stronger (King), Peace-treaties by the Weaker King, Staying Quiet after Making War, Staying Quiet after Making
- 5 G M read prakirnakāni for prakirnakam of D. The actual passage, 3.20.14, supports the latter and there seems little doubt that the sing. is to be preferred as the name of a title of law.
- 6 G M read aticāradaṇḍaḥ in the sing. The plu., however, though not quite necessary, seems more appropriate. The word aticāra is found with a short ti as in 8.3.32 or a long $t\bar{t}$ as in the colophon after 3.3.29. The reading adopted here as well as in 4.13 is supported by Cb.

7 G₂ has sāmayācārikam for samayācārikam; the latter is found in the actual

Chapter 5.5.

9 $s\bar{a}mav\bar{a}yita$ - in G_1 is due to the usual confusion between ka and ta in Grantha mss. — G and Cb read samdhimokṣah, but the actual passage at 7.17.32 supports $sam\bar{a}dhimokṣah$ of the other mss.

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1. 1. 19]

19 Easy to learn and understand, precise in doctrine, sense and word, free from prolixity of text, thus has this (work on the) science been composed by Kautilya.

CHAPTER TWO

SECTION 1 ENUMERATION OF THE SCIENCES

- (i) Establishing (the necessity of) Philosophy
- 1 Philosophy, the three Vedas, economics and the science of politics, these are the sciences.
- 2 'The three Vedas, economics and the science of politics (are the only sciences),' say the followers of Manu. 3 'For, philosophy is only a special branch of the Vedic lore.'
- 4 'Economics and the science of politics (are the only sciences),' say the followers of Brhaspati. 5 'For, the Vedic lore is only a cloak for one conversant with the ways of the world.'
- 19 sukhagrahaṇavijñeyam: despite the rather unusual form of the compound, 'easy to learn and understand 'seems better than 'easy to understand even for those with a weak, ease-loving intellect' (Cs). grahaṇa in the sense of buddhi would be unusual. tattva 'doctrine, teaching'. Kautilyena: many mss. show Kautalya as the form of the name, though a few of them, e.g., D and M₁ sometimes show the form with ti, with an attempt made to correct it to ta. The question is considered in a separate Study. Cb does not fead these two ss. which state the extent of the work and refer to its author. It is quite possible that they do not stem from the author himself, but are due to some later hand.

G reads rājavrttih 'the king's life' in the colophon, apparently as the title of this chapter. But the word is more appropriate as a description of the entire work than as the title of a chapter. D M and Cj include the word at the beginning of the next chapter. There it seems out of place. It can hardly be construed with the other words in sūtra 1.2.1. For the word, cf. 1.9.4.

1.2

The first prakarana is spread over three chapters 1.2-4.

- 1 This is clearly the traditional enumeration of the $vidy\bar{a}s$, though some schools held different views.
- 2 Mānavāḥ: this refers to a school of Arthaśāstra and not to the Manusmṛti. The latter, in 7.43, recommends all the four vidyās and not three only. All other references to Mānavāḥ in this work are also unconnected with the Manusmṛti. 3 Trayīviśeṣo hyānvīkṣikī: Ānvīkṣikī as described below can hardly be regarded as a branch of the Vedic lore, though Sāmkhya and Yoga claim to hold the Veda as authoritative.
- 4 Bārhaspatyāḥ: the Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra published in the Punjab Sanskrit Series is a very late work and does not represent the views of this school as referred to in this work. 5 samvaraṇa 'a covering, a cloak,' As Cb says, it only serves the purpose of preventing people from calling him a nāstika.



- 6 'The science of politics is the only science,' say the followers of Uśanas. 7 'For, with it are bound up undertakings connected with all the sciences.'
 - 8 'Four, indeed, is the number of the sciences,' says Kautilya.
- 9 Since with their help one can learn (what is) spiritual good and material well-being, therefore the sciences (vidyās) are so called.
- 10 Sāmkhya, Yoga and Lokāyata these constitute philosophy. Investigating, by means of reasoning, (what is) spiritual good and evil in the Vedic lore, material gain and loss in economics, good policy and bad policy in the science of politics, as well as the relative strength and weakness of these (three sciences), (philosophy) confers benefit on the people, keeps the mind steady in adversity and in prosperity and brings about proficiency in thought, speech and action.
 - 12 Philosophy is ever thought of as the lamp of all sciences, as the means of all actions (and) as the support of all laws (and duties).
- 6 Ausanasāh: the Sukranītisāra is an extremely late work and is not to be understood as representing the views of the school of Usanas referred to here.
- 8 The four vidyās, on the study of all of which Kautilya himself insists, practically x cover all branches of learning known at the time.
 - 9 tābhir etc.: the etymology of vidyā is given in the manner of the Brāhmaṇa works. Only dharma and artha are mentioned, not kāma also, as objects of study; apparently a work on kāma would not constitute a vidyā, at any rate for a ruler, according to the author.
 - 10 Sāmkhyam Yogo Lokāyatam ca: this enumeration of the philosophical systems is interesting. Sāmkhya and Yoga, it is admitted, are the oldest among the philosophical systems of India. The Lokayata, it appears from this passage, once held an equally honourable place. It is the system said to have been founded by Brhaspati and later associated with the name of Carvaka. Cj says 'Lokayatam Bārhaspatyam. lokāya buddhim tanoti iti nairuktam, i.e., it gives knowledge about worldly affairs. Similarly, <u>Somadeva</u> in the Nītivākyāmṛta (sec. 6) says 'aihika-vyavahāra-prasādhana-param Lokāyatikam; Lokāyatato hi rājā rāṣṭra-kaṇṭakān ucchedayati.' According to Cb, however, Lokāyata is the Nyāyaśāstra as taught by Brahman, Gārgya and others. But if by Nyāyaśāstra is meant the science of reasoning, this cannot be a correct explanation. - Ānvīksikī, as the present passage shows, is so called because of the use of reasoning for arriving at conclusions (hetubhir anvīkṣamāṇā). This led to its identification with Tarkavidyā (cf. Mahābhārata, 12.173.45 etc.) and the Nyāyaśāstra, even with the Nyāyasūtras of Gautama (cf. Vātsyāyana in his Bhāsya on 1.1.1). But in this text Ānvīkṣikī is not the science of reasoning or logic, but certain philosophical systems based on reasoning. 11 nayāpanayau: see 6.2.6-11 for these terms. — Cs (following in the main Cb) reads a stop after Dandanītyām and supplies prādhānyena pratipādyau as the predicate for the clauses. It seems better, however, to construe dharmādharmau etc. also with hetubhir anviksamānā. That is shown by the ca after balābale and supported by pradipah sarvavidyānām in s. 12 below.
 - 12 Every chapter in this text closes with one or more stanzas. This stanza is found in Vātsyāyaṇa's Bhāṣṇa on the Nyāyasūtras 1.1.1, where the last line appears as vidyoddeśe prakīrtitā. This clearly shows that Vātsyāyana had the present text before him; for the present section does bear the name vidyāsamuddeśa.

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CHAPTER THREE

SECTION 1 (Continued)

- (ii) Establishing (the necessity of) the Vedic Lore
- 1 The Sāmaveda, the Rgveda and the Yajurveda, these three are the three Vedas. 2 (These three), the Atharvaveda and the Itihāsaveda are the Vedas.
- 3 Phonetics, Ritual, Grammar, Etymology, Prosody and Astronomy, these are auxiliary sciences.
 - 4 The law laid down in this Vedic lore is beneficial, as it prescribes the respective duties of the four varnas and the four stages of life.
 - 5 The special duties of the Brahmin are: studying, teaching, performing sacrifices for self, officiating at other people's sacrifices, which making gifts and receiving gifts.
 - 6 Those of the Ksatriya are: studying, performing sacrifices for self, making gifts, living by (the profession of) arms and protecting cobeings.
 - 7 Those of the Vaisya are: studying, performing sacrifices for self, making gifts, agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade.
 - 8 Those of the Sūdra are: service of the twice-born, engaging in an economic calling (viz., agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade) and the profession of the artisan and the actor.
 - 9 Those of the householder are: earning his living in accordance with his own special duty, marrying into families of the same caste but not of the same gotra, approaching the wife during the period, worship of the gods, manes and guests, making gifts to dependents and eating what is left over (after the others have eaten).

1.3

- 1-2 Cs does not read the stop after $Tray\overline{\imath}$, so that a single s. is understood to enumerate the five Vedas. An explanation of $Tray\overline{\imath}$ by itself would, however, seem to be necessary as in the other cases. It is not unlikely that the text originally read $S\overline{a}margyajurved\overline{a}s$ $Tray\overline{\imath}$. $Tray\overline{\imath}$ $Atharvavedetih\overline{a}savedau$ ca $Ved\overline{a}h$. The Chāndogya Upaniṣad (7.1.2) refers to $Itih\overline{a}sa$ - $Pur\overline{a}na$ as the fifth Veda.
- 4 Trayidharmah: actually it is only in the Dharmasutras, a branch of the Vedanga Kalpa, that the duties of the varnas and āśramas are laid down in detail.
- 8 The Smrtis generally allow to the Sūdra only service of the twice-born as his duty (cf. Manu, 9.334; Gītā, 18.44). Gautama (10.60) and Yājňavalkya (1.120) allow him trade or an artisan's profession only if service of the twice-born is not possible. The present text probably represents the actual state of things more accurately.
- 9 svadharmājīvah from D seems preferable to svakarmājīvah. tulyaih, i.e., those belonging to the same varņa. asamānarṣibhṛh, i.e., not belonging to the same gotra, marriages between sagotras being prohibited. D's -tithipūjā bhṛtyeṣu tyāgaḥ is distinctly better as shown by s. 11 below.

20

- 10 Those of the student of the Veda are: studying the Veda, tending the (sacred) fires and (ceremonial) bathing, keeping the vow of living on alms only, residing till the end of his life with the preceptor or, in his absence, with the preceptor's son or with a fellow-student.
- 11 Those of the forest-anchorite are: observing celibacy, sleeping on bare ground, wearing matted locks and an antelope-skin, worship of the (sacred) fires and (ceremonial) bathing, worshipping the gods, manes and guests and living on forest produce (only).
- 12 Those of the wandering ascetic are: having full control over the senses, refraining from all active life, being without any possessions, giving up all attachment to worldly ties, keeping the vow of begging alms, residing not in one place and in the forest, and observing external and internal cleanliness.
- 13 (Duties) common to all are: abstaining from injury (to living creatures), truthfulness, uprightness, freedom from malice, compassionateness and forbearance.
- 14 (The observance of) one's own special duty leads to heaven and to endless bliss. 15 In case of its transgression, people would be exterminated through (the) mixture (of duties and castes).
 - 16 Therefore, the king should not allow the special duties of the (different) beings to be transgressed (by them); for, ensuring adherence to (each one's) special duty, he finds joy after death as well as in this life.
 - 17 For, people, among whom the bounds of the Aryan rule of life are fixed, among whom the varnas and the stages of life are securely established and who are guarded by the three Vedas, prosper, do not perish.
- 10 bhaikṣavratitvam from D seems better. Cb explains the other reading (with -vratatvam) 'begging alms and observing vratas ending with godāna.' Two ideas do not appear intended.
- 12 bhaikṣavratam anekatra aranye ca vāsaḥ is again from D; others read bhaikṣam and omit ca. In view of s. 10, bhaikṣavratam seems preferable and as anekatra is to be construed with vāsaḥ, ca seems better. The stop after ca śaucam is necessary; what follows forms a new sentence, laying down duties for all varṇas and āśramas, as in Manusmṛti, 6.91-93, Āpastamba, 1.8.23.6, Mahābhārata, 12.60.7-8, etc.
- 14 ānantyāya: this is mentioned over and above svarga 'heaven,' and hence obviously indicates the 'endless' bliss of moksa. 15 samkara: this refers to karmasamkara doing the duties of a different varna; it also refers to varnasamkara, 'mixing' of the varnas through inter-marriages.
- 16 na vyabhicārayet is causal and hence 'should not allow the people to transgress.' samdadhānaḥ: the substantive is clearly rājā, 'ensuring adherence to.'
 - 17 Trayyābhirakşito is from D; the hi in the other reading has little significance.

CHAPTER FOUR

SECTION 1 (Continued)

- (iii) Establishing (the necessity of) Economics, and (iv) the Science of Politics
- 1 Agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade, these constitute economics, (which are) beneficial, as they yield grains, cattle, money, forest produce and labour. 2 Through them, the (king) brings under his sway his own party as well as the party of the enemies, by the (use of the) treasury and the army.
- 3 The means of ensuring the pursuit of philosophy, the three Vedas and economics is the Rod (wielded by the king); its administration constitutes the science of politics, having for its purpose the acquisition of (things) not possessed, the preservation of (things) possessed, the augmentation of (things) preserved and the bestowal of (things) augmented on a worthy recipient. 4 On it is dependent the orderly maintenance of worldly life.
- 5 'Therefore, the (king), seeking the orderly maintenance of worldly life, should ever hold the Rod lifted up (to strike). 6 For, there is no such means for the subjugation of beings as the Rod,' say the (ancient) teachers.
- 7 'No,' says Kautilya. 8 For, the (king), severe with the Rod, becomes a source of terror to beings. 9 The (king), mild with the Rod, is despised. 10 The (king), just with the Rod, is honoured.
- 11 For, the Rod, used after full consideration, endows the subjects with spiritual good, material well-being and pleasures of the senses.

 12 Used unjustly, whether in passion or anger, or in contempt, it enrages even forest-anchorites and wandering ascetics, how much more

1.4

- 1 The word vārttā is clearly derived from vṛtti 'livelihood.' viṣti 'labour,' i.e., labourers. The root in the word is viṣ 'to be active.'
- 3 yogakṣema: yoga is the acquisition of things and kṣema is their secure possession; the two together convey the idea of security and well-being or prosperity. 4 loka-yātrā 'the going of the world', i.e., worldly intercourse. Meyer would include this s. in the opinion of the ācāryāḥ, stated in the following sūtras; but it seems that Kauṭilya does not object to the statement in this s.; his objection is to nityam udyatadaṇatva only.
 - 6 vasopanayanam 'a means of bringing under subjugation.'
 - 8 udvejaniyah ' one who is to be feared,' i.e., a source of terror or fright.
- 12 $avaj\tilde{n}\tilde{a}n\tilde{a}d$ is from D for $aj\tilde{n}\tilde{a}n\tilde{a}d$. The former is more likely to lead to rage than the latter. It is proposed to read a $v\tilde{a}$ after $avaj\tilde{n}\tilde{a}n\tilde{a}d$, as it is necessary. It seems to have dropped out because of the $v\tilde{a}$ with which the next word begins. —

then the householders? 13 If not used at all, it gives rise to the law of the fishes. 14 For, the stronger swallows the weak in the absence of the wielder of the Rod. 15 Protected by him, he prevails.

16 The people, of the four varnas and in the four stages of life, protected by the king with the Rod, (and) deeply attached to occupations prescribed as their special duties, keep to their respective paths.

CHAPTER FIVE

SECTION 2 ASSOCIATION WITH ELDERS

- 1 Therefore, the three sciences have their root in the (just administration of) the Rod. 2 (Administration of) the Rod, (when) rooted in self-discipline, brings security and well-being to living beings.
- 3 Discipline is (twofold), acquired and inborn. 4 For, training disciplines suitable stuff, not one unsuited. 5 A science imparts discipline to one, whose intellect has (the qualities of) the desire to learn, listening (to the teacher), learning, retention, thorough understanding, reflection, rejection (of false views) and intentness on truth, (and) not to any other person.
- 6 But training and discipline in the sciences (are acquired) by (accepting) the authoritativeness of the teachers in the respective sciences.
- 13 mātsyanyāya 'the law of the fishes,' according to which the bigger fish swallow the smaller ones. Cf. 1.13.5 below. 15 sa tena guptah prabhavati: tena seems to refer to the dandadhara rather than to danda. G M omit sa, but it seems necessary as referring to the abala. After sa D adds ca, which is not necessary. It is impossible to see in guptah any reference to a patron of the author.
- 16 vartmasu: M reads veśmasu which yields a very colourless idea. Cb text shows karmasu, but the actual comment has marga, which presupposes vartmasu. Moreover, karmasu is little likely, as the people are already karmābhirata.

1.5

- 1 dandamūlās tisro vidyāh: this is so because unless there is a just administration, no pursuit of learning or avocations would be possible. 2 vinayamūlo etc.: the idea is, administration by a disciplined ruler alone can lead to prosperity and security of the people.
- 4 kriyā hi dravyam etc.: cf. Raghuvamśa, 3.29, where Mallinātha quotes the present passage as from Kauțilya. Cf. also Mudrārākṣasa, 7.14. 5 śuśrūṣā- etc.: these are called prajñāgunāh 'qualities of the intellect' in 6.1.4 below. — abhinivista may be understood in the sense of abhiniveśa or as standing for abhiniveśayukta.
- 6 vidyānām is to be construed with vinayo niyamas ca, though it has also to be understood with yathāsvam. Whereas vinaya refers to actual instruction, niyama seems to refer to the life of discipline that is to accompany the period of study.

- 7 When the ceremony of tonsure is performed, the (prince) should learn the use of the alphabet and arithmetic. 8 When the initiation with the preceptor is performed, he should learn the three Vedas and philosophy from the learned, economics from the heads of departments (and) the science of politics from theoretical and practical exponents.
- 9 And (he should observe) celibacy till the sixteenth year.
 10 Thereafter (should follow) the cutting of the hair and marriage for him.
- 11 And (he should have) constant association with elders in learning for the sake of improving his training, since training has its root in that.
- 12 During the first part of the day, he should undergo training in the arts of (using) elephants, horses, chariots and weapons. 13 In the latter part, (he should engage) in listening to Itihāsa. 14 The Purāṇas, Itivṛtta, Ākhyāyikā, Udāharaṇa, Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra,—these constitute Itihāsa. 15 During the remaining parts of the day and the night, he should learn new things and familiarise himself with those already learnt, and listen repeatedly to things not learnt. 16 For, from (continuous) study ensues a (trained) intellect, from intellect (comes) practical application, (and) from practical application (results) self-possession; such is the efficacy of sciences.
 - 17 For, the king, trained in the sciences, intent on the discipline of the subjects, enjoys the earth (alone) without sharing it with any other (ruler), being devoted to the welfare of all beings.
- 7 vṛtacaulakarmā: the tonsure ceremony is to be performed in the first year or third after birth. upayuñjīta, i.e., should learn to make use of. 8 śiṣṭebhyaḥ 'those who are trained,' i.e., the learned teachers. vakṭṛprayokṭṛbhyaḥ 'those who teach the theory and those actually engaged in practising it.'
- 9 \bar{a} sodaśād varṣād: as 3.3.1 shows, a man is supposed to have attained majority when he has completed his sixteenth year. 10 godānam, also known as keśānta, is the second tonsure, done at puberty. Cf. Raghuvamśa 3.28–33 which are clearly based on the present passage. For the samskāras mentioned here, see works on Dharmaśāstra. G_1 reads a stop after ca and includes asya in the next s. That makes an odd beginning for that s.
- 14 Itivṛttam 'such as the $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}yaṇa$, $Bh\bar{a}rata$ etc.' (Cj). $\bar{a}khy\bar{a}yik\bar{a}$ is 'divyamanuṣyādicaritam' (Cb). $ud\bar{a}haranam$ 'e.g. $Tantr\bar{a}khy\bar{a}yik\bar{a}$, etc.' (Cj). G_2 and M omit $Arthaś\bar{a}stram$. It is not unlikely that s. 14 is a marginal gloss (in explanation of Itihāsa occurring in s. 13) which later got into the text. 16 $praj\bar{n}ay\bar{a}$: G M and Cj read $praj\bar{n}ay\bar{a}$; D has the original $j\bar{n}\bar{a}$ changed to $j\bar{n}a$. A ms. collated in M_2 shows the former reading, which is supported by Cb. The ablative would appear preferable as in the other clauses. G_2 reads $\bar{a}tmavidy\bar{a}s\bar{a}marthyam$ and Jolly-Schmidt prefer it; however, a reference to the science of the supreme spirit is out of place here. $\bar{a}tmavatt\bar{a}$ 'self-possession' is what is intended for the ruler.

T1. 6. 8

CHAPTER SIX

SECTION 3 CONTROL OVER THE SENSES

- (i) Casting out the Group of Six Enemies
- 1 Control over the senses, which is motivated by training in the sciences, should be secured by giving up lust, anger, greed, pride, arrogance and foolhardiness. 2 Absence of improper indulgence in (the pleasures of) sound, touch, colour, taste and smell by the senses of hearing, touch and sight, the tongue and the sense of smell, means control over the senses; or, the practice of (this) science (gives such control). 3 For, the whole of this science means control over the senses.
- 4 A king, behaving in a manner contrary to that, (and hence) having no control over his senses, quickly perishes, though he be ruler right up to the four ends of the earth. 5 For example, the Bhoja king, Dāṇḍakya by name, entertaining a sinful desire for a Brahmin maiden, perished along with his kinsmen and kingdom; and (so did) Karāla, King of the Videhas. 6 Janamejaya, using violence against Brahmins, out of anger, (likewise perished); and (so did) Tālajangha, (using violence) against the Bhṛgus. 7 Aila, extorting money from the four varṇas out of greed, (perished); and (so did) Ajabindu of the Sauvīras. 8 Rāvaṇa, not restoring the wife of another through pride,

1.6

The third prakarana is spread over two chapters, 1.6-7.

- 1 vidyāvinayahetuḥ: this is a Bahuvrīhi compound (Cj Meyer) rather than a Tatpuruṣa (Cb Cs). māna appears to be the feeling of great conceit owing to an exaggerated opinion about oneself; mada is arrogance resulting from the possession of great power; harṣa appears to be the feeling of great exhilaration resulting in playful pranks and foolhardy behaviour (atikrīḍanonmatiḥ or krīḍāsukham Cj). 2 avipratipattiḥ: this is the absence of vipratipatti (viruddhā pravṛtti or improper behaviour, i.e., over-indulgence). 3 kṛtṣnam hi šāstram etc.: apparently a study of a work on the political science like the present text is expected to give the ruler control over the senses.
- 5 Dāṇḍakya Bhoja: the Rāmāyaṇa, 7.80-81, narrates how King Daṇḍa who had violated Arajā, the daughter of his chaplain Uśanas, was destroyed together with his whole kingdom by the latter's curse; thus was the Daṇḍakāraṇya made. Cnn in D gives Bṛhadaśva as the name of this king. Karāla Vaideha: he seems to have been known also as Karāla Janaka, King of the Videhas. The Buddhacarita 11.31 refers to him as Maithila and mentions him along with Daṇḍaka. 6 Janamejaya: he is said to have whipped the Brahmin priests, whom he suspected of having violated his queen when it was really Indra who had done that (Cj). Tālajaṅgha was a descendant of Saryāti, according to the Mahābhārata. The Saundarananda 7.39, 44 refers to these two kings in the same connection. Aśvaghoṣa had clearly the present passage before him. 7 Aila is Purūravas, the son of Ilā and Budha. He is said to have seized the golden vessels in the sacrifice he was called upon to protect. atyāhī 'to extort money from.' Sauvīra Ajabindu:

(perished); and (so did) Duryodhana (not returning) a portion of the kingdom. 9 Dambhodbhava, treating creatures with contempt out of arrogance, (perished); and (so did) Arjuna of the Haihayas. 10 Vātāpi, trying to assail Agastya, out of foolhardiness, (perished); and (so did) the clan of the Vṛṣṇis (trying to assail) Dvaipāyana.

- 11 These and many other kings, giving themselves up to the group of six enemies, perished with their kinsmen and kingdoms, being without control over their senses.
- 12 Casting out the group of six enemies, Jāmadagnya, who had full control over his senses, as well as Ambarīṣa, the son of Nabhāga, enjoyed the earth for a long time.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SECTION 3 (Continued)

- (ii) The Life of a Sage-like King
- 1 Therefore, by casting out the group of six enemies he should acquire control over the senses, cultivate his intellect by association with elders, keep a watchful eye by means of spies, bring about security

little is known about him. 9 Dambhodbhava: the Mahābhārata, 5.94.5ff. narrates how Dambhodbhava wanted to fight with Nara and Nārāyana, but was rendered helpless by them with a handful of grass and was asked to give up his haughtiness. - Haihaya Arjuna is well-known; he is credited with the possession of a thousand arms. His over-bearing attitude towards Jamadagni cost him his life. 10 Vātāpi: the Mahābhārata 3.94-97 and the Rāmāyaṇa 3.11.55-66 narrate the story of the demon Vātāpi and his brother Ilvala. The latter by his magic powers used to change his brother into a goat and offer him to Brahmins at a śrāddha. After they had taken their meals, Ilvala used to call his brother, who came out tearing open the bellies of those Brahmins and causing their death. Vātāpi met his doom when the same trick was tried on Agastya, who managed to digest Vātāpi. — atyāsādayan: 'encountering, going very near;' the idea of an actual assault is probably not intended. - Vṛṣṇisamgha: N. C. Banerjee states that the account of the downfall of the Vṛṣṇis by Dvaipāyana does not tally with the account in the Mahābhārata, but agrees with the tradition in the Ghata Jataka (IHQ, I, p. 97 and n.). According to the Mahābhārata, it was Nārada of whom the Vṛṣṇis made fun.

12 Jāmadagnya: this is clearly the celebrated Paraśurāma. But he is not elsewhere known to have 'enjoyed the earth for a long time,' though he had repeatedly cleared it of Kṣatriyas. He is said to have made a gift of the earth to Brahmins, especially to Kaśyapa. Cf. Rāmāyaṇa, 1.75.25 etc. — For Ambarīṣa, see Mahābhārata, 12.29.

1.7

rājarşivṛttam, i.e., the kind of life that would be appropriate to a sage-like king.

1 kurvīta is to be understood with all the following clauses as well. — vinayam vidyopadešena: this seems to refer to the ruler's own training rather than to that of the subjects. — arthasamyogena: this seems to refer to doing beneficial things rather

and well-being by (energetic) activity, maintain the observance of their special duties (by the subjects) by carrying out (his own) duties, acquire discipline by (receiving) instruction in the sciences, attain popularity by association with what is of material advantage and maintain (proper) behaviour by (doing) what is beneficial.

- 2 With his senses thus under control he should avoid another man's wife or property as well as doing injury to others, also (avoid) sleepiness, capriciousness, falsehood, wearing an extravagant dress, association with harmful persons and any transaction associated with unrighteousness or harm.
- 3 He should enjoy sensual pleasures without contravening his spiritual good and material well-being; he should not deprive himself of pleasures. 4 Or, (he should devote himself) equally to the three goals of life which are bound up with one another. 5 For, any one of (the three, viz.,) spiritual good, material well-being and sensual pleasures, (if) excessively indulged in, does harm to itself as well as to the other two.
- 6 'Material well-being alone is supreme,' says Kautilya. 7 For, spiritual good and sensual pleasures depend on material well-being.
- 8 He should set the preceptors or ministers as the bounds of proper conduct (for himself), who should restrain him from occasions of harm, or, when he is erring in private, should prick him with the goad

than only to acceptance and proper disposal of money (as in Cb Cs). — hitena vrttim: this may refer to the ruler himself leading a life that is beneficial or to his securing for the subjects a livelihood by doing beneficial things. The former seems meant.

- 2 svapnalaulyam of G_1 is obviously faulty. Cj seems to support D's uddhatavesam for -veṣatvam. anarthya- is a common word in the sense of 'a harmful person' such as a dancer, actor, singer, etc. (Cj). anarthâ- for it (as in G_2) is unlikely, as anarthasamyukta vyavahāra is separately mentioned.
- 4 After anyonyānubaddham, D adds parasparānupaghātakam, which seems to be a marginal gloss on the former expression, which has got into the text. 5 The reading $k\bar{a}m\bar{a}n\bar{a}tm\bar{a}nam$ is due to the dropping of the letter $m\bar{a}$ between $n\bar{a}$ and $tm\bar{a}$ through a scribal error. The genitive is obviously necessary.
- 6-7 D omits s. 6; also, it seems, Cj. But s. 7 definitely presupposes it. The hi in it would otherwise have no significance. It appears that Kautilya was the first to assign a high place to artha as against dharma and $k\bar{a}ma$.
- 8 maryādām, i.e., the boundary beyond which he must not go; in other words, he must not transgress their advice. chāyānālikāpratodena: the ācāryas are to use the goad in the form of either chāyā or nālikā, which are the two ways of ascertaining time. For nālikā see 2.20:34-35 and for chāyā 2.20.39 below. The idea is that the teachers are to remind the prince of the time and the specific duties fixed for him at that time. This reminder serves like a goad to the erring prince. pratoda can hardly refer to the 'striking' of a drum or gong to indicate time, as F. E. Pargiter, JRAS, 1915, pp. 701-702, says. As abhitudeyuh shows, the idea of pricking an elephant with a goad, when he strays from the right path, is at the basis of the metaphor. As Cj has 'paśum iva; iyam anuṣṭhānāntaravelā vartate iti.' pratoda

in the form of (the indication of time for the performance of his regular divises by means of) the shadow (of the gnomon) or the $n\bar{a}lik\bar{a}$ (water-clock).

9 Rulership can be successfully carried out (only) with the help of associates. One wheel alone does not turn. Therefore, he should appoint ministers and listen to their opinion.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SECTION 4 APPOINTMENT OF MINISTERS

- 1 'He should make his fellow-students his ministers, their integrity and capability being known (to him), 'says Bhāradvāja. 2 'For, they enjoy his confidence.'
- 3 'No,' says Viśālākṣa. 4 'Having been his play-mates, they treat him with disrespect. 5 He should make those his ministers who are of a like nature to him in secret matters, since they have the same character and vices. 6 For, through fear that he is conversant with their secrets they do not offend him.'
- 7 'This defect is common (to both),' say the followers of Parāśara.
 8 'For, through fear that they too are conversant with his secrets, he would acquiesce in what they do and what they omit to do.

has the same root tud and must mean a goad. — rahasi is to be construed with pramādyantam (Cb) rather than with abhitudeyuh (Meyer).

9 sacivān is a general term for all who help in the work of administration, mantrin, adhyakṣa, dūta etc. — Cb includes ss. 8-9 in the next chapter at the beginning; but though they appear more appropriate there, the śloka in s. 9 indicates rather the end of a chapter.

1.8

- 1 Bhāradvājaḥ: he is generally identified with Droṇa, the celebrated teacher of the Kuru princes. But unlike Bhīṣma he is not known to have been a teacher of politics. Jolly-Schmidt identify him with Kaṇinka Bhāradvāja mentioned in 5.5.11 as a minister who ran away in time on noticing certain signs of his master's displeasure. The Mahābhārata 12.58.3 mentions Bhāradvāja as a teacher of rājadharmas, and contains a discourse on politics by Kaṇinka Bhāradvāja in 12.138.
- 3 Viśālākṣaḥ: this is the name of Śiva. In the Mahābhārata 12.59.80ff. he is said to have abridged the Daṇḍanīti composed by Svayambhū, his work being known as the Vaiśālākṣa Śāstra. 5 guhyasadharmāṇaḥ, lit. 'those who possess the same characteristics in respect of secret affairs', i.e., his associates in secret affairs. 6 Here as well as in s. 8, marmajña seems to stand for marmajñatva. Cj, it appears, did read marmajñatva, though one cannot be sure.
 - 7 Pārāśarāḥ: G M read Parāśaraḥ here; but in 1.15.23 and 1.17.9 even they

- 9 'To as many persons the lord of men communicates a secret, to so many does he become subservient, being helpless by that act (of his).
- 10 'He should make those his ministers who may have helped him in calamities involving danger to life, since their loyalty is (thus) proved.'
- 11 'No,' says Piśuna. 12 'This is devotion, not a trait of intellect. 13 He should make those his ministers who, when appointed to tasks, the income from which is calculated (beforehand), would bring in the income as directed or more, since (thus) their qualities are proved.'
- 14 'No,' says Kaunapadanta. 15 'For, these are not endowed with other qualities necessary in a minister. 16 He should make those his ministers who have come (as hereditary servants) from his father and grandfather, since their pure conduct is known. 17 They do not desert him even when he misbehaves, being of the same kin. 18 This is observed even among animals. 19 For, cattle, passing by a herd of cattle not their kin, abide only with those that are their kin.'
- 20 'No,' says Vātavyādhi. 21 'For, bringing under their control everything belonging to him, they behave like masters (themselves). 22 Therefore, he should make new men well-versed in politics his ministers. 23 New men, indeed, looking upon the wielder of the Rod as occupying the position of Yama, do not give offence.'

show the former. Cj has $P\bar{a}r\bar{a}\hat{s}ar\bar{a}h$. 9 The $\hat{s}loka$ makes it highly probable that we have here a regular quotation from a work of this school.

- 11 Piśunaḥ: he is usually identified with the sage Nārada. It is possible, however, that he is the same as the minister Piśuna mentioned in 5.5.11, who ran away on seeing signs of his master's displeasure. 13 samkhyātārtheṣu: in view of samkhyātā 'calculated,' artha should mean 'income, revenue,' accruing from the undertaking.
- 14 Kauṇapadantaḥ 'with goblin's teeth' is said to be a nickname of Bhīṣma; pūtidantasya Śamtanorayam putra iti, says Cj. Cnn remarks that Śamtanu had 'stinking teeth' because of a curse of Gaṅgā. 16 dṛṣṭāvadānatvāt: this is from D. We have to distinguish avadāna 'good or pure conduct' from apadāna 'offence, crime.' For the latter, cf. 2.36.36; 3.12.35 etc. Cnn paraphrases avadāna by upadhāśuddhi integrity proved by a secret test. Cb renders it by parākrama, which unnecessarily restricts the sense. 17 sagandha: Cnn paraphrases gandha by 'paricayajanitasneha affection produced by close acquaintance.' sagandha, however, seems rather to convey the idea of kinship. 19 sagandheṣu etc.: Śākuntala 5.21.27 seems influenced by the present passage.
- 20 Vātavyādhiḥ: this is said to be the name of Uddhava, a minister of Kṛṣṇa. Little is known about this teacher of politics. 21 avagṛhya: the root ava-grah is common in this text in the sense of 'to check, to bring under control.' iti at the end of s. 21 found in some mss. is clearly out of place.

24 'No,' says Bāhudantīputra. 25 'One, conversant with the science, (but) not experienced in practical affairs, would come to gief in (carrying out) undertakings. 26 He should appoint as ministers such (persons) as are endowed with nobility of birth, intellect, integrity, bravery and loyalty, because of the supreme importance of qualities (in this matter).'

27 'Everything (stated above) is justifiable,' says Kautilya.
28 For, from the capacity for doing work is the ability of a person judged. 29 And in accordance with their ability,

by (suitably) distributing rank among ministers and assigning place, time and work (to them), he should appoint all these as ministers, not, however, as councillors.

CHAPTER NINE

SECTION 5 APPOINTMENT OF COUNCILLORS AND CHAPLAIN

1 A native of the country, of noble birth, easy to hold in check, trained in the arts, possessed of the eye (of science), intelligent, persevering, dexterous, eloquent, bold, possessed of a ready wit, endowed with energy and power, able to bear troubles, upright, friendly, firmly

24 Bāhudantīputrah 'the son of one whose teeth are her arms' is said to be Indra. According to Cnn, Bāhudantī is the name of Indra's mother. The Mahā-bhārata, 12.59.82–83, refers to a further abridgment of Svyambhū's work by Indra; it was called Bāhudantaka.

27 sarvam upapannam: this evidently means that all considerations for and against the various views can be justified according to circumstances. Meyer thinks that Kauṭilya agrees with Bāhudantīputra, though he does not discard altogether the opinions of others. Cj also seems to understand that a person endowed with abhijana etc. (mentioned by Bāhudantīputra) is able to accomplish anything. 28 Cb Cs read the stop not after kalpyate but after sāmarthyataś ca and explain 'the capability of a person (such as viśvāsyatva etc.) for different kinds of duties is established by the power (sāmarthya) of such actions as fellow-studentship, etc. (kārya), and by the possession in a greater or less degree of wisdom, study of science and other qualities (sāmarthyataḥ).' This appears hardly possible; sāmarthyataś ca quite obviously belongs to the stanza that follows.

29 sāmarthyataḥ amātyavibhavaṁ vibhajya, i.e., assigning the position or rank of amātya according to the capacity of the persons. — sarva eva ete, i.e., sahādhyāyin etc. mentioned above. Cnn remarks that each of the 18 principal officers in a state has three subordinates, so that 72 posts have to be filled in all. That allows room for choice from among sahādhyāyin and others.

1.9

1 svavagrahah: Cb explains 'having good relations'; Cj has 'possessed of benevolent friends,' or 'who is able to restrain (the king) gently.' The word, however, rather means 'easy to control,' as contrasted with anavagraha 'unrestrained,' also used of a minister in 1.15.36 below; cf. also 6.1.6. — dhārayiṣṇuḥ 'with a good memory' (Cj Cs); but prajāā includes memory as its gūṇa. — stambha 'rigidity'

devoted, endowed with character, strength, health and spirit, devoid of stiffness and fickleness, amiable (and) not given to creating animosities,— these are the excellences of a minister. 2 One, lacking in a quarter and a half of these qualities is the middling and the lowest (type, respectively).

- 3 Of these (qualities), he should make inquiries about nationality, nobility of birth and tractability from (his) kinsmen, test his (training in) arts and possession of the eye of science through those learned in the same sciences, learn about his intelligence, perseverence and dexterity from his handling of undertakings, test his eloquence, boldness and presence of mind on occasions of conversation, his energy and power as well as ability to bear troubles during a calamity, his uprightness, friendliness and firmness of devotion from his dealings with others, learn about his character, strength, health and spirit as well as about freedom from stiffness and fickleness from those living with him, (and) about his amiability and absence of a disposition to animosity by personal observation.
- 4 For, the affairs of a king are (of three kinds, viz.,) directly perceived, unperceived and inferred. 5 What is seen by (the king) himself is directly perceived. 6 What is communicated by others is unperceived (by him). 7 Forming an idea of what has not been done from what is done in respect of undertakings is inferred. 8 But, because of the simultaneity of undertakings, their manifoldness and their having to be carried out in many different places, he should cause them to be carried out by ministers, unperceived (by him), so that there may be no loss of place and time.

So Far the Work of (Appointing) Ministers.

9 He should appoint a chaplain, who is very exalted in family and character, thoroughly trained in the Veda with its auxiliary sciences,

seems to refer to haughtiness. Cnn explains 'mithyābhimānād avinayaḥ, insolence due to false pride.' — -cāpalahīnaḥ from D is supported by Cb.

3 abhijanam is missing in GM, evidently through a scribal error. — MCj read āpyatah and the latter explains it by 'svajanatah'; that is also Cb's explanation of āptatah. The word āpta may also mean 'a reliable person.' — āpadyutsāhaprabhāvau kle šasahatvam ca is missing in D, clearly through a scribal error.

4 rājavrttih seems to refer to the carrying out of all kinds of state work. This is pratyakṣa, or parokṣa or anumeya from the king's point of view. The discussion brings out the necessity of appointing ministers. 8 ayaugapadyāt of G₁ is clearly corrupt. The idea is, because a number of state works have to be carried out simultaneously, some works must be done when the king is not present and hence ministers become necessary.

9 uditoditakulasilam: the repetition of udita seems only to emphasize the exalted character of the kula and sila. Cb has 'when there is nothing blameworthy for four generations'; Cj 'when the ancestors and descendants upto four or seven genera-

in divine signs, in omens and in the science of politics and capable of counteracting divine and human calamities by means of Atharvan remedies. 10 And he should follow him as a pupil (does) his teacher, a son his father (or) a servant his master.

11 Kṣatriya power, made to prosper by the Brahmin (chaplain), sanctified by spells in the form of the counsel of ministers, (and) possessed of arms in the form of compliance with the science (of politics), triumphs, remaining ever unconquered.

CHAPTER TEN

SECTION 6 ASCERTAINMENT OF THE INTEGRITY OR THE ABSENCE OF INTEGRITY OF MINISTERS BY MEANS OF SECRET TESTS.

- I After appointing ministers to ordinary offices in consultation with the councillors and the chaplain, he should test their integrity by means of secret tests.
- 2 The king should (seemingly) discard the chaplain on the ground that he showed resentment when appointed to officiate at the sacrifice of a person not entitled to the privilege of a sacrifice or to teach

tions are pure in birth and conduct.' Cs however has 'whose family and character are such as belong to those richly endowed (udita) with qualities prescribed (udita) in the śāstra.' This is too involved and seems due to the influence of the Mitākṣarā on Yājñavalkya 1.313, where, however, the word is only uditoditam (curtailed apparently for metrical reasons). — sāṅge vede of D is clearly a better expression than ṣaḍaṅge vede of the other mss. — Cb reads sāmudre daivanimitte for daive nimitte and explains 'signs connected with palmistry etc., and omens due to divine agencies such as earthquakes etc.' sāmudre is not found in any ms.; and Daiva and Nimitta would appear to be two distinct sciences, that of divine portents and that of omens such as the flight of birds etc., respectively.

11 edhitam and mantrimantrābhimantritam contain a punning reference to the kindling of fire and its sanctification by mantras. Cb renders abhimantrita by 'protected.' — śāstrānugamaśastritam 'possessed of weapons in the form of obedience to the śāstra,' or 'possessed of weapons on account of obedience to the śāstra '(Cb). Cj however explains 'following the śāstra (śāstrānugam), though not making use of weapons (aśastritam).' Jolly-Schmidt refer to a pun, apparently in the word śastrita 'possessed of a weapon' and 'accompanied by a hymn of praise or litany (śastra).' The reading -nugama- is obviously better than -nugata-.

1.10

upadhā 'a secret test 'is a term peculiar to this science.

- 1 -sakhah 'in the company of,' i.e., in consultation with. sāmānyeṣu: 'common', i.e., not carrying any responsibility. śodhayet from D Cj is preferable to śaucayet; the latter is unusual and has to be understood in the sense of 'śaucam parīkṣayet.'
- 2 Cb shows ayājyayājane for ayājyayājanādhyārane. That would appear better, for adhyāpana can with difficulty be construed with ayājya. avakṣipet:

(such a person). 3 He should (then) get each minister individually instigated, through secret agents, under oath, (in this manner): 'This king is impious; well, let us set up another pious (king), either a claimant from his own family or a prince in disfavour or a member of the (royal) family or a person who is the one support of the kingdom or a neighbouring prince or a forest chieftain or a person suddenly risen to power; this is approved by all; what about you?' 4 If he repulses (the suggestion), he is loyal.

This is the test of piety.

5 The commander of the army, (seemingly) dismissed by reason of support given to evil men, should get each minister individually instigated, through secret agents, to (bring about) the king's destruction, with (the offer of) a tempting material gain, (saying): 'This is approved by all; what about you?' 6 If he repulses (the suggestion), he is upright.

This is the test of material gain.

7 A wandering nun, who has won the confidence (of the different ministers) and is treated with honour in the palace, should secretly suggest to each minister individually: 'The chief queen is in love with

the root ava-k sip 'to throw out, discard, dismiss' is common in this text; cf. 5.4.10; 11.1.20; 13.3.8. — 3 sapathapārvam, i.e., the amātyas are first made to swear that they will not disclose what is being suggested to them. — tatkulīna: this word is used to refer to a claimant or pretender to the throne from the ruler's family. — aparuddha: see Chapter 1.18 below. — kulya is any other member of the royal family. — ekapragraha: in view of 5.6.28, this can only refer to the chief minister who is the 'one support' of the dynasty. Cj Cnn explain 'honoured equally with the king $(r\bar{a}j\bar{n}\bar{a} sahaikap\bar{u}jam$ — Cj).' — $aupap\bar{a}dikam$: Cj explains 'a person suddenly risen to power' and adds the illustration of Candragupta. Similarly Cnn. 'One belonging to a region at the foot of a mountain or one who is to be considered or determined by us' (Cs) appears little likely. Cf. 5.2.39. — $dharmopadh\bar{a}$: this name is given to the test apparently because the $dh\bar{a}rmikatva$ of the king is supposedly denied in it or because the officer's devotion to dharma (represented by the purohita) is put to test.

5 asatpragrahena: according to Cb Cs, the senāpati is ordered by the king to honour evil men, which he refuses to do; that is then made the ground for his dismissal. This is hardly possible in view of the use of the expression elsewhere, specially in 7.5.19. It is the support given to worthless persons by the senāpati (may be at the king's secret instance as in Cj) that is made the ostensible ground for his seeming dismissal. 6 arthopadhā: the name is due to the offer of money involved in it.

7 parivrājikā, also called bhikṣukī, is a secret agent. Sec 1.12.4 below. — te after ca is from Cj and seems necessary; cf. Śańkarārya on Kāmandaka, 4.26. — Cj offers an alternative explanation of mahānarthah 'a great calamity will befall you etc.' That is hardly likely.

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you and has made arrangements for a meeting (with you); besides, you will obtain much wealth.' 8 If he repulses (the proposal), he is pure.

This is the test of lust.

9 On the occasion of a festive party, one minister should invite all the (other) ministers. 10 Through (seeming) fright at this (conspiracy), the king should put them in prison. 11 A sharp pupil, imprisoned there earlier, should secretly suggest to each of those ministers individually, when they are deprived of property and honour, (in this manner): 'This king is behaving wickedly; well, let us kill him and install another; this is approved by all; what about you?' 12 If he repulses (the suggestion), he is loyal.

This is the test of fear.

13 From among them, he should appoint those proved loyal by the test of piety to posts in the judiciary and for suppression of criminals, those proved upright by the test of material gain to offices of the Administrator and in the stores of the Director of Stores, those proved pure by the test of lust to guardianship of (places of) recreation inside (the palace) as well as outside, those proved loyal by the test of fear to duties near the (person of the) king. 14 Those proved honest by all tests, he should make (his) councillors. 15 Those (found) dishonest by every test, he should employ in mines, in forests for material produce, in elephant-forests and in factories.

16 'He should appoint ministers, who have been cleared by the (tests of the) group of three (goals of life) and fear, to duties

9 prahavaṇa is from D G₁ Cj; pravahaṇa of the other mss. means practically the same thing. prahavaṇa is a festive party (prahūyante 'smin svajanamitrāṇūti prahavaṇam udvāhādir utsavaḥ—Cj) or a picnic (prītibhojana—Cb). 10 tena udvegena: the fright is due to an apparently suspected conspiracy of the ministers, 11 kāpaṭikaś cātra is from D. It is easy to see how the other readings kāpaṭikaś chātraḥ and kāpaṭikacchātraḥ arose successively out of this, under the influence of 1.11.2. Cj reads kāpaṭikaś ca tatra. — Jolly-Schmidt read sahasainam for sādhu enam on the authority of Śamkarārya on Kāmandaka, 4.26. But the reading of the mss. seems quite all right. Cj seems to have read ata enam. — bhayopadhā: the name has reference to the fear in which the arrested ministers live.

13 dharmasthīya: cf. Book 3. — kaṇṭakaśodhana: cf. Book 4. — samā-hartṛ: cf. 2.6 below. — samnidhāṭrnicayakarma: cf. 2.5 below. — bāhyā-bhyantaravihārarakṣāsu: Cnn rightly explains 'bāhyam udyānādi, ābhyantaram antahpurādi' understanding vihāra in the sense of vihārasthāna. The explanation of Cb Cs 'vihāra, objects of pleasure, i.e., women, and bāhya, i.e., mistresses (bhoginī) and ābhyantara, i.e., queens (devī)' is hardly acceptable. 15 sarvatrāśucīn: on the analogy of Manu 7.62, Meyer suggests that sarvatra śucīn should be read. That is hardly right, since it would place the councillors practically on the same footing as miners and factory workers. The Manusmṛti has evidently misunderstood the present passage.

16ff. From these stanzas it is clear that Kautilya does not agree with the

appropriate to them in accordance with their integrity;' thus have the (ancient) teachers laid down.

- 17 'However, under no circumstances must the king make himself or the queen the target for the sake of ascertaining the probity of ministers;' this is the opinion of Kautilya.
- 18 He should not effect the corruption of the uncorrupted as of water by poison; for, it may well happen that a cure may not be found for one corrupted.
- 19 And the mind, perverted by the fourfold secret tests, may not turn back without going to the end, remaining fixed in the will of spirited persons.
- 20 Therefore, the king should make an outsider the object of reference in the fourfold work (of testing) and (thus) investigate through secret agents the integrity or otherwise of ministers.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

SECTION 7 APPOINTMENT OF PERSONS IN SECRET SERVICE

- Creation of Establishments of Spies
- 1 With the body of ministers proved upright by means of secret tests, the (king) should appoint persons in secret service, (viz.), the sharp pupil, the apostate monk, the seeming householder, the seeming trader and the seeming ascetic, as well as the secret agent, the bravo, the poison-giver and the begging nun.
- 2 A pupil, knowing the secrets of others, (and) bold, is the sharp pupil. 3 Encouraging him with money and honour, the minister

traditional view regarding the tests in its entirety. 17 Kauțilyadarśanam: darśana here is no philosophical or other 'system,' only 'opinion, view.' 19 nāgatvāntar (m p) is clearly faulty. — dhṛti is 'firm will 'rather than 'intellect.' 20 adhisthanam: Cnn suggests that a traitorous officer should be substituted for the king and the wife of such an officer in place of the queen for purposes of the tests. - It is not easy to see how the tests can retain their efficacy in such a case. — kārye: M reads carye and Cs explains 'for the employment of a test.' karye, however, seems better.

1.11

- 1 śuddhāmātyavargah: this is a Bahuvrīhi, describing the king, and not a Karmadhāraya, as Meyer thinks. A group of ministers could hardly be concerned with the appointment of spies.
- 2 kāpaṭikaḥ: derived from kapaṭa 'deceit,' (kapaṭena carati iti-Cj Cnn). -- chātrah 'a pupil' or 'an apprentice.' Cb explains 'who has only his own person to care for (śarīramātraparicchadah).' Cnn has 'kapālikāmātraparicchadah' implying the idea of a beggar. It is not unlikely that the word is derived from chad 'to conceal, to cover' and implies the idea of one concealing his movements, intentions etc. — 3 mantrī: it is the samāhartr, who may have been meant.

should say, 'Regarding the king and me as your authority, report to us at once any evil of any person which you may notice.'

- 4 One, who has relinquished the life of a wandering monk, (and) is endowed with intelligence and honesty, is the apostate monk. 5 Equipped with plenty of money and assistants, he should get work done in a place assigned (to him), for the practice of some occupation. 6 And from the profits of (this) work, he should provide all wandering monks with food, clothing and residence. 7 And to those (among them), who seek a (permanent) livelihood, he should secretly propose, 'In this very garb, you should work in the interest of the king and present yourself here at the time of meals and payment.' 8 And all wandering monks should make similar secret proposals to (monks in) their respective orders.
- 9 A farmer, the means of whose livelihood are depleted, (and) who is endowed with intelligence and honesty, is the seeming householder. 10 In a place assigned (to him) for agricultural work, he should etc. exactly as before.
- 11 A trader, the means of whose livelihood are depleted, (and) who is endowed with intelligence and honesty, is the seeming trader.

 12 In a place assigned (to him) for his trade, he should etc. exactly as before.
- 13 A hermit with shaven head or with matted hair, who seeks a (permanent) livelihood, is the seeming ascetic. 14 (Living) in the vicinity of a city with plenty of disciples with shaven heads or with matted hair, he should eat, openly a vegetable or a handful of barley at intervals of a month or two, secretly, (however), meals as desired. 15 And assistants of traders (who are secret agents) should adore him

In the case of grhapatikavyañjana and others, the samāhartṛ is in charge, as is shown by 2.35.8-13. — pratyādiśa 'report, intimate,' a rather unusual sense.

- 4 pravrajyāpratyavasitaḥ, i.e., one who wants to give up the monk's life and return to the householder's life. 5 vārttākarma-: according to Meyer, vārttā is here the profession of spying, karma is the work of spying and phala the remuneration for this work. This is hardly likely. vārttā in the usual sense is quite all right.— antevāsin is used in the sense of an assistant in general, not merely an apprentice. 6 karmaphalāt, i.e., from the income derived from agriculture or trade or cattle-rearing. 7 vṛttikāmān: those who are anxious to find a secure livelihood and not depend on a life of mendicancy.— elenaiva veṣena, i.e., the peculiar outward garb of the particular ascetic sect is not to be given up. 8 svam svam vargam: the different orders of wandering monks are to be under a member of the same order.
- 10 samānam pūrveņa, i.e., other indigent farmers are to accept secret service under him.
- 18 mundajatila-: Cnn has 'munda such as Śākya, Ājīvaka and others, jatila such as Pāśupata and others.' 14 yavasamustim & GM is obviously corrupt; 'grass' could not have been intended. 15 vaikehakāntevāsinah: these are assistants of the trader-spy. samiddhayogair 'practices which are intended to

with occult practices for becoming prosperous. 16 And his disciples should announce, 'That holy man is able to secure prosperity (for any one).' 17 And to those who have approached him with hopes of (securing) prosperity, he should specify events happening in their family, which are ascertained by means of the science of (interpreting the touch of) the body and with the help of signs made by his disciples, (events) such as a small gain, burning by fire, danger from thieves, the killing of a traitorous person, a gift of gratification, news about happenings in a foreign land, saying, 'this will happen today or tomorrow,' or 'the king will do this.' 18 Secret servants and agents should cause that (prophecy) of his to be fulfilled. 19 To those (among the visitors) who are richly endowed with spirit, intelligence and eloquence, he should predict good fortune at the hands of the king and speak of (their imminent) association with the minister. 20 And the minister should arrange for their livelihood and work.

secure prosperity.' (Cb paraphrases by 'pūrnamanorathayoga'). Meyer suggests that samiddha is a Prakritism for samrddha; that seems likely in view of samedhā and sāmedhika presently used in the same sense, the root edh being synonymous with rdh, not with idh. - 16 asau siddhah sāmedhikah: Cb Cs Meyer regard siddhah also as predicate. It is better to understand sāmedhikah alone as the predicate. sāmedhika is 'one who grants prosperity.' — 17 samedhāśāsti 'hope or expectation of prosperity.' - angavidyā: according to Cnn, it is the science by which one touches the body of the person putting the question and finds the answer to it in that touch (yayā prastuh prasnasamaye angasparsam dṛṣṭvā ādeśaḥ kriyate). Cf. 1.12.1. — abhijanepsitāni of D is not likely, as agnidāha, corabhaya can hardly be regarded as ipsita 'desired.' avasita in the reading adopted means 'what has happened,' implying also the idea of 'what is going to happen.' - ādiśet with the implied sense of 'to foretell' is preferable to pratyādiśet of D. — tuṣṭidānam 'a gift in consequence of gratification' is preferable to tuṣṭadānam, though the latter can mean 'a gift to one who is contented (with the ruler).' — idam vā rājā etc.: G_2 M do not read $v\bar{a}$; but it is necessary to show the option between the two kinds of prophecies. Cb seems to have read a single prophecy—idam adya śvo vā rājā karişyati. For alpalābha, agnidāha and corabhaya, however, idam bhavişyati seems necessary. 18 gūdhāḥ sattriņas ca: gūdha would refer to agents other than sattrin. D omits ca; in that case $g\bar{u}dha$ merely emphasizes the secret character of the sattrin. 19 vākyaśakti- ' speech and power ' (Cb); rather ' power of speech, i.e., eloquence '; cf. 1.14.9 below. — rājabhāgyam is from Cb Cj. D has rājyabhāgyam, the others rājabhāvyam. bhāgya is distinctly preferable to the colourless bhāvya ' what is going to happen, future.' What is meant is 'good fortune at the hands of the king (asya rājñah sakāśāt tava bhāgyam lakṣmīr bhaviṣyati—Cnn).' Cj seems to have some kind of honour in mind (pattasambandhādi). D's rājya- does not yield a very happy sense. — Meyer would interchange ss. 19 and 20, making mantri the subject for anuvyāharet. There is no doubt, however, that tāpasah is to be understood as the subject for this verb; with mantrisamyogam also as the object in the same s., $mantr\bar{\imath}$ cannot possibly be the subject. And $sattvapraj\bar{n}\bar{a}$ - etc. describes visitors to the tāpasa, not the spies as Meyer thinks. brūyāt isn't quite necessary. G M do not show it. 20 eṣām refers to sattvaprajñā- etc.; they are to be given employment in state service, may be in secret service. - viyateta 'should arrange for'; cf. 1.17.25.

- 21 And he should pacify with money and honour those who are resentful for good reason, those resentful without reason, by silent punishment, also those who do what is inimical to the king.
 - 22 And favoured by the king with money and honour, they should ascertain the integrity of the king's servants. Thus these five establishments (of spies) have been described.

CHAPTER TWELVE

SECTION 7 (Continued)

(ii) Appointment of Roving Spies

SECTION 8 RULES FOR SECRET SERVANTS

- I And those who are without relations and have to be necessarily maintained, when they study the (science of the interpretation of) marks, the science of (the touch of) the body, the science of magic, that pertaining to (the creation of) illusions, the duties of the āśramas,
- 21 ye ca etc.: this clearly refers to $k\bar{a}patika$ and other agents described in this chapter. That is shown by the next s. $r\bar{a}j\tilde{n}ah$ $k\bar{a}ranakruddh\bar{a}h$ is found in D; $k\bar{a}ranakruddh\bar{a}h$ in it goes better with $ak\bar{a}ranakruddh\bar{a}n$ that follows. $t\bar{u}sn\bar{v}mdandena$, i.e., by assassination, poisoning, etc.
- 22 samsthāh are so called because they are stationed in one place (samyag ekasmin sthāne sthitāh—Cnn).

1.12

pranidhi seems to mean 'what is laid down, what is prescribed, duties, rules for conduct, etc.' Cf. rājapranidhiḥ 1.19, niśāntapranidhiḥ 1.20. It can also mean in some cases 'employment, appointment.'

1 ye cāpyasambandhino'vasyabhartavyāḥ: we have to understand ca api asambandhinah, the last word meaning 'without relatives, orphans'; these are to be maintained by the state as we read in 2.1.26 (anāthāms ca rājā bibhṛyāt). Cb Cj read ye cāsya etc. and explain 'the relatives of the king who have necessarily to be maintained by him.' It is doubtful if spies were to be recruited only from the ranks of the king's relations. Cj mentions the former reading, but explains āpya by 'related'; that is little likely, when sambandhinah is there. Cnn explains 'apyanam mantripurohitopādhyāyādīnām sambandhinah, relations of ministers, chaplain etc.' These could hardly be referred to as avasyabhartavyāh for the king. — lakṣaṇam, i.e., the science of interpretation of the marks on the body. — angavidyā: see 1.11.17 above. — jambhakavidyā is the 'magical lore by which one brings others under control, becomes invisible and so on '(Cb). - antaracakram is, according to Cb Cs, the science of the omens of birds, according to Cj, the cries of jackals and other animals. According to Meyer, it may indicate the magic circle of Tantric or other mystic sciences. In the Brhatsamhitā, ch. 87, antaracakra, refers to the interpretation of omens from the dikeakra which is divided into 32 parts in a building. sattrin is apparently derived from sattra frequently used in the sense of 'an ambush' from sad ' to sit in ambush or to lie in wait unseen '; cf. 7.17.56; 10.2.15; 8.5.11 etc.

(the science of) omens, the 'wheel with the spaces' and so on, are the secret agents; or, (when they study) the art of association (with men).

- 2 Those in the land who are brave, have given up all (thought of) personal safety (and) would fight, for the sake of money, an elephant or a wild animal, are the bravoes.
- 3 Those who are without affection for their kinsmen and are cruel and indolent are the poison-givers.
- 4 A wandering nun, seeking a (secure) livelihood, poor, widowed, bold, Brahmin (by caste) and treated with honour in the palace, should (frequently) go to the houses of high officers. 5 By her (office) are explained (similar offices for) the shaven nuns of heretical sects.

These are the roving spies.

6 The king should employ these with a credible disguise as regards country, dress, profession, language and birth, to spy, in conformity with their loyalty and capability, on the councillor, the chaplain, the commander-in-chief, the crown-prince, the chief palace usher, the chief of the palace guards, the director, the administrator, the director of stores, the magistrate, the commandant, the city-judge, the director of

The sattrin's work is akin to an ambuscade without the element of an actual attack. Cnn explains '(sat) vidyamānam api trāyati gopāyati iti sattram chadma, tad vidyate yeṣām te'. — samsargavidyā 'the art of association,' i.e., the science of love and allied arts, such as singing, dancing etc. (Cb). So Cnn 'samsrjyante janā yasyām sā samsargavidyā gītanṛtyādikā.'

2 D adds puruṣam agnyādikam vā after vyālam vā; the words do not appear to be original. — The point of janapade, according to Cb, is that people from the countryside tend to be so foolhardy.

4 vidhavā: Cj states that some read avidhavā and explain it by pumskāmā 'longing for a man.' That is not at all likely. — Brāhmaṇī: apparently women of the Brāhmaṇa varṇa alone could become parivrājikās. — abhigachet from D is necessary for sense. — 5 muṇḍā vṛṣalyaḥ: Cb Cs explain 'Buddhist nuns and Sudra females'; the 'and' seems hardly justified. Meyer too has 'shaven nuns and dissolute women' which accords with Cj as to the explanation of vṛṣalī, 'parityaktacāritradharmā'. Cnn's explanation of vṛṣalī, 'veṣyāmātaro devatālingadhāriṇyaḥ, old prostitutes showing themselves as devotees' is also doubtful. It seems that vṛṣala in this text refers to the follower of a heretical sect and muṇḍā describes the custom of shaving the head prevalent among nuns of such sects. — samcārāḥ: these are not settled in one place and do not belong to a samsthā. They also work in dividually. Cb adds that the samsthāḥ are appointed by the minister, the samcārāḥ by the king himself.

6 mantripurohita- etc.: we have here obviously a list of the 18 tīrthas referred to in s. 21 below. — praśāstṛ so high in the list can hardly be the same as the officer who looks after the camp and its supplies according to 10.1.17. Like the dauvārika and the āntarvanssika he seems to be a palace official in charge of its administration. — pauravyāvahārika: such an officer is not charge of its administration. — pauravyāvahārika: such an officer is not charge of elsewhere in the text except in the salary lists in 5.3. Perhaps mentioned elsewhere in the text except in the salary lists in 5.3. Perhaps he is the same as the nāgarika of 2.86. Cj understands the dharmastha of Book 3.

factories, the council of ministers, the superintendents, the chief of the army staff, the commandant of the fort, the commandant of the frontier-fort and the forest chieftain, in his own territory.

- 7 Bravoes, (serving as) bearers of umbrella, water-vessel, fan, shoes, seat, carriage and riding animal, should (spy on and) ascertain the out-of-door activity of those (officers). 8 Secret agents should communicate that (information) to the (spy-) establishments.
- 9 Poison-givers, serving as cooks, waiters, bath-attendants, shampooers, bed-preparers, barbers, valets and water-servers, those appearing as humpbacks, dwarfs, Kirātas, dumb, deaf, idiotic or blind persons, (and) actors, dancers, singers, musicians, professional story-tellers and minstrels as well as women should (spy on and) ascertain the indoor activity (of those officers). 10 Nuns should communicate that (information) to the (spy-) establishments.
- 11 Assistants of the establishments should carry out the transmission of spied out news by means of sign-alphabets. 12 And neither the establishments nor these (assistants) should know one another.
- 13 In case of prohibition of (entry into the house for) nuns, (secret agents) appearing at the door one after another (or) appearing as the mother or father (of servants in the house), or posing as female artists,
- kārmāntika 'the officer in charge of factories' is also mentioned again only in 5.3.7. mantripariṣad-adhyakṣa: this is usually understood as 'the president of the council of ministers.' However, such a president is unlikely, when the king is there to preside. Moreover, adhyakṣa in the sense of 'president' is doubtful for this text. Clearly, two categories, council of ministers (i.e., each of its members) and superintendents (i.e., heads of departments) are to be understood. -pāla is to be construed with each of danḍa-, durga- and anta-. Of these danḍapāla seems to be a sort of chief of staff. āṭavika 'the forest chieftain' is strictly not a tīrtha or high state officer. We get the number 18 by excluding him. bhaktitah: Cb Cs explain 'making him appear as the devotee of that god whose devotee the officer (spied on) happens to be.' The expression, however, seems to mean only 'in conformity with the devotion (of the spy) to the king.' sāmarthyayogāt: Meyer understands sāmarthya and yoga as two ideas. A single idea, however, appears better.
- 7 cāra lit. 'movement, activity' which is spied upon, hence, also 'information spied out.'
- 9 sūdārālika: according to Cb, sūda is the cook, ārālika is one who serves food.

 kuśīlava, though often used to include actors, dancers etc., seems here restricted to minstrels or rhapsodes.
- 11 samjñālipibhiḥ: 'a secret alphabet previously agreed upon' (Cb) is better than 'signals and writing' (Meyer).
- 13 dvāhsthaparamparā: this refers to spies disguised as acrobats, beggars, jugglers etc. who appear at the door at intervals and beg or do their acts. Spies in the house take advantage of their appearance to communicate information to them.— mātāpitṛvyanjanāh: these claim to be the parent of some servant in the house,

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singers or female slaves, should get the secret information that is spied out conveyed outside by means of songs, recitations, writings concealed in musical instruments or signs. 14 Or, a secret get-away (from the house should be made by the spies) by (taking advantage of a pretended) long illness or madness or by setting (something) on fire or administering poison (to some one).

15 When there is agreement in the reports of three (spies), credence (should be given). 16 In case of continuous mistakes on their part, 'silent' punishment is (the means of) their removal.

17 And spies mentioned in 'The Suppression of Criminals' should live with enemies receiving wages from them, in order to find out secret information, without associating with one another. 18 They are 'persons in the pay of both.'

19 And he should appoint 'persons in the pay of both,' after taking charge of their sons and wives. And he should know such agents when they are employed by the enemies. And (he should ascertain) their loyalty through (spies of) their type.

whom they wish to visit and from whom they get the secret information. — gīta-pāthya- etc.: it seems best to understand four items, viz., gīta, pāthya, vādya-bhānḍagūḍhalekhya and sanijñā. Apparently, the vā shows the option between these alternatives in the compound. 14 agnirasavisargena, i.e., setting something on fire or poisoning some one and then escaping in the commotion that would follow. Meyer, however, has 'by pretending a fire (in his own house) or a case of poisoning (at his place) or for evacuation of the body (visarga, i.e., clearing of the bowels).' This is hardly possible.

15 sampratyayah 'belief, credence.' 16 vinipāta 'falling away', i.e., bringing in false information. — pratisedha 'removal from office, dismissal from the job.' In the present case, it is brought about by death.

alternates between avasarpa and apasarpa, but has mostly the former. However, apasarpa is usual later. Cf. Raghuvamśa, 17.51 etc. — It is proposed to read asampātinaś cārārtham, 'not associating together, for the sake of spying out information secretly.' The idea is, the ubhayavetanas are to operate independently in the enemy's territory, each being unaware of the other ubhayavetanas though from the same country. sampāta, in this text, has the sense of 'coming together, crowding etc.'; cf. 4.6.2; 9.2.2; 2.25.3 etc. For asampātin cf. 2.36.21. Meyer proposes sampātinaś cārārtham 'going out there for the work of spying.' Most mss. read sampātaniścārārtham; it is possible that niścāra means 'sending out (spied out information from the enemy's territory)'; in that case, sampāta would have to mean 'information spied out,' which seems hardly possible. Cb renders sampāta by 'spy' and explains 'in order that his own spies may be able to work easily and the enemy spies may be unable to operate.' This is equally unsatisfactory.

19 gṛhītaputradārāms ca: i.e., the sons and wives of the ubhayavetanas are held as hostages. — ariprakitān, i.e., when ubhayavetanas are used by the enemies against him. — tadvidheiḥ: if the ubhayavetana is disguised as a kusīkava, the spy to watch over him should also appear as a kusīkava and so on.

- 20 Thus he should sow spies among the enemy, the ally, the middle king, the neutral king, as well as among the eighteen high officers of (each of) those (kings).
- 21 Humpbacks, dwarfs, eunuchs, women skilled in arts, dumb persons and different types of Mleccha races (should be employed as spies) living inside their houses.
- 22 In fortified towns traders (should constitute) the spyestablishments, on the outskirts of fortified towns ascetics, farmers and apostate monks in the country-side (and) herdsmen on the borders of the country.
- 23 In the forest should be placed forest-dwellers (such as) monks, foresters and others, a series of spies, quick in their work, in order to find out news of (the activity of) the enemy.
- 24 And such (spies) of the enemy should be found out, those of the different types by (his own spies) of the same types, (whether) roving spies or spy-establishments, secret servants not bearing the marks of a secret servant.
- 25 In order to discover espionage by enemies, he should station at the frontiers principal officers, who are non-seducible, but are shown to be impelled by motives for action that are associated with seducible parties.
- 21 -paṇḍakāḥ of most mss. means the same aş -ṣaṇḍakāḥ of Cb. citrāś ca mlecchajātayaḥ, such as Kirāta, Śabara etc.
 - 22 rāṣṭra is the same as janapada, distinguished from durga or pura.
- 23 It is to be noted that Śramaṇas, i.e., Buddhist or Jain monks (Cnn) are here included among vanacaras. Cj shows -jñānārtham (for -jñānārthāḥ). That seems also Medhātithi's reading on Manu, 7.154. That would appear a more usual expression.
- 24 gūdhāś cāgūdhasamjñitāh: in spite of the ca being placed after instead of before gūdhāh, the latter does not form a third category as Meyer thinks. agūdhasamjñita seems to mean 'who do not bear signs of being secret agents.' Medhātithi on Manu 7.154 reads gūdhasamjñitāh 'who are equipped with, i.e., make use of secret signs.'
- 25 The translation follows in the main the explanation in Cnn 'krodhalobha-bhayamānaiḥ kāraṇabhūtaiḥ pratirūpitān mantrisenāpatyādīn kṛtakakṛtyān kṛtvā mānādhikārabhraṣṭān rāṣṭrān nirvāsayet.' The idea is, some important officers about whose loyalty there is no doubt are stationed at the frontier; it is made out (darsita) that they have a motive (hetu) such as krodha, lobha etc. for turning traitor (kṛtyapakṣīya). The enemy's spies feel tempted to try to seduce these officers; if they do so, the enemy's intentions become known to these officers and through them to the king. Cb seems to agree though it does not show a clear explanation of some expressions. Meyer has 'whose loyalty is unshakably demonstrated (akṛtyān darsitān) through men of the seceders' party (kṛtyapakṣīyaiḥ) who approach them for work of their own (kāryahetubhiḥ).' In the foot-note, he prefers kṛtyapakṣīyaiḥ as

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

- SECTION 9 KEEPING A WATCH OVER THE SEDUCIBLE AND NON-SEDUCIBLE PARTIES IN ONE'S OWN TERRITORY
- 1 When he has set spies on the high officials, he should set spies on the citizens and the country people.
- 2 Secret agents, opposing one another, should carry on a disputation at holy places, in assemblies, in communal gatherings and (other) congregations of people. 3 (One of them should say,) 'This king is said to be endowed with all virtues and yet no virtue is to be seen in him, as he oppresses citizens and country people with fines and taxes.' 4 The other should contradict him as well as those who may commend his views there. 5 (He should say,) 'People, overwhelmed by the law of the fishes, made Manu, the son of Vivasvat, their king. 6 And they assigned one-sixth of the grains, one-tenth of the commodities and money as his share. 7 Maintained by that, kings bring about the well-being and security of the subjects. 8 Those who do not pay fines

an adjective to kāryahetubhih 'by those means of accomplishing an object which are useful in the case of kṛtyas, i.e., such means as test the likely seceders.' Cs explains 'such principal men as are difficult to win over (akṛtyān i.e. asādhyān) and may even be hostile, should be first enlightened with reasons which are sufficient to win over a person, i.e., they should be won over with reasoning and then stationed etc.' This is hardly satisfactory.

1.13

kṛtyas are defined in s. 22 below. — rakṣaṇam conveys the idea of being vigilant in the matter of these persons, protection of oneself from these persons, not protection of these persons.

2 dvandvinah 'contending among themselves (dvandvam vairam yeṣām te — Cj)' is more likely than 'moving in pairs' (Cb). — tīrthasabhā- etc.: -śālā- added after -sabhā- in G M does not appear to be original. Four things seem meant, tīrtha, sabhā, pūga and janasamavāya, as in Cnn Cs. pūga is a sort of guild or communal group (pūgāh śrenīganās tantuvāyādīnām—Cnn). janasamavāya refers to congregations of people for dramatic shows, festivals etc. (prekṣotsavādiṣu yatra janāh samavayanti-Cnn). Meyer construes samavāya with pūga as well as jana. — It is not possible to agree with K. P. Jayaswal (Hindu Polity, II, p. 84) that tīrthasabhāśālāsamavāya refers to the sectional sub-assembly of the Paura Assembly in charge of sacred places and public buildings, that pūgasamavāya is the sub-assembly in charge of trade and manufactures and that janasamavāya is the Popular Assembly. 3 ayam rājā etc.: according to Ghoshal (HPT, pp. 133-134 and n.) ayam rājā means 'this class of kings,' yah refers to gunah and pīdayati is causal, 'which makes him harass the subjects.' This is very doubtful. yah can easily refer to asya. 4 ye'nupraśamseyuh: these are possible kṛtyas. 5 Manum rājānam etc.: the Mahābhārata 12.67.20-32 narrates how Manu was induced to undertake the task of rulership. 6 This theory of an original contract between the subjects and the ruler is merely a device used by agents for securing the allegiance of subjects. 8 teṣām kilbiṣam etc.; the translation follows in the main Cnn

and taxes take on themselves the sins of those (kings), and (kings) who do not bring about well-being and security (take on themselves the sins) of the subjects. 9 Therefore, even forest-dwellers offer a sixth part of their gleaned grains, saying "This is the share for him who protects us." 10 This is the office of Indra and Yama, viz., (that of) the kings, whose wrath and favour are visibly manifest. 11 Even divine punishment strikes those who slight them. 12 Therefore, kings must not be slighted.' 13 Thus he should restrain the common people. 14 And they should also find out rumours (spreading among the subjects).

15 And spies appearing as ascetics with shaven heads or with matted hair should ascertain the contentedness or discontentedness of those, who live on his grains, cattle or money, who help him with these in calamity or prosperity, who restrain a rebellious kinsman or region, (or) who repel an enemy or a forest chieftain. 16 He should favour those who are contented, with additional wealth and honour. 17 He should propitiate with gifts and conciliation those who are discontented, in order to make them contented. 18 Or, he should divide them from each other as well as from neighbouring princes, forest-chieftains, pretenders from his family and princes in disfavour. 19 If they are even then discontented, he should make them incur the odium of the country by (appointing them to) the office of collecting

which explains 'subjects not paying fines and taxes (adandakarāh prajāh) take on themselves the sins of the kings, and kings not securing the subjects' welfare take on themselves the sins of the subjects.' It would have been better if we had prajāh after adandakarāh and rājānah after -kṣemāvahāś ca. Cj, reading adandadharo harati, seems to explain, 'a king who fails to wield the danda takes on himself the sins of those kings who do it, and kings failing to secure yogaksema take on themselves the subjects' sins.' If the s. were looked upon as containing a single clause, we may understand 'kings who do not take fines and taxes take on themselves the sins of those other dutiful kings, and they also fail to secure the welfare of the subjects.' Meyer suggests tāsām for tesām 'kings who do not receive fines or taxes and are therefore unable to secure welfare take on themselves the sins of those subjects.' Cs reads dandakarāh and yoga- (for ayoga-) 'punishments and taxes imposed by those kings (tesām dandakarāh) remove distress (kilbiṣa evil) from the people and secure their welfare.' This seems very unlikely. 11 daivo dandah, i.e., some divine calamity. 13 ksudrakān 'the common people, the masses' as distinguished from pradhānāh described in s. 15. - pratisedhayet, i.e., controvert their views and dissuade them from entertaining seditious thoughts.

15 ājīvanti' live on,'i.e., receive as wages or salary. — kupita' rebellious' from a root commonly used in this sense in this text. — vyāvartayanti 'turn back,' i.e., dissuade them from taking any rash steps. — pratiṣedhayanti 'repel,' may be, even by fighting. 17 tyāga is the same as dāna. 19 daṇḍakarasādhana-' securing or recovering of fines and taxes.' daṇḍasādhana does, not seem to mean 'raising an army.' The vā read in GM after -dhikāreṇa is not necessary and D omits it. We need not suppose, as Meyer does, that some word before vā has dropped out.

fines and taxes. 20 When they have incurred the odium, he should bring about their end by 'silent' punishment or by an insurrection in the country. 21 Or, he should post them in mines or factories, after taking their sons and wives under his protection, for fear that they might be the object of designs by enemies.

- Those, however, who are enraged or greedy or frightened or proud, are likely to be seduced by enemies. 23 Spies appearing as fortune-tellers, soothsayers and astrologers should ascertain their mutual relations as well as their contacts with enemies or forest chieftains. 24 He should favour those, who are contented, with wealth and honour. 25 He should manage those who are discontented by means of conciliation, gifts, dissension or force.
 - 26 In this way, the wise (king) should guard from the secret instigations of enemies those likely to be seduced and those not likely to be seduced in his own territory, whether prominent persons or common people.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

SECTION 10 WINNING OVER THE SEDUCIBLE AND NON-SEDUCIBLE PARTIES IN THE ENEMY'S TERRITORY

- 1 The winning over of the seducible and non-seducible parties in one's own territory has been explained; that in the enemy's territory is to be described.
- 2 One who is cheated after being promised certain things, of two persons equally skilled in some art or useful service the one who is humiliated, one who is in disfavour because of a favourite (of the king), one who is defeated after being challenged (to a contest), one who is distressed by banishment, one who has not achieved his object after
- vā, if read, can show the option between dandasādhana and karasādhana. 20 sādhayet 'should manage, secure,' i.e., get rid of him.
- 22 According to Cb Cs the 9th prakaraṇa really begins only with this s., the earlier ss. forming part of the 8th. Even those ss., however, also refer to possible kṛṭyas and akṛṭyas. -māninaḥ from D is supported by 1.14.5 below.
- 1.14
 upagraha is 'winning over to one's side, seducing.' 'upagrahaḥ anukūlanam'
 —Medinī.
- 2 tulyakārinoh: 'of two persons who can do a thing equally efficiently.' Cj reads tulyakārinah which may be understood as ablative, 'one humiliated as compared with his equal.' D reads tattulyakārinah which may be similarly understood. vallabhāvaruddhah: following D, -paruddhah should rather be read; for, the idea is 'one in disfavour because of some favourite of the king,' hardly 'put in restraint by a favourite of the king.' pravāsa- 'banishment,' rather than 'constant journeying on the king's account.' kulyaih seems to refer to the

incurring expenditure, one who is hindered from doing his duty or receiving his inheritance, one deprived of honour or office, one held back by members of the family, one whose womenfolk are molested by force, one who is put in prison, one who is fined after losing his suit (in court), one prevented from indulging in wrong conduct, one whose entire property is confiscated, one tormented in confinement, one whose kinsmen are exiled (or, killed), — this is the group of the enraged.

3 One who has himself thwarted (some one), one who has committed a serious wrong, one who has become known for a sinful act, one frightened by punishment meted out to another with a like offence, one who has seized (some one's) land, one who is subdued by force, one in any (state) department who has suddenly amassed wealth, one hoping for a pretender from the (king's) family (coming to the throne), one disliked by the king, and one who entertains hostility towards the king, — this is the group of the frightened.

king's kinsmen rather than to his own. — kārābhinyastaḥ 'put in prison' (Cb), though, as Meyer points out, kārā 'prison' is not found elsewhere in the text and bandhanapariklistaḥ appears to render this expression superfluous. Cj explains 'one who is urged to recover fines quickly (kāro dandaḥ, tatra abhinivesena tvayedam āsūpaneyem iti niyukteḥ),' which is hardly convincing. Meyer would read kārābhiyastaḥ or karābhiyastaḥ 'over-oppressed by taxes'; karābhitrastaḥ might be better in this sense. — paroktadanditaḥ: 3.1.19-20 show parokta in the sense of the person who has lost his suit and is fined in consequence. Therefore, 'who is fined without proper consideration on the testimony of another' (Cb Cj) does not seem to be right. — mithyācāravāritaḥ: Cb Cs explain 'who has been wrongly (mithyā) prevented from some practice such as the performance of the Agnistoma sacrifice.' This case seems to be covered by svadharmād uparuddhaḥ. 'Prevented from indulging in some wrong conduct' is better. — pravāsita- may be 'exiled' or 'executed.' Cnn has 'yamapuram presitabāndhavaḥ.'

3 svayam upahatah viprakrtah: both participles appear used in the active sense ' who has hindered or thwarted (some highly placed individual), and who has committed some serious wrong (to such an individual).' If understood as 'who is thwarted ' and ' who is wronged,' that would hardly suit. The consequence would be anger, rather than fear. Cnn explains upahata 'who has failed to carry out the task after spending a lot of money and troops (kośam dandam ca vināśya akrtakāryo), i.e., frustrated by his own actions' and viprakita 'who has done an act of treason like black magic etc. (viruddham prakarşena krtam rājadviṣṭam abhicārādi).' Cj seems to have a similar explanation. - paryāttabhūmih 'whose lands are taken away from him' (Cb Meyer) is hardly likely to be afraid; 'who has seized the land of another' (Cs) would appear better. Cj thinks of king's land being seized by him. dandenopanatah: usually this refers to a prince who has surrendered with his troops; cf. 7.15 below. As state officers are primarily thought of, 'subdued by force 'is clearly meant. 'Impoverished by fines' (Cs) is hardly likely. - tatkulinopāśamsuh: Cb explains ' who has sought shelter with or is dependent on a pretender to the throne.' Cj, reading tatkulīno vāśamsuk, explains 'a member of the king's family who is eagerly looking forward to becoming the king.' The reading with vā does not appear very likely.

- 4 One who is impoverished, one whose property is taken by another, a miser, one in a calamity (or, indulging in a vice) and one indulging in rash transactions, this is the group of the greedy.
- 5 One who is filled with self-conceit, one desirous of honour, one resentful of the honour done to his enemy, one placed in a low position, one fiery in temper, one given to violence, and one dissatisfied with his emoluments, this is the group of the proud.
- 6 Among them, he should cause instigation through spies appearing as holy men with shaven heads or matted hair, of each person of the seducible party by that (spy) to whom he may be devoted.
- 7 'Just as an elephant, blinded by intoxication and mounted by an intoxicated driver, crushes whatever it finds (on the way), so this king, not possessed of the eye of science, and (hence) blind, has risen to destroy the citizens and the country people; it is possible to do harm to him by inciting a rival elephant against him; show (your) resentment; '— in this way he should cause the group of the enraged to be instigated.
- 8 'Just as a serpent, lying in hiding, emits poison at the place from which it expects danger, so this king, having become apprehensive of harm (from you), will ere long emit the poison of anger at you; go elsewhere; '— in this way he should cause the group of the frightened to be instigated.
- 4 anyāttasvah from D appears preferable to atyāttasvah 'whose property has been taken away by way of taxes or fines' (Cs) or 'who has taken to himself excessive property' (Meyer). atyāhitavyavahārah: the rashness of the undertaking apparently involves a financial loss or expectation of great gain.
- 5 nīcair upahitaḥ 'one who is placed in a low position (nīcaiḥ as adverbial)' appears better than 'placed along with low persons (either in rank or for some work)' (Cs Meyer) or 'involved in the same matter along with low persons' (Cb). bhogena, i.e., with what he receives in return for service rendered.
- 6 yo yadbhaktis tam tena: the idea is that the instigation is to be made by that spy (tena) disguised as a holy man, to whom the kṛtya may be devoted. Thus Cj. It is possible to refer yad and tena to krodha, bhaya etc. to which the kṛtya may be attached (yadbhaktiḥ); but this is less likely. Meyer proposes yadabhaktiḥ tena 'through that (krodha etc.) by which he has become disaffected (abhaktiḥ) towards his master.' This is hardly satisfactory. Cb has 'by the offer of whatever he may be desirous of.' What follows does not contain any reference to the desires of the kṛtya.
- 7 After andho rājā, Cb Cs add andhena mantriņā'dhisthitaḥ. Though it corresponds to mattena adhisthitaḥ in the upamāna, it isn't necessary. In fact, it may well have been a marginal gloss. Cf. Śamkarārya on Kāmandaka, 18.39. amarṣaḥ: the resentment is apparently to be shown by going over to the enemy.
- 8 purā utsrjati: as usual the sense of the immediate future is to be understood.

 Meyer has 'before he emits,' you should go.' Though possible, this doesn't appear intended.

- 9 'Just as the cow of the hunters is milked for hounds, not for Brahmins, so this king is milked for those devoid of spirit, intelligence and eloquence, not for those endowed with qualities of the self; that (other) king knows (how to appreciate) persons of distinction; go to him; '— in this way he should cause the group of the greedy to be instigated.
- - 11 When they have agreed with the words 'So (we shall do)' and have become allied (to him) by the making of terms, he should employ them according to their capacity in his own works, with spies (to watch over them).
 - 12 And he should win over the seducible in the enemy's territories by means of conciliation and gifts and those not seducible by means of dissension and force, pointing out (to them) the defects of the enemy.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

SECTION 11 THE TOPIC OF COUNSEL

- 1 When he has secured the allegiance of his own party and the party of the enemy, he should think of the undertaking of works.
- 2 All undertakings should be preceded by consultation. 3 The place for that should be seeluded, not allowing talks to be heard outside, incapable of being peeped in even by birds. 4 For, it is known that deliberations are divulged by parrots and starlings, even by dogs and other animals. 5 Therefore, an unauthorised person must not
- 9 duhyate is as in D Cj. dugdhe is equally good. $-v\bar{a}kya\hat{s}akti$ cf. 1.11.19 above. 14 $asau\,r\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ is the king on whose behalf the secret agent is working. In the reading $sevyat\bar{a}m$ of G_1M (for $tatra\,gamyat\bar{a}m$), a sa would appear to be necessary before it; Cj seems to have read it.
- 10 This clearly implies the existence of separate arrangements for water for the untouchables.
- 11 samhitān paṇakarmaṇā: a treaty (samdhi) with terms (paṇa) laid down is meant.

1.15

3 kathānām aniḥśrāvī is from D, also implied in Cb. That is better than anisrāvī (aniḥṣrāvī necessary as in Cs) 'not allowing (talk) to now out.' Cj, with avisrāvī, has 'free from echoes.' 4 śukasārikābhir: Jolly-Schmidt refer to the Harṣacarita p. 268 (BSS edition) for illustrations. 5 Cj reads ayukto for anāyukto.

approach the place of counsel. 6 One who divulges secret counsel should be extirpated.

7 Secret counsel is indeed betrayed by the gestures and the expressions of the envoy, the minister and the monarch. 8 Gesture is behaviour other than normal. 9 The putting on of an expression (on the face) is expression. 10 Concealment of that (and) vigilance over officers appointed (should be maintained) till the time of (completion of) the undertaking. 11 For, their prattle through negligence or in intoxication or during sleep, their immoderation such as amorousness and the like, or, a person concealed or despised, betrays secret counsel. 12 Therefore, he should guard counsel.

13 'The divulgence of secret counsel is fatal to the security and well-being of the king and the officers appointed by him. 14 Therefore, he should deliberate alone over a confidential matter,' says Bhāradvāja. 15 'For, even councillors have (other) councillors, and these have others still. 16 Thus this series of councillors leads to the divulgence of secret counsel.

17 'Therefore, others should not know about any work sought to be done by him. Only those who undertake it should know (about it) when it is begun or even when it is actually completed.'

18 'There is no attainment of deliberation by a single person,' says Viśālākṣa. 19 'For, the affairs of a king are (three-fold,) directly perceived, unperceived and inferred. 20 Coming to know what is not known, definite strengthening of what has become known, removal of doubt in case of two possible alternatives in a matter, finding out the rest in a matter that is partly known, — this can be

8 ingita derived from ing 'to move,' refers to movements or gestures indicative of the thoughts of a person. — ākṛtigrahaṇam 'putting on an expression other than natural, such as paleness of the face, etc.' (Cb). 10 A ca would seem necessary after -rakṣaṇam. — iti has no significance; a verb like kuryāt or kārayet would have been better. 11 -pralāpāḥ is from D. Since kāma etc. constitutes utseka as shown by 9.7.1 and pramāda etc. are unconnected with it, this reading is clearly necessary. Perhaps pralāpaḥ in the sing, which seems to be the reading of Cj, would be better, in view of the verb bhinatti. — utsekaḥ 'immoderation, excess 'rather than 'haughtiness' (Cs) or 'self-forgetfulness' (Meyer).

13 D's hyayoga- is supported by Cb. — ayogakşemakaro rājāaḥ: Cnn gives the illustration of Rāmagupta betrayed by Dhruvadevī (yathā Dhruvadevyā kṛto Rāmaguptaśarīrasya). 17 D has a slightly different form of the first line, which is Round in s. 60. — An iti at the end of the stanza would be better to mark the end of the quotation from Bhāradvāja's work. That this is a quotation can hardly be doubted.

19 Cf. 1.9.4 above. It is possible that even there the s. is derived from Viśalākṣa's work, 20 niścitabalādhānam: Jolly-Schmidt have adopted niścayo achieved (only) with the help of ministers. 21 Therefore, he should sit in counsel with those who are mature in intellect.

- 22 'He should despise none, (but) should listen to the opinion of every one. A wise man should make use of the sensible words of even a child.'
- 23 'This is ascertainment of counsel, not guarding of counsel,' say the followers of Parāśara. 24 'He should ask the councillors concerning a matter exactly similar to the undertaking he has in mind, "this work was like this, or, if it were to happen like this, how then should it be done?" 25 As they might advise, so should he do that (work). 26 In this way is counsel ascertained and secrecy maintained at the same time.'
- 27 'No,' says Piśuna. 28 'For, councillors, questioned about a remote affair, whether it has taken place or not, give their opinion with indifference or disclose it. 29 That is a defect. 30 Therefore, he should deliberate with those who are approved for the particular undertakings. 31 Holding counsel with these (only), he achieves success in consultation as well as its secrecy.'
- 32 'No,' says Kautilya. 33 For, this is a condition without fixity. 34 He should hold consultations with three or four councillors. 35 For, holding a consultation with one (only), he may not (be able to) reach a decision in difficult matters. 36 And a single councillor behaves as he pleases without restraint. 37 Holding consultations with two, he is controlled by the two if united and ruined by them if at war (with each other). 38 With three or four, that becomes possible (only) with difficulty. 39 However, if it does become possible, it

niścitasya balādhānam from Somadeva's Nītivākyāmṛta, where the passage is quoted.

22 After this, too, an iti seems necessary.

- 23 Pārāśarāḥ: see 1.8.7 above. 24 pratirūpakam 'an exact counterpart.'
- 28 vyavahitam 'distant,' i.e., not the matter which the king has in view at the time. 30 abhipretāḥ 'approved,' i.e., considered by the king as experts in the particular matter. 31 mantrasiddhim of D is distinctly better than -buddhim (in the sense of upalabdhim) or -vṛddhim. Cf. s. 18 above.
- 38 anavasthā: because every time the king would be consulting new men and there would be no stable group of councillors to advise the king. 38 tat triṣu caturṣu vā: this reading of D is found in Cj and supported by tatriṣu of M; the omission of naikāntam (after vā) is supported by Cb. tat refers to the possibility of avagraha or vināśa which is there, when there are two ministers. Cnn includes the possibility of mantraniścayānadhigama and yatheṣṭācaraṇa also which is there when there is a single minister. 39 mahādoṣam etc.: the idea seems to be: if, however, the possibility of avagraha etc. does arise, it would spell disaster. It is not unlikely that this s. is a marginal gloss that has got into the text. Cj seems to explain that in which there is the great disadvantage (doṣa) of absence of security (ayoga-kṣema), is thus counteracted (upapanna i.e. prativihita). Without tat and with the

involves great danger. 40 With more (councillors) than that, it is with difficulty that decisions on matters are reached or counsel guarded. 41 However, in conformity with the place, time and work to be done, he should deliberate with one or two, or alone by himself, according to (their and his own) competence.

- 42 The means of starting undertakings, the excellence of men and materials, (suitable) apportionment of place and time, provision against failure (and) accomplishment of the work this is deliberation in its five aspects.
- 43 He should ask them individually as well as jointly. 44 And he should ascertain their different opinions along with (their) reasons (for holding them). 45 Having found a matter (for deliberation) he should not allow time to pass. 46 He should not deliberate for a long time, nor with the partisans of those to whom he would (like to) do harm.
- 47 'He should appoint a council consisting of twelve ministers,' say the followers of Manu. 48 'Sixteen,' say the followers of Brhaspati. 49 'Twenty,' say the followers of Uśanas. 50 'According to capacity,' says Kauṭilya.

addition of naikāntam in s. 38 Meyer explains the two ss. 'absence of conclusion or uncertainty (naikāntam) is reached (upapadyate) with difficulty. When it is reached, however, it becomes highly dangerous.' Es includes mahādoṣam in s. 38 and explains 'a thing resulting in a great calamity (mahādoṣam as subject) such as avagraha etc. does not necessarily follow (na ekāntam upapadyate); if at all it follows, it does so with difficulty. (The matter under consideration cintyamānam kāryam) becomes properly dealt with (upapannam bhavati).' This explanation is very doubtful. — yathāsāmarthyam, i.e., according to his own and the councillors' capability. Cnn remarks that capability implies proficiency in politics, brilliant intellect and skill in practical affairs 'mantre sāmarthyam śāstracakṣuṣmattā niratiśayā prajāā lokavyavahārakauśalam ca.'

44 matipravivekān: distinctions of opinion, i.e., individual opinions. The reading of Jolly-Schmidt is derived from a commentary on Kāmandaka's Nītisāra and is in no way preferable. — hetu 'the motive' which apparently led the councillor to hold the opinion offered by him. 45 avāptārthah: this may mean 'when there is a matter on which the holding of a consultation is necessary 'or 'when he has come to a decision after consultation.' The former is slightly better, since he has come to a decision after consultation stage. 46 There can be no doubt that na the next s. still refers to the consultation stage. 46 There can be no doubt that na teṣām pakṣīyair of D is the original reading. parakṣyer in M₁ is a scribal error for teṣām pakṣīyair of D is the original reading. The idea is, the king should not hold pakṣyair which means the same as pakṣīyair. The idea is, the king should not hold pakṣyair which means the same as pakṣīyair. The idea is, the king should not hold pakṣyair which means the same as pakṣīyair. The idea is, the king should not hold pakṣyair which means the same as pakṣīyair. The idea is, the king should not hold pakṣyair which means the same as pakṣīyair. The idea is, the king should not hold pakṣyair which means the same as pakṣīyair. The idea is, the king should not hold pakṣyair which means the same as pakṣīyair.

47 The opinion here attributed to the Mānavas is not found in the Manusmṛti (cf. 7.54). 49 Cb has akavimśatim for vimśatim. 50 yathāsāmarthyam: the sāmarthya may refer to the capacity of the ministers or the strength of the kingdom.

- 51 They should think over the (king's) own party and the enemy's party. 52 And (they) should bring about the commencement of what is not done, the carrying out of what is commenced, the improvement of what has been carried out and the excellence of (the execution of) orders, in the case of works.
- 53 He should look into the affairs with those who are present.
 54 With those who are not present he should hold consultations by sending out letters.
- 55 Indra indeed has a council of ministers consisting of a thousand sages. 56 He has that as his eye. 57 Therefore, they call him 'the thousand-eyed one,' though he is two-eyed.
- 58 In an urgent matter, he should call together the councillors as well as the council of ministers and ask them. 59 What the majority among them declare or what is conducive to the success of the work, that he should do.
 - 60 And while he is doing that,

the enemies should not come to know of his secret; he should, however, find out the weaknesses of the enemy. He should conceal, as a tortoise does his limbs, any (limb) of his own that may have become exposed.

61 Just as a person not learned in the Veda does not deserve to eat the Śrāddha-meal of good persons, so a (king) who has not learnt the teachings of the science (of politics) is unfit to listen to counsel.

60 yat may refer to chidra or anga; either yields a good sense, though the latter appears slightly better. — Cf. Manu, 7.105.

⁵² akrtārambham etc.: these functions of the mantriparisad, as distinguished from those of the mantrins in s. 42 above, suggest that the parisad is a body of executive officers, though consultation with it is also recommended (ss. 54, 58-59). The mantriparisad can hardly be regarded as a cabinet. — niyogasampadam refers to the excellence of the way in which commands or instructions have been carried out.

⁵⁹ brūyuh after bhūyiṣṭhāḥ as in D is better than after vā; cf. 1.16.28 below.

— Phis s. shows that the majority opinion is not intended to be followed as a rule.

Cf. Kāmandaka, 12.40; dhṛte'pi mantre mantrajñaiḥ svayam bhūyo vicārayet.

⁶¹ After this stanza D has two stanzas quoted as From Brhaspati. They are clearly not original and seem to be marginal notes that have got into the text,

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

SECTION 12 RULES FOR THE ENVOY

- 1 When consultation has led to a choice of decision, the employment of the envoy (should follow).
- 2 One endowed with the excellences of a minister is the plenipotentiary. 3 One lacking in a quarter of the qualities is (the envoy) with a limited mission. 4 One lacking in half the qualities is the bearer of a message.
- 5 He should start after making proper arrangements for vehicles, draught-animals and retinue of servants. 6 'The message is thus to be delivered to the enemy; he will (probably) say this (in reply); for that this will be the suitable reply; thus is (the enemy) to be outwitted; '—reflecting in this manner, he should proceed. 7 And he should establish contacts with forest chieftains, frontier-chiefs and chief officials in the cities and the country-side (on the way). 8 He should observe terrains suitable for the stationing of an army, for fighting, for reserves and for retreat, for his own (state) and for the enemy. 9 And he should find out the size of the forts and the country as well as the strong points, sources of livelihood, defences and weak points (in the enemy's territory).
- 10 He should enter the enemy's residence with permission.

 11 And he should deliver the message as given to him, even when danger to his life is seen (in so doing).
- 12 He should notice graciousness in speech, expression and eyes of the enemy, esteem of the (envoy's) words, inquiries about (his)

1.16

For pranidhi see 1.12 above.

- 1 udvṛtamantraḥ is from D for uddhṛta-. As an adjective to dūtapraṇidhiḥ, it means 'in which the counsel has been selected or accepted,' i.e., when a decision has been taken after deliberation.
- 2 amātyasampad: cf. 1.9.1 above. nisrstārtha lit. 'to whom the matter has been entrusted (with full powers of negotiation).'
- 5 parivāpa, when used by itself, refers to personal belongings as in 3.6.6, 8; when used with purusa- as here, it conveys the idea of a retinue or train of servants; cf. 2.24.28; 3.3.3. 8 pratigrahabhūmi 'the place where reserves are held in readiness'; cf. 10.5.58; 10.2.20; 10.6.1. yuddhapratigraha as a single idea 'acceptance of a fight' (Cs Meyer) seems little likely. apasāra 'retreat;' cf. 10.2.8; 7.13.25 etc. 9 chidra can be construed with the preceding gupti, hardly with sāra and vrtti as well, as Meyer seems to do. It is best to understand it independently.
- 10 adhisthana refers to the palace and the assembly-hall where the envoy would be received.
- 12 guna- seems to refer to the good points of the envoy's master, though the envoy's own merits may also be considered as possible. işteşu smaranam: cf.

wishes, keen interest in talk about the qualities (of the envoy's master), offer of a seat close by, respectful welcome, remembering (the envoy) on pleasant occasions, and putting trust in him, as the signs of one pleased; the opposite of these as the signs of one displeased. 13 To such a one he should say, 'Kings indeed have envoys as their mouthpieces, you no less than others. 14 Therefore, envoys speak out as they are told even when weapons are raised (against them). 15 Of them even the lowest born are immune from killing; what to speak then of Brahmins? 16 These are the words of another. 17 This is the duty of an envoy.'

- 18 If not permitted to depart, he should stay on, not feeling elated by honour (shown). 19 Among the enemies he should not think of (himself) being possessed of strength. 20 He should put up with disagreeable words. 21 He should avoid women and drink. 22 He should sleep alone. 23 For, it is (often) seen that the intentions of a person are revealed in sleep or intoxication.
- 24 He should find out (about) the instigation of seducible parties, the employment of secret agents against non-seducible parties, the loyalty or disaffection (of the enemy's subjects) towards their master and the weak points in the constituent elements (of the enemy's realm), through spies appearing as ascetics or traders, or through their disciples or assistants or through agents in the pay of both appearing as physicians or heretics. 25 In case conversation with them is not possible, he should find out secret information from the utterances of beggars, drunken persons, insane persons or persons in sleep, or, from pictures, writings or signs in holy places or temples of gods. 26 When (such information is) found out, he should make use of instigation.
- 27 And when asked by the enemy, he should not declare the size (and strength) of his own constituents. 28 He should say, 'Your Majesty knows everything,' or (should say) what is conducive to the success of his mission.

bhakṣyeṣu smarati 5.5.7 below. 13 $d\bar{u}tamukh\bar{a}\,hi$: Cb has vai for hi; that is equally good. 15 Cj reads $antev\bar{a}sinah$ 'attendants,' though it mentions the other reading.

- 18 In the reading prapūjayā, pra has little significance. 19 pareṣu balitvam na manyeta: the idea seems to be, he should not commit any rash act at the enemy's court thinking that his own king is quite powerful. Cnn has 'he should not use harsh words (vākpāruṣyam na brūyāt) because of his master's or his own strength (svāmibalād ātmabalād vā).' Meyer's 'he should consider for nought the strength of the enemies' is hardly likely in the context; it contradicts the next clause. 'He should not disclose to the enemies that he is strong' (Cb Cs) seems also less likely.
- 24 bhartari, i.e., towards their own king, not towards the envoy's master. 25 citralekhyasamjñā:: Cb has 'the drawing (lekhya) of pictures and signs,' Cs 'signs in pictures and writings,' Meyer 'paintings, writings and signs.' The last seems best, 26 upajāpam upeyāt, i.e., resort to instigation of the party found amenable to it,

- 29 When he is being detained although his mission has not succeeded, he should thus reflect—'Is he detaining me because he sees an imminent calamity befalling my master, or because he wants to take remedial steps against his own calamity, or because he wants to rouse (against my master) the enemy in the rear or his ally or (to stir up) an internal revolt or a forest chieftain, or because he wishes to obstruct my master's ally in front or ally in the rear, or because he wants to take remedial steps in a war of his own with another enemy or against an internal revolt or a forest chieftain (of his own), or because he wants to spoil the season for expedition for which my master has thoroughly prepared, or because he wants to collect stores of grains, commodities and forest produce or carry out fortifications or raise troops, or because he is awaiting time and place suitable for the operations of his own forces, or because of (a feeling of) contempt or through negligence, or because he seeks a continuation of (close) association (with my master)?' 30 Having found out (the enemy's motive), he should stay on or escape. 31 Or, he should take into consideration some purpose (regarded as) desirable.
- 32 After delivering an unpleasant message, he should, for fear of imprisonment or death, go away even when not permitted; else he might be put under restraint.
 - 33 Sending communications, guarding the terms of a treaty, (upholding his king's) majesty, acquisition of allies, instigation, dividing (the enemy's) friends, conveying secret agents and troops (into the enemy's territory),

29 paśyan: D's paśyati is clearly not right. — pārṣṇigrāham āsāram of D is to be preferred, as each of these kings could be individually roused against his master. — ākrandam vā from Cb Cj (for ākrandābhyām) is quite necessary. yitukāmah: the idea is of hindering, foiling, and that is preferable to the idea of killing in the reading vyāpādayitukāmah. — It is proposed to add vā after samsiddham, since it is quite necessary as in the other clauses. Perhaps Cj reads the $v\bar{a}$. The reading yātrākāram, though perhaps possible in the sense of 'the undertaking of a campaign,' seems hardly original. yātrākāla is definitely intended. — -pramādābhyām: Cb Cs read -pramadābhyām 'out of affection'; that is unlikely. pramāda is commonly used along with paribhava. — samsargānubandhārthī: Meyer has 'wishing to have an association with or a following with.' But a single idea 'wishing to have a continuous association' seems better. Cnn has 'seeking relationship between the progeny of both through marriage (samsargo yaunah sambandhah, tena anubandhah ubhayasambandhah, tadarthī).' anubandha is explained as dosotpāda in Cs, which is little likely. 31 D's upekṣeta is unlikely, though its omission of $v\bar{a}$ may appear to be an improvement.

33 preṣaṇam 'sending communications'; cf. 2.21.27. — pratāpaḥ: since parākrama is also used, 'valour' can hardly be understood by pratāpa. Meyer understands 'majesty, dignity,' i.e., the maintenance of his master's prestige at the understands 'majesty, dignity,' i.e., the maintenance of his master's prestige at the foreign court. Cb refers to Hanumat showing pratāpa in the Aśokavanikā, implying a pun 'causing trouble' and 'burning.' — gūḍhadaṇḍātisāraṇam; cf. 7.14.24.

f

- 34 kidnapping (the enemy's) kinsmen and treasures, ascertainment of secret information, showing valour, (helping in) the escape of hostages, and resort to secret practices, these are the functions of an envoy.
- 35 He should cause all this to be carried out by his envoys, and should cause a watch to be kept over the envoys of the enemy by means of counter-envoys and spies as well as through open and secret guards.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

SECTION 13 GUARDING AGAINST PRINCES

- 1 A king protects the kingdom (only) when (he is himself) protected from persons near him and from enemies, first from his wives and sons. 2 Protection from wives we shall explain in 'Regulations for the Royal Residence.'
 - 3 As to protection from sons, however:
- 4 'He should guard against princes right from their birth. 5 For, princes devour their begetters, being of the same nature as crabs. 6 Before love (for them) is produced in the father, silent punishment for them is best; 'says Bhāradvāja.
- 7 'This is cruel, (as it involves) the killing of innocent persons and the destruction of the Kṣatriya race,' says Viśālākṣa. 8 'Therefore, confinement in one place is best.'
- 34 Meyer thinks that ratna, like ratnin in the Brāhmaṇa texts, refers to big personalities in the state. That seems hardly possible in this text. samādhimokṣaḥ: cf. 7.17.32ff. yogasya: yoga refers to the secret methods used to do away with undesirables, particularly the use of weapons, poison etc. (yogasya śastrāgnirasapraṇidhānasya—Ci).

1.17

For rakṣaṇa in the sense of 'keeping a watch over, guarding oneself against,' see 1.13 above.

- 2 niśāntapraņidhau, i.e., in Chapter 1.20 below.
- 4 janmaprabhṛti etc.: Cb Cs do not include ss. 4–5 in Bhāradvāja's opinion. It seems, however, that they contain the opinion of this cynical teacher alone and not the general view of the science. Cj reads rājā putrān. 6 ajātasnehe pitari: this is a locative absolute 'before the father begins to feel affection.' pitari ajātasnehe (putre) upāmśudanḍaḥ 'secretly doing away a son who feels no affection for the father 'is possible, but does not seem intended.
- 7 There can be no doubt that adrsta- of G M is faulty, being corrupted from adusta- (D). 8 ekasthāna- 'one place,' i.e., the prace where the king himself is; 'yatra pitā tatraivāvarodhaḥ' as in Cnn; similarly Cj.

- 9 'This is danger as from a snake,' say the followers of Parāśara.

 10 'For, the prince, realising "through fear of my valour my father has confined me," might get the father himself in his power. 11 Therefore, making him stay in a frontier fortress is best.'
- 12 'This is danger as from a (fighting) ram,' says Piśuna.
 13 'For, realising that alone to be the means of his return, he might become the ally of the frontier chief. 14 Therefore, making him stay in the fortress of a neighbouring (vassal) prince, far removed from his own territory, is best.'
- 15 'This is the position of a calf (for the prince),' says Kaunapadanta. 16 'For, the neighbouring prince might milk his father as (one milks) a cow with the help of the calf. 17 Therefore, making him stay with the kinsmen of his mother is best.'
- 18 'This is the position of a flag (for the prince),' says Vātavyādhi.
 19 'For, with him as the flag, his mother's kinsmen would be making demands like Aditikaušikas. 20 Therefore, he should let him free to indulge in vulgar pleasures. 21 For, sons kept engrossed in pleasures do not become hostile to the father.'
- 9 ahibhayam: a simile is implied in this expression. tameva aike kuryāt: D reads tadeva; the neuter tad cannot easily be made to refer to any preceding word. Cnn refers it to ahibhayam and explains 'he may bring about the same danger of a snake, as he is stationed near (tadeva ahibhayam vināśalakṣanam aike samīpe sthitaḥ kuryāt).' This is far from convincing. Cj, with tadeva, refers tad to vikramabhaya or avarodhana, explaining aike by samīpe vartamānah. tam in the other reading may refer to the father, 'might kill the father himself' as in Cb. In 7.18.40 aikam upasthita seems to mean 'who is in one's power,' so that here 'he may bring the father himself in his power' may be the sense intended. (Cf. aikāgatasattvarvīti Raghuvamśa, 2.38). tam may also refer to vikramam 'might resort to valour.' Cs refers tam to vikramam, but explains 'might show valour in a nearby place, i.e., in his own house.' This is less satisfactory.
- 12 aurabhram: the idea, as Cs explains, is, just as a ram taken to the ends of the fighting ring returns to the centre with greater vehemence to meet his rival, so the prince might return to attack the king with the help of the antapāla. Meyer's 'this is the fear of sheep' is hardly possible. 13 pratyāpatteḥ kāraṇam: Cb has 'reason for keeping him away,' Cnn 'the cause of his going away from the father (pituḥ sakāšād anyatra gamanam),' Meyer' the cause of the father holding aloof from the son.' It seems rather that kāraṇam is 'means,' not 'cause,' and that tad refers to antapālasakhatva, not vikramabhaya (as in Cnn), so that we have to understand to antapālasakhatva, not vikrama or to antapālapagrahaṇa 'winning the antapāla over.' The explanation of pratyāpatteḥ (understood as ablative) in Cs 'because his nature of being hostile to the king cannot be changed 'is little likely.
- 19 aditikauśikavad: according to commentators 'mendicants earning their livelihood by showing images of gods (aditi) and snake-charmers (kauśika).' Cnn: 'aditivad devadhvajam darświtoā; aditigrahaṇam aditiputrāṇām kālādidevānām 'aditivad devadhvajam darświtoā; aditigrahaṇam aditiputrāṇām kālādidevānām 'aditivad devadhvajam kauśikas ivāhitundikah kośena sarpagraheṇa caratīti.' It may be parigrahārtham. kauśikas ivāhitundikah kośena sarpagraheṇa caratīti. It may be that aditikauśika conveys a single idea, that of a sect of mendicants who make

- 22 'This is living death,' says Kautilya. 23 For, like a piece of wood eaten by worms, the royal family, with its princes undisciplined, would break the moment it is attacked. 24 Therefore, when the chief queen is in her rtu (-period), priests should offer a caru-oblation to Indra and Brhaspati. 25 When she is pregnant, a children's specialist should arrange for the nourishment of the foetus and for delivery. 26 When she has given birth, the chaplain should perform the sacraments for the son. 27 When he is ready for it, experts should train him.
- 28. 'And one of the secret agents should tempt him with hunting, gambling, wine and women, (suggesting to him,) "Attack your father and seize the kingdom." 29 Another secret agent should dissuade him from that; 'say the followers of Āmbhi.
- 30 'This awakening of one not awake is highly dangerous,' says Kautilya. 31 For, a fresh object absorbs whatever it is smeared with. 32 Similarly, this prince, immature in intellect, understands as the teaching of the science whatever he is told. 33 Therefore, he should instruct him in what conduces to spiritual and material good, not in what is spiritually and materially harmful.
- 34 On the contrary, secret agents, declaring 'We belong to you,' should guard him. 35 If in the exuberance of youth he were to entertain a longing for the wives of others, they should produce abhorrence in him through unclean women posing as noble ladies in lonely houses at night time. 36 If he were to long for wine, they should

demands (which cannot be refused) in the name of some god whose flag, along with the image, they carry. Snake-charmers do not carry flags. Meyer suggests that as Kåuśika is a name of Indra, we have to understand a mendicant woman in the garb of Aditi and a boy in the garb of Indra, the begging being done for the sake of the boy. A boy is unlikely, as there is the *dhvaja*, to which the prince corresponds.

- 25 kaumārabhṛtyaḥ: 'a physician who has specialised in bringing up children,' was also experienced in midwifery, as the present passage shows. Jolly-Schmidt point out that kumārabhṛtya 'treatment of infants' diseases' is the subject of a part of one of the ancient Buddhist medical treatises in the Bower Ms. and that Jīvaka, a famous contemporary of Buddha, was called komārabhacca.
- 28 This is a sort of $upadh\bar{a}$ or secret test. 29 $\bar{A}mbh\bar{i}y\bar{a}h$: the teacher's name appears to be $\bar{A}mbhi$. Pāṇini 4.1.96 ($b\bar{a}hv\bar{a}di~gana$) derives $\bar{A}mbhi$ as a patronymic from Ambhas. Nothing is known about this teacher or his school. Ganapati Sastri understands Bhīṣma by $\bar{A}mbhi$ (Intro. to Vol. III of the Trivandrum edition).
- 31 upadihyate ... ācūṣati: the figure, as Cs says, is that of an earthen vessel or a mud wall.
- 35 udvejayeyuh: the root may mean 'create disgust or aversion' or 'frighten, inspire terror' according to context. 36 yogapāna is a drink to which some substance is added that creates a nausea for drink. 39 anu pravišya: this means 'entering into and winning the confidence of'; cf. 2.9.26 etc. aprārthanīyo 'not fit to be attacked.' For prārth 'to attack,' cf. 3.10.34; 6.2.38. Cb's 'not to be killed'

frighten him with drugged liquor. 37 If he were to long for gambling, they should create aversion in him through deceitful players. 38 If he were to long for hunting, they should frighten him through agents disguised as highway robbers. 39 If he were to entertain the idea of attacking his father, they should enter into his confidence (by pretending to agree) and then dissuade him (saying), 'The king should not be attacked; if the attack fails, (there will be) death; if it succeeds, (there will be) a fall in hell (for you), an uproar and (your) annihilation by the subjects as of a single clod of earth.'

40 They should inform (the king) if the prince is disaffected.
41 He should put an only, favourite son (if disaffected) in prison.
42 If he has many sons, he should send (the disaffected son) to the frontier or some other region where he may not become as a child in the womb (for the people there) or a commodity for sale (for those people) or a (source of) disturbance. 43 If he is possessed of the excellences of self, he should install him in the position of the commander-in-chief or the crown prince.

seems less likely. — sankrośaḥ 'an outery, an uproar' rather than 'censure among the people' (Cs). — ekaloṣṭavadhaḥ 'destruction as of a single clod of earth '(Meyer) is to be preferred to 'death by people throwing one clod of earth each' (Cs). For the latter, ekaika- would seem necessary. 'Killing by a single throw with a stone' (Jolly) seems out of the question. — Meyer includes virāgam from the next s. at the end of s. 39 after iti and supplies kuryuḥ after it, 'with these words (iti) they should make him give up (vi-) his desire (rāga) (to attack his father).' This is very unlikely.

40 virāgam vēdayeyuh: .i.e., they should inform the king about the prince who cannot be made to give up his disloyal intentions. With vedayeyuh (from D) continuity with the preceding is maintained. 42 pratyantam is a noun in the sense of . 'the frontier' rather than an adjective to visaya in the next word. - yatra garbhah panyam dimbo vā na bhavet: Cj explains 'where the prince is not likely to be as a son or son-in-law to the people there (making them take his side against the father) or where he would not be treated as a commodity for disposal (the people there increasing their own power at his expense) or where no trouble would be caused by people there by finding support in him and trying to win over others on his behalf (garbha iva garbhah; yatrainam putratayā jāmātṛtayā garbhīkṛtya snehāt...na vikurvate. panyavat panyam ; yatrainam prasārya bhikṣayā na śaktim ātmanah pūrayanti. dimbakāranatvāt dimbah; yatra tadāśrayāt krtyān upagrhya nopadravam kuryuh). Cnn is more or less similar. Cb seems to have read garvah and explains ' where there is no pride, where the prince is not treated as a commodity and where no injury may be done to him.' This is less satisfactory. Cs has 'where there is no food fit for the prince (garbha i.e. food) or no commodity fit for him or no commotion among the people because of him.' This also is unsatisfactory. Meyer has made a number of suggestions, the final one being to read garbhah sando dimbo vāno vā bhavet 'where there is a foetus (in the queen's womb) or an impotent prince or a silly prince (dimba) or an exhausted prince (vāna from vai) as the only heir to the throne,' the idea being that the exiled prince would in such a case stand a chance of succeeding to the throne in that foreign land. This is very doubtful. anyavişaya hardly means 'foreign land.'

- 44 One possessed of sagacity, one with intellect requiring to be goaded and one of evil intellect—these are the different kinds of sons.
 45 He who, when taught, understands spiritual and material good and practises the same is one possessed of sagacity. 46 He who understands but does not practise (them) is one with intellect requiring to be goaded. 47 He who is ever full of harm and hates spiritual and material good is one of evil intellect.
- 48 If such be the only son, he should endeavour to get a son born of him. 49 Or, he should get sons begotten on an appointed daughter.
- 50 An old or a diseased king, however, should get a child begotten on his wife by one of the following, (viz.), his mother's kinsman, a member of his own family, and a virtuous neighbouring prince. 51 But he should not install on the throne an only son, if undisciplined.
 - 52 Of many (sons, who are undisciplined) confinement in one place (is best); (however), the father should be beneficently disposed towards the sons. Except in case of a calamity, sovereignty passing on to the eldest son is praised.
 - 53 Or, the kingdom should belong to the (royal) family; for, a family oligarchy is difficult to conquer, and remains on the earth for ever without (having to face) the danger of a calamity befalling the king.
- 46 The definition shows that the āhāryabuddhi is unable or unwilling to put into practice what he knows to be right. Ministers and others are however able to induce him to do what is right, 'ācāryādibhiḥ pratikṣaṇam āhāryā buddhir yasya' (Cnn) āhārya 'which can be brought near'; cf. āhāryodaka setu 2.1.20.
- 48 sa refers to the durbuddhi; ekaputraḥ is a Karmadhāraya; asya refers to this only son. The idea is, the king should try to secure a grandson. Hillebrandt's suggestion that we should read yadyaputraḥ (ZDMG, 70, p. 41 n. 1) makes no improvement. putrikā: cf. Manu, 9.127ff.
- 50 For niyoga, referred to here, the kinsmen on the mother's side are shown a preference, which is rather strange. Cf. also 3.6.24 below.
- 52 Cj has 'if there are many disaffected princes they should be confined in one place; 'Cb 'of many sons each one should be put in confinement;' Cs 'from among many sons, he should confine one son, who may be durbuddhi, in pratyanta etc.' Meyer understands the first half as a single clause 'the father of many sons (bahūnām pitā) who keeps out of succession one (ekasamrodhah as adj. to pitā) cares only for the good of the sons.' Cj's explanation seems best. 53 kulasya: this is the group of all sons (Cb Cs). All male members of the royal family forming a sort of ruling council may appear better. Cj seems to understand a division of the kingdom forming a sort of confederation (sarveṣām vā vibhaktam bhaved rājyam anyonyasamśrayam). A council formed by a number of noble families is possible as the meaning of kulasamgha, but does not seem intended here. For samgha (f. 11.1 below. arājavyasanābādhah: this is an adj. to kulasamghah. The ideā is, even if one member is in vyasana, the others are there to carry on. For rājavyasana see 8.2 below.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

SECTION 14 THE CONDUCT OF A PRINCE IN DISFAVOUR SECTION 15 BEHAVIOUR TOWARDS A PRINCE IN DISFAVOUR

- 1 The disciplined prince, who finds living difficult, should obey his father when appointed to an unworthy task, except when it is dangerous to life or rouses the subjects (against him) or involves a heinous sin.
- 2 If he is assigned some agreeable task, he should ask for an officer to supervise his work. 3 And under supervision of the officer, he should carry out the task assigned with special zest. 4 And he should get despatchd to his father the normal produce of the work as well as any (extra) gain received as a present.
- 5 If (the father is) even then not pleased and shows affection for another son or wife (other than his mother), he should ask for leave to repair to the forest. 6 Or, in case of fear of imprisonment or death, he should seek refuge with a neighbouring prince who is justly behaved, pious, truthful in speech, not given to breach of faith and welcomes and honours those who have approached him (for help). 7 Staying there and becoming enriched with treasure and troops, he should enter into marriage relations with heroic men, make contacts with forest chieftains and win over seducible parties (from his father's kingdom).
- 8 If he has to act alone, he should maintain himself by working mines and factories for gold-smelting, colouring gems and manufacturing gold and silver articles. 9 Or, he should secretly rob the wealth of heretical corporations or the wealth of temples

1.18

D reads aparuddha throughout and that form is adopted in this edition. It is found in Atharvaveda 3.3.5 (anyaksetre aparuddham carantam), Taittiriya Samhitā 2.2.8.4, Kauśikasūtra 16.30 and the Aihole Inscription, stanza 14.

- 1 GM omit vinīto; but it is better to read it, as the prince discussed here is assumed to be well-behaved and unjustly treated by his father. - kṛcchravṛṭtiḥ shows that he is made to work for his living and that he finds it difficult.
 - $abhir\bar{u}pam$ ' appropriate ', i.e., what would normally accrue from that work.
- 5 D adds tadanurodhād vā dveṣeṇa; the words do not appear to be original; at least dvisantam would be necessary in place of dvesena. 7 krtyapaksa are those in the father's kingdom who can be won over to his side.
- 8 ekacarah, i.e., when he has not sought refuge with any neighbouring prince. Cb understands the idea of his being without kośa and danda. — suvarnapāka seems to refer to the smelting of gold ore; Cj says 'suvarnasya varnotkarşārtham pākah.' - manirāga ' colouring of crystals, in order to impart new qualities to them, sphatikasya jātyantaraguņādhānārtham rañjanam' (Cj). 9 ādhyavidhavādravyam is from Cb and seems necessary to make it conform to the preceding expressions. — For

except that to be used by Brahmins learned in the Vedas or the wealth of rich widows after entering into their confidence, and plunder caravans and sailing vessels after cheating (the men) by administering a stupefying drink. 10 Or, he should practise 'the stratagems for the conquest of an enemy town.' 11 Or, he should act after securing the support of persons from the side of his mother. 12 Or, with his appearance changed by disguising himself as an artisan, an artist, a minstrel, a physician, a professional storyteller or a heretical monk, (and) accompanied by associates in the same disguise, he should enter by taking advantage of some vulnerable point, and, striking the king with weapon or poison, announce, 'I am that prince; this kingdom is to be enjoyed jointly; a single person does not deserve to enjoy it; those who desire to serve me, them will I reward with double food and wages.'

Thus ends (the topic of) the conduct of a prince in disfavour.

13 But sons of principal officers acting as secret agents should bring the prince in disfavour (to the king) after securing his consent; or, the mother, if she enjoys favour, (should bring him). 14 If he is

anupraviśya, see 1.17.39 above. — It would have been better if we had anupraviśya gūdham apaharet in this order before sārthayāna- &c. — madanarasa is a drink prepared from some narcotic drug that brings on stupefaction. 10 pāragrāmikam yogam, i.e., tricks recommended for capturing an enemy's town in 13.1 below. 12 kāruśilpi- etc.: the compound should be understood as a Tatpuruṣa construed with nastarūpah and not as a Bahuvrīhi as in Cs, where tadvyañjanasakhah is then rendered by 'appearing like the men dressed as craftsmen etc.' This latter is clearly unlikely. - brūyāt: the announcement is made in the presence of officers and other servants of the assassinated father. - ye kāmayante etc.: the reading adopted is with $m\bar{a}m$ from D and bhartum from G M; the idea obviously is that the prince offers to share the kingdom with these officers, promising to double their salary so that they may have no qualms about serving the parricide. The reading proposed is mām bhartum tān aham, with bhr understood in the sense of 'to support,' hence also 'to serve.' Cj reading bhoktum (for bhartum) explains 'who desire me (as their king) I shall give them double the salary for their maintenance (bhoktum i.e. poşayitum).' It is not certain that bhoktum could be so understood. We can get this sense with mām tān bhartum aham. D reads bhartuh which is not easy to construe; read, we could understand 'those who desire me as their master.' Meyer, rejecting bhartum and reading martum tan naham, translates 'such of you as desire to die (by refusing to accept me), them I shall not serve even for double food and wages.' This is highly problematical.

13 mukhyaputrāpasarpāh: the sons of principal officers are to serve as agents to fetch the prince. They are likely to succeed, as Cj says, because they had been his playmates. — pratipādya: Cb understands the idea of promising him yauvarājya. So Cnn has 'rājyam pratipādya.' That is possible, though 'making him agree, persuading him' would appear sufficient. — pratigṛhītā, i.e., enjoying the king's favour 'rājñā upacārair āvarjitā' (Cnn). 'Acceptable' to the prince, i.e., enjoying his confidence is also not unlikely. 14 tyaktam, i.e., given up as incorrigible.

given up (as incorrigible), secret agents should kill him with weapon or poison. 15 If not given up, they should make him addicted to women of the same character or to drinking or hunting, and seizing him at night, should bring him (to the king).

16 And when he has come, he should conciliate him by the (offer of the) kingdom, saying, 'After me, (this is yours).' Then he should confine him in one place (if still recalcitrant); but if he has (other) sons, he should kill him.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

SECTION 16 RULES FOR THE KING

- 1 When the king is active, the servants become active following his example. 2 If he is remiss, they too become remiss along with him. 3 And they consume his works. 4 Moreover, he is over-reached by enemies. 5 Therefore, he should himself be (energetically) active.
- 6 He should divide the day into eight parts as also the night by means of $n\bar{a}lik\bar{a}s$, or by the measure of the shadow (of the gnomon).
- 7 (A shadow) measuring three pauruṣas, one pauruṣa, (and) four aṅgulas, and the midday when the shadow disappears, these are the four earlier eighth parts of the day. 8 By them are explained the later

tulyaśīlābhih of the same character as the prince and enjoying his confidence
 prasañjayitvā is presupposed in D. This is more in keeping with the usual causal form of this participle in this text. prasajya isn't a happy reading.

16 ekastham: Cb Cs Meyer understand this in the sense of 'the only son.' Stationed in one place' seems however all right. — pravāsayet 'should kill' rather than 'should exile.' — Cnn remarks that sāntvayet applies to the buddhimān, amrundhyāt to the āhāryabuddhi and pravāsayet to the durbuddhi.

1.19

For pranidhi see 1.12 above.

1-5 utthana 'being (energetically) active' is the opposite of pramada 'being

remiss in doing work."

6 nālikābhir: cf. 2.20.34—35. A nālikā measures 24 minutes. Because the eighth part of a day thus comes to 3½ nālikās, Fleet (in a footnote to Shama Sastri's translation, p. 37) thinks that this nālikā is different from the nālikā of 2.20.35. How, he asks, are three-fourths of a nālikā to be marked by the water-bowl? This nālikā therefore, is one of 90 minutes according to him, its real name being chāyānālikā mentioned in 1.7.8 above. It is, however, very unlikely that two different kinds of nālikās would be referred to in the same work, particularly because a definition of chāyānālikā would then also be expected. It seems, moreover, that chāyānālikā in 1.7.8 refers to two separate methods of marking measures of time. Besides, it is not unlikely that the nālikā was graduated so that divisions of a nālikā could be easily read off it. — chāyāpramānena vā: this alternative is available only in daytime when it is clear. — 7 fipauruṣī: pauruṣa, a measure used for measuring the length of the shadow of the gnomon on the sun-dial, is 12 aṅgulas (about 9 inches).

- (four). 9 Out of them, during the first eighth part of the day, he should listen to measures taken for defence and (accounts of) income and expenditure. 10 During the second, he should look into the affairs of the citizens and the country people. 11 During the third, he should take his bath and meals and devote himself to study. 12 During the fourth, he should receive revenue in cash and assign tasks to heads of departments. 13 During the fifth, he should consult the council of ministers by sending letters, and acquaint himself with secret information brought in by spies. 14 During the sixth, he should engage in recreation at his pleasure or hold consultations. 15 During the seventh, he should review elephants, horses, chariots and troops. 16 During the eighth, he should deliberate on military plans with the commander-inchief. 17 When the day is ended, he should worship the evening twilight.
- 18 During the first (eighth) part of the night, he should interview secret agents. 19 During the second, he should take a bath and meals and engage in study. 20 During the third, he should go to bed to the strains of musical instruments and sleep during the fourth and the fifth (parts). 21 During the sixth, he should awaken to the sound of musical instruments and ponder over the teaching of the science (of politics) as well as over the work to be done. 22 During the seventh, he should sit in consultation (with councillors) and despatch secret agents. 23 During the eighth, he should receive blessings from priests, preceptors and chaplain, and see his physician, chief cook and astrologer. 24 And after going round a cow with her calf and a bull, he should proceed to the assembly hall.
- 25 Or, he should divide the day and night into (different) parts in conformity with his capacity and carry out his tasks.
- 26 Arriving in the assembly hall, he should allow unrestricted entrance to those wishing to see him in connection with their affairs.

 27 For, a king difficult of access is made to do the reverse of what

See 2.20.10. — After s. 7 a long passage from a commentary has crept into the text in D.

- 9 rakṣāvidhānam: in view of 9.4.8 and 12.5.32 this refers to arrangements for defence, not to 'protection afforded (to citizens) during the night '(Cs.) 12 adhya-kṣān kurvīta refers to assigning tasks to these officers as well as making new appointments when necessary. 13 patrasampreṣaṇena: see 1.15.53-54 above. Letters become necessary only when some members are absent.
- 20 saniviṣṭaḥ: 'śayyām ārūḍhaḥ. saniviṣṭaśabdaprayogaḥ kāmam sūcayati surataprakārāṇām saniveśanābhidhānāt' (Cnn). 23 -purohitasvastyayanāni is necessary as in D, because the blessings are to be received from the purohita and others, not from anyone else. Cj reads -purohitebhyaḥ svastya-, but mentions the reading of D.
- 26 advārāsangam 'not being held up at the doch,' i.e., free entry. Cj reads dvāram asangam 'the door open.'

ought to be done and what ought not to be done, by those near him. 28 In consequence of that, he may have to face an insurrection of the subjects or subjugation by the enemy. 29 Therefore, he should look into the affairs of temple deities, hermitages, heretics, Brahmins learned in the Vedas, cattle and holy places, of minors, the aged, the sick, the distressed and the helpless and of women, in (this) order, or, in accordance with the importance of the matter or its urgency.

- 30 He should hear (at once) every urgent matter, (and) not put it off. An (affair) postponed becomes difficult to settle or even impossible to settle.
- He should look into the affairs of persons learned in the Vedas and of ascetics after going to the fire sanctuary (and) in the company of his chaplain and preceptor, after getting up from his seat and saluting (those suitors).
- 32 But he should decide the affairs of ascetics and of persons versed in the practice of magic, (in consultation) with persons learned in the three Vedas, not by himself (alone), for the reason that they might be roused to anger.
- 33 For the king, the (sacrificial) vow is activity, sacrifice the administration of affairs; the sacrificial fee, however, is impartiality of behaviour, (and) sacrificial initiation for him is the coronation.
- 34 In the happiness of the subjects lies the happiness of the king and in what is beneficial to the subjects his own benefit. What is dear to himself is not beneficial to the king, but what is dear to the subjects is beneficial (to him).
- Therefore, being ever active, the king should carry out the management of material well-being. The root of material wellbeing is activity, of material disaster its reverse.
- In the absence of activity, there is certain destruction of what is obtained and of what is not yet received. By activity reward is obtained, and one also secures abundance of riches.
- devatā, i.e., temple affairs. ātyayika-: ātyayikatva- would seem to be neces-29 sary.

30 atikrāntam ' what has been passed over,' i.e., postponed.

- 31 agnyagāragatah: cf. Śākuntala, Act 5, where this procedure is strictly followed by Dusyanta when looking into the hermits' affair.
 - 32 māyāyoga ' practice of magic ' as a single idea seems intended.
- 33 There can be no doubt about dīkṣā tasyābhiṣecanam from DCj being the original reading; it completes the elaborate metaphor in the stanza, the comparison of rulership with a sacrific. — After s. 33 D introduces another stanza with the words tathā coktam. It couldn't be original. That is not how quotations are introduced in this text. The stanza seems to be derived from some commentary.

CHAPTER TWENTY

SECTION 17 REGULATIONS FOR THE ROYAL RESIDENCE

- I On a site recommended by experts in building, he should cause the royal residence to be built, with a rampart, a moat and gates and provided with many halls.
- 2 He should cause to be constructed a living chamber in the centre in accordance with the procedure laid down for the treasury, or a maze-house with concealed passages in walls and in its centre a living chamber, or an underground room with its opening covered by the wooden image of a deity in a nearby sanctuary and having many subterranean passages (and) above it a palace with a stair-case concealed in a wall or having an entrance and an exit through a hollow pillar as a living chamber with the floor fixed to a mechanism (and thus) capa-

1.20

niśānta from ni-śam is primarily a place of retirement, a residence. In particular it refers to the royal palace. For praṇidhi, see 1.12 above.

- 1 vāstuka 'an expert in the science of building '(Cb Cj Cnn). D has kakṣā for kakṣyā throughout; both forms are possible. antaḥpuram: this clearly is the same as niśānta, the royal residence; as Cj has, 'antaḥpuram rājavāsakam.' It is not merely the harem; it includes the council hall and the assembly hall as well (s. 12 below). The Rāmāyaṇa (2.14.29-31; 2.16.1) shows the use of antaḥpura in this wider sense.
- 2 kośagrhavidhānena: i.e., as laid down in 2.5.2-3 below. madhye, i.e., in the centre of the area constituting the antahpura; the word is not read in G M, but seems necessary. — gūdha- etc. is an option to the method of the kośagrha; mohanagrha is a maze or labyrinth where a stranger would get lost. It is to have ' passages concealed in walls'; the vāsagrha is to be in its centre. mohanagrha in the sense of 'a love-chamber' (Meyer) is unlikely. — bhūmigrham etc. states another alternative arrangement for the vāsagrha. The idea is that an underground chamber is to be built with an emergency exit through a subterranean passage, leading to an opening covered by the wooden image of the deity in a nearby sanctuary. A person escaping from the bhūmigrha would arrive at the opening under the image, which, being made of wood, can be easily pushed aside; thus he would make good his escape without being noticed by those besieging or searching the vāsagrha. This is the explanation of Cj Cnn and the only right one. Cb reads -caityāṣṭadevatā- and explains 'covered by the abodes of caityadevatās and aṣtadevatās nearby.' This isn't very happy. Cs, understanding $k\bar{a}sth\bar{a}$ 'direction' explains 'with the door stamped with the image of a deity in a temple which is in a nearby quarter.' What purpose the stamping of the door with the image of a deity is expected to serve it is difficult to see. — tasyopari from D is necessary, because the bhūmigrha by itself could not constitute the vāsagrha; there is to be a prāsāda above it; the vā after prāsādam needs also to be omitted as in D. prāsāda seems primarily to convey the idea of an elevated chamber to be reached (pra-ā-sad) by steps. gūdhabhittisopānam 'with stair-cases concealed in walls 'is better than 'with concealed walls and stair-cases,' though bhittigudha- would have been better for the former; cf. 2.3.22. — sușira- etc, is an option to gūdhabhitti- etc. — yantrabaddhaetc, also goes with prāsādam. The floor of the prāsāda is so constructed that with

ble of sinking below, in order to counter-act a calamity or when a calamity is apprehended. 3 Or he should vary the construction in ways other than these, because of the fear of fellow-students.

- 4 When fire churned from human bones is taken round the royal residence three times (from right) towards the left, no other fire burns it nor does another fire blaze up there; also when it is smeared with ashes caused by lightning and hailwater mixed with earth.
- 5 Serpents or poisons do not have (their) power in a (residence) protected by (a string of) shoots of the Aśvattha growing on wet land together with (shoots of) Jīvantī, Śvetā, Muṣkaka and Puṣpavandākā (plants).
- 6 Letting loose peacocks, ichneumons and spotted deer (on the premises) destroys serpents. 7 The parrot, the starling or the forktailed shrike shrieks when there is fear of serpents or poison. 8 The heron becomes frantic in the proximity of poison, the pheasant becomes faint, the intoxicated cuckoo dies, the eyes of the Cakorapartridge become discoloured.

the release of a mechanism it can fall down into the cellar below. Its use is illustrated in 12.5.45. Meyer seems to understand prāsādam...-sopānam as one alternative and suṣira ...-talāvapātam as another. Cs has prāsādam...-pasāram vā and vāsagrham...-talāvapātam as independent alternatives. — āpatpratīkārārtham āpadi vā: the former refers to the case where the calamity is already there and steps have to be taken against it, while āpadi means when a calamity is feared (āpadi vā bhavisyantyām—Cnn). It doesn't seem neessary to read kārayet again after āpadi vā; it is proposed to omit it. 3 sahādhyāyi- 'persons who have studied the same śāstra (of politics) and its rules, viz., the enemy kings' (Cb Cj). Meyer proposes sahasādhyāyi- or sāhasādhyāyi- 'who contemplate acts of daring against the king.' That is hardly plausible. 'Fellow-students' of the king who know him intimately and are likely to be conversant with the secrets of his chamber is, however, a possible idea.

- 4 mānuṣeṇāgninā, i.e., fire churned out of human bones; see 14.2.38 below.
 apasavyam is the opposite of pradakṣiṇam (Cb Cs), though Cj seems to understand it in the sense of 'prādakṣiṇyena' and Cnn has 'pradakṣiṇena parigatam, nīrājitam.' For the former meaning, cf. Caraka, 8.9' na pūjyamangalāni apasavyam gacchet,' also Utpala on Brhatsamhitā, 33.13.
- 5 Jīvantī- etc.: cf. 14.4.12 below. Meyer understands the flowers (puspa) of the first three plants and the plant Vandākā, instead of understanding Puspavandākā as the name of a plant; that appears also to be the explanation in Cj.—akṣīve: Cj has akṣībe, which appears to be explained by 'in a place that is not dry.' That seems to be the meaning intended. akṣīva can here hardly be understood as the name of a tree such as Sigru (Cs).—pratānena: 'a string of shoots' hung at the entrance, a vandanamālā as Cnn paraphrases it. The vā read after this word in GM is not original. A single string of Aśvattha shoots along with Jīvantī etc. is to be hung at the door-way and no option is intended, as is clear from 14.4.12. 6 The omission of mārjāra- as in D Cj seems necessary, as cats are not known to be snake-omission of mārjāra- as in D Cj seems necessary, as cats are not known to be snake-omission of solvantā at the Dhūmyāta (fork-tailed shrike) or the ali (bee)' (Cs). killers. 7 Bhṛṅgarāja' the Dhūmyāta (fork-tailed shrike) or the ali (bee)' (Cs).

- 9 Thus he should take precautions against fire, poison and serpents.
- 10 In a part of the apartments at the back (should be) ladies' rooms, establishments for maternity and sickness and places for trees and water. 11 Outside (that) should be quarters for princesses and princes. 12 In front (should be) the dressing room, the council chamber, the assembly hall and a place for the ministers in charge of princes. 13 In the (open) spaces between the apartments, the palace guards should be stationed.
- 14 In the inner apartments he should visit the queen after she is cleared (of suspicion) by old women. 15 For, concealing himself in the queen's chamber, his brother killed Bhadrasena, and lying (concealed) in his mother's bed his son killed Kārūṣa. 16 The queen killed the king of Kāśī by mixing fried grain with poison under the guise of honey; (the queen killed) Vairantya with an anklet smeared with poison, the king of the Sanvīras with a (poison-smeared) girdle-

with Cakora, but is here distinguished from it. — virajyete, i.e., their naturally red eyes become white (svabhāvato rakte śuklatvam pratipadyete — Cj).

10 garbhavyādhisamsthāḥ, i.e., rooms for maternity and for siekness, the latter not necessarily restricted to women alone (as in Cj). G M add -vaidyaprakhyāta-after -vyādhi- in the compound, Cb Cs -vaidyapratyākhyāta-. Cb Cs explain the latter 'rooms for queens given up as incurable by physicians.' This is extremely doubtful. The additions do not appear genuine, as shown by s. 19 below. — 12 alamkārabhūmiḥ is the king's dressing room. — kumārādhyakṣa 'the minister in charge of princes 'as a single idea is to be preferred; all adhyakṣas as such wouldn't have quarters in the palace grounds. Cf. O. Stein, AOr, X, p. 164 and n. 5. 13 antarvamšika from antarvamša (apparently the same as antaḥpura). Cf. 1.21.3.

14 antargrha refers evidently to the sleeping chambers of the queens, obviously different from his own chamber. — na kāmcid abhigacchet (found in GM) seems a marginal gloss which has got into the text. Cj, however, distinguishes between paśyet (see in his room) and abhigacchet (go to her room). 15 The addition of śrūyate hi at the beginning as in D might appear better. The Harsacarita gives more details of these tales (pp. 199-200); the Brhatsamhitā 78.1-2 refers to some of these and Śamkarārya on Kāmandaka, 7.51ff. mentions some details. — Bhadrasena was a King of the Kalingas and his brother's name was Vīrasena. — After śayyāntargataś ca, D adds details which are obviously derived from some commentary. According to this comment, the name of the King was Vajra; according to the Harşacarita it was Dadhra, the reason for murder being the father's intention to crown another prince as yuvarāja. 16 The names of the King of Kāśī and his queen were Mahāsena and Suprabhā, according to the Harşacarita, where the Vairantya king is named Rantideva. According to Cj Cnn the queen of Kāśī was unwilling (because her son was in disfavour - Cj) and the King approached her forcibly (anicchanti balād abhigacchantam). The Br. Sam. makes Kāśirāja (and not Vairantya) the victim of a poisoned nupura. — Sauviram: Cj Cnn give Paramtapa as the name, but it was Vīrasena and his queen's name Hamsavatī, according to the Harşacarita. — Jālūtham: the Harṣacarita has Jārūtha, the king of Ayodhyā, also called Paramtapa, the queen's name being Ratnavatī. Cj Cnn also have Ayodhyāpati and add 57

jewel, Jalutha with a (poison-smeared) mirror; the queen killed Viduratha by keeping a weapon concealed in the braid of her hair. Therefore, he should avoid these occasions.

- He should forbid (the queens') contact with ascetics with shaven heads or matted hair and with jugglers as well as with female slaves from outside. 19 Nor should members of their families visit these (queens) except in establishments for maternity and sickness. 20 Courtesans should see them after their bodies are cleansed by a bath and rubbing and after changing their garments and ornaments. 21 Men eighty years of age or women fifty years of age, appearing as a father or a mother, and aged and eunuch domestic servants should ascertain the purity or impurity of the inmates of the harem and should make them firmly devoted to what is beneficial to the master.
 - 22 And every one (in the palace) should live in his own quarters and should not move to the quarters of another. And no one staying inside should establish contacts with an outsider.
 - 23 And every object should go out of or come into (the palace) after it is examined and its arrival or departure recorded, its transport to its destination being under a seal.

that she was not approached even in rtu, or the king was attached to other queens, and hence the trouble. — Viduratha was a Vṛṣṇi and his queen was Bindumatī Harsacarita). Cnn adds that she was enraged because her wealth was taken away by the king (dravyāpahārād vidvistā); her wealth was spent on prostitutes (Cj). - Cf. S. K. Dikshit, Indian Culture, Vol. VI, p. 43.

- 18 kuhaka 'a magician, a juggler' (māyāyogavid—Cnn) is a puppet-player in the Bhagavata Purana 10.54.12 (yatha darumayi yoşin nrtyate kuhakecchaya) 19 -samsthābhyah: cf. s. 10 above. Neither 'at the time of following the husband in death' (Cs) nor 'medical treatment' (Meyer) seems possible for samsthā. 20 rūpājīvāh: this word is usually explained as 'who lives by her beauty,' hence a courtesan, a prostitute. A connection with rūpa (as rūpaka) 'a drama' is not unlikely, implying that the $r\bar{u}p\bar{a}j\bar{v}\bar{a}$ was primarily an actress. Here they are attendants of the harem. — paśycyuh: the object is enāh, rather than tam rājānam (Cs). The king's own attendants are mentioned in 1.21.12-13 below. Cj reads paśyet, making $r\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ the subject and $r\bar{u}p\bar{a}j\bar{v}\bar{a}h$ the object. 21 $m\bar{a}t\bar{a}pitrvya\bar{n}jan\bar{a}h$, i.e., posing as the parents of some harem attendants (antaścarāṇām kṛtakamātāpitaraḥ rājapranihitāḥ—Cnn). — abhyāgārika 'a servant of the inner apartments; he could be a sthavira or a varsadhara 'eunuch.'
 - 22 sarvah, i.e., all inmates of the palace.
- 23 mudrāsamkrāntabhūn kam: this seems to mean that it should proceed to its destination only after being sealed. bhūmi can hardly mean 'a container' as Cs seems to understand it.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

SECTION 18 CONCERNING THE PROTECTION OF (THE KING'S) OWN PERSON

- 1 When risen from the bed, he should be surrounded by female guards bearing bows, in the second hall by eunuch servants wearing robes and turbans, in the third by humpbacks, dwarfs and Kirātas, in the fourth by ministers, kinsmen and door-keepers, lances in hand.
- 2 He should keep near him persons descended hereditarily from his father and grand-father, bound (to him) by some relationship, trained, loyal and of proved service, not any one belonging to another country who has not been given money and honour nor even any one belonging to his own country if taken in service after he had been harmed.

 3 The palace guards should protect the king and the royal residence.
- 4 The head cook should cause all cooking work to be done in a guarded place, by tasting it many times. 5 The king should partake of that in that same condition, after first making an offering to the (sacred) fire and to birds.
- 6 Blue colour of the flames and smoke, and a crackling sound of the fire (are signs of a thing) mixed with poison, also the death of birds (who eat it). 7 Of boiled rice, steam having the colour of the peacock's neck, coldness, sudden change of colour as when stale, being full of (unabsorbed) water, and not being moist; of broths, quick drying up as well, remaining in a state of boiling, having a soiled appear-

1.21

- 1 strīgaņair dhanvibhiḥ: the female archers are attendants or guards in the bed-chamber. Cj reads vandibhiḥ 'bards.' varṣadharābhyāgārikaiḥ: ef. 1.20.21 above.
- 2 sambandhānubaddham is from a reading in M_2 . The mss. read mahāsambandhā: the mahā- seems due to repetition from the last two syllables of the preceding word. For the expression of samsargānubandhārthī 1.16.29 above. With mahā Cb has 'descended from big families,' Cs 'connected with persons born in noble families (sambandha, i.e., anvaya),' Cj 'connected by close relationship,' Meyer 'with important relations and mighty connections.' kṛtakarmāṇam suggests one who has proved his worth by accomplishing some work. The s. is quoted in the Nītivākyāmrta (sec. 24) with the remark, ata evoktam nayavidbhih.
- 4 āsvādabāhulyena: this seems to mean 'by tasting it himself again and again to see that it is tasteful' (Cj), hardly 'by getting them tasted by servants, grinders, cooks etc. (paricārakapeṣakapācakādibhih krameṇa āsvāditaih—Cnn).' It may also mean 'with plenty of taste (i.e., tasteful dishes).'
- 6 vişayıktasya may be construed with agneh or we may supply annasya prakşepena; with vayasām, we may understand (vişayıktasya) annasya bhakşanena.
 7 annasya: cooked rice is primarily thought of. kliştasya: klişta is hastamṛdita (soiled by hand), according to Cnn. aklinnatvam 'not being moist,' i.e., with the rice-grains unsaturated. vyañjanānām: these are broths

ance, presence of foam, becoming curdled and the destruction of smell, touch and flavour; among liquids, the appearance of a shade (of colour) fainter or deeper (than usual) and the appearance of upward lines at the edges of the mass of foam,—in the case of juice a blue line in the middle, of milk a reddish (line), of wine and water black, of curds dark, of honey white; of wet substances, becoming quickly faded, becoming over-cooked and having a dark blue colour in boiling; of dry (substances), a quick falling to pieces and loss of colour; of hard substances softness and of soft substances hardness, and in their proximity the death of small creatures; of bed-sheets and covers, possession of dirty circles and the shedding of threads, wool or hair; of objects made of metals and gems, being smeared with mud-like dirt and the destruction of their smoothness, colour, weight, power, class and touch; — these are the indications of (these objects when) mixed with poison.

8 (The signs) of one who has administered poison, however, (are): having a dry, dark face, hesitation in speech, excessive perspiration and yawning, trembling, stumbling, looking about during speech, agitation in work and not remaining steady in his own place.

prepared from pulses, vegetables, etc. — ca after śuskatvam shows that we have also to understand śaityam and vaivarnyam from the preceding. — kvāthadhuāmaetc.: the translation follows Cnn 'remaining on the boil even when removed from fire (kvāthabhāvo'gnivyavadhāne'pi), appearing soiled even when not touched by any other object (dhyāmabhāvo dravyāntarāsparśe'pi), having foam and appearing broken without cause (phenabhāvo vicchinnabhāvaś ca taddhetvabhāve'pi).' In conformity with this -patala- may be dropped as in D. Cj (which reads śyāma for dhyāma and omits -paṭala-) seems to have a similar explanation. A single idea ' the state of breaking up of a mass of soiled (dhyāma) or dark (śyāma) foam on the surface while boiling' may also appear possible. - phenapatala- etc.: Cs has 'the appearance of seum, of its separation from the broth (sīmanta) and of lines above.' Meyer has 'bits of seum at the edges seem to move upwards in streaks.' We may understand 'upward lines rising from the edge of the mass of foam (on the surface)'; the upward lines may be those of steam or of some substance in the liquid or of the foam itself; Meyer has the last. - madhye seems to distinguish this from simanta of liquids in general, though it is possible that this is in addition to the preceding. D has śyāma for śyāva in this and the following s. — tantu-roma-pakṣman refer to cotton, wool and fur respectively. pakşman can hardly mean 'minute portions' (Cs). - pankamala- seems to mean 'mud-like dirt.' - raga is ' colour ' while varna conveys the idea of 'class' or quality. - prabhāva refers to the 'power' which certain gems are supposed to possess.

8 ca shows that atimātram is to be construed with svedah as well as vijrmbhanam.

— vākyaviprekṣaṇam: Cj has 'taking a long time to find a suitable reply (kim vakṣyāmīti viśeṣeṇa prekṣaṇam nibhālanam),' Cnn 'listening to another's speech, being apprehensive that he may have come to know about him and be talking about him (paravākyākarṇanam kim aham jñāto'smi matkathām eva kurvantītyāśankayā).' Meyer has 'casting glances all round when speaking'; 'looking restlessly about when some one is speaking to him' is also possible. — karmani to be construed with āvegah, hardly with anavasthānam.

- 9 Therefore, experts in the science of poison-cure and physicians should be in attendance on him. 10 The physician, taking from the medicine-store a medicine proved pure by tasting, and making the cook, the pounder and himself taste it beforehand, should offer it to the king. 11 (Precautions for) drink and water are explained by (those for) medicine.
- 12 Barbers and valets, with their garments and hands clean after a bath, should wait (on the king) after receiving sealed implements from the hands of palace-attendants. 13 Female slaves of proved integrity should do the work of bath-attendants, shampooers, bed-preparers, laundresses and garland-makers, or artists supervised by them (should do it). 14 They should offer garments and flowers after (first) putting them to their eyes, and unguents to be used after bath, rubbing powder, perfumes and bath-cosmetics (after first putting them) on their own bosoms and arms. 15 By this is explained (the procedure for) what has come from another person.
- 16 Actors should entertain (the king) avoiding plays involving (the use of) weapons, fire or poison. 17 And their musical instruments should remain inside (the palace), as also the trappings of horses, chariots and elephants.
- 18 He should ride a carriage or an animal when these are attended, by trustworthy servants, and a boat when it is attended by a trustworthy boatman. 19 He should not go to a boat which is tied to another boat or is caught in a violent wind. 20 At the water's edge, troops should stand on guard.
- 9 jāngulī 'the science of poison-cure.' Cnn remarks 'it is well-known among the Buddhists (Bauddhaprasiddhā vidyā).'
- 10 peṣaka: pounding is essential in Indian medicine as is $p\bar{a}ka$ or making a decoction.
- 13 snāpaka etc.: D shows prasādhaka along with udakaparicāraka in this compound though the preceding s. had already referred to the prasādhaka; that is probably due to 1.12.9. 14 snānānulepana-etc.: Cb Cs have 'fragrant myrobalans etc. (snāna), unguents like sandalwood (anulepana), the five astringents (pragharṣa), fragrant powder for garments (cūrnavāsa) and powder used on the head during bath (snānīya).' Cj agrees except that cūrna and vāsa are understood separately as 'jambūkaṣāyādi' and 'paṭavāsādi' respectively. Cnn has 'fragrant substance used on the head (snānam sugandhadravyanirmitam sārdram yacchirasi prayujyate), unguents like kunkuma etc. (anulepanam kunkumādi), unguents (udvartanam eva pragharṣah), dry fragrant powder used for the hair after bath (cūrnah śuṣkah snānottarakālam keśavāsāya yah prayujyate), fragrant incense (vāsah sugandhakalpah dhūpah)'; there is no explanation of snānīya. It might appear better to understand snānānulepana, pragharṣacūrna, vāsa and snānīya as the items intended.
- 16 kuśilavāh appear here as actors and acrobats rather than as minstrels, as the latter would hardly have an occasion to use fire or weapon. Cf. 1.12.9.

- 21 He should plunge in water that has been cleared by fishcatchers. 22 He should go to a park after it is cleared by snakecatchers.
- 23 He should go to a forest containing game, for practising on moving targets, after the danger of harm from thieves, wild animals and enemies has been removed from it by fowlers and hunters.
- 24 He should grant an interview to a holy ascetic in the company of trusted armed guards, to an envoy of a neighbouring prince in the company of the council of ministers. 25 Being fully armoured and riding a horse, an elephant or a chariot, he should inspect fully equipped troops.
- 26 At the time of his departure from and entry into (the palace) he should go along the royal highway, with guards stationed on both sides and with persons carrying arms, asceti s and cripples removed from it by armed men and staff-bearers. 27 He should not plunge in a crowd of men. 28 He should go to fairs, gatherings, festivals and parties (only when these are) supervised by officers in command of ten soldiers each.
 - 29 And just as the king keeps a watch over others through secret agents, so should he, being self-possessed, guard himself against danger from others.

Herewith ends the First Book of the Arthasastra of Kautilya 'Concerning the Topic of Training'

21 matsyagrāha seems to mean 'a fish-catcher' (Cj), though 'fish and crocodiles' is also possible, as in Cnn. 22 vyālagrāha 'one who catches snakes' (Cj) is clearly intended, though Cnn has 'vyāla i.e. lions etc. and grāha i.e. crocodile.' Lions can hardly be thought of as possible in an udyāna.

26 śastribhir from D is clearly better, since armed men are to be removed from the highways. — pravrajita-vyanga: these are likely to be enemy agents and hence they have to be removed. Perhaps we should read nyanga (for vyanga) as in 2.23.2 and other places. — yātrā is a festival or a fair in honour of some deity in a temple, while utsava is any other festival. — prahavana: see 1.10.9. — daśavargika 'an officer in charge of ten soldiers or units.' He is probably the same as the patika described in 10.6.45; cf. also 10.3.46.

29 adhitisthati 'does harm' (Cs); however, 'supervises over,' i.e., 'keeps a strict watch over' seems a more likely idea. — ābādha from D Cj is the usual form of the word in the text, not bādha.

Book Two

THE ACTIVITY OF THE HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS

CHAPTER ONE

SECTION 19 SETTLEMENT OF THE COUNTRY-SIDE

- 1 He should cause settlement of the country, which had been settled before or which had not been settled before, by bringing in people from foreign lands or by shifting the overflow (of population) from his own country.
- 2 He should cause villages to be settled consisting mostly of Sūdra agriculturists, with a minimum of one hundred families and a maximum of five hundred families, with boundaries extending over one

In the Second Book, which deals with the activity of the various state departments we have a fairly full account of the internal administration of a state. Only the administration of justice and the maintenance of law and order are reserved for the Third and Fourth Books.

2.1

This chapter deals primarily with the settlement of new lands; a few rules, however, might appear to be applicable to old established settlements as well.

- 1 bhūtapūrvam 'which was settled before,' but was apparently abandoned by its inhabitants because of famine etc. abhūtapūrva 'not settled before' is virgin land. According to Cnn (which is available in full for the first three chapters of this Book), the former is easy to work (sukhasādhya), the latter difficult. The expression bhūtapūrva is used in connection with a kingdom in 13.5.2, 22; there it means 'which had formerly belonged to him.' apavāhana includes the idea of enticement as well as displacement by force. Mallinātha quotes this passage on Raghuvamśa 15.29.
- 2 Śūdrakarṣaka- 'Śūdra agriculturists' (Cnn) rather than 'Śūdras and agriculturists' (Cb). Actual workers on land could have been only Śūdras. kula-śatāvaram etc.: according to Cnn, kula means land that can be ploughed by one, two or three ploughs (being respectively best, middling and worst); the smallest village area has 100 such fields with a boundary of one krośa, while the largest has 500 fields with a boundary of two krośas. It is not certain that all this is meant here. krośadvikrośasīmānam: apparently the boundary of each village is to be at a distance of one or two krośas from the houses in it. Cj states that the village area should be four krośas on each side giving 16 square krośas; of these 10 are to be used for fields, 5 should be given over to house and pasture and one reserved for devasthāna and common. According to Cs the distance between two villages

krośa or two krośas, (and) affording mutual protection. 3 He should fix, at the boundary lines a river, a mountain, a forest, a stretch of pebbles, sand etc., a cavern, an embankment, a Samī tree, a Sālmalī tree or a milk-tree (like Aśvattha, Nyagrodha etc.).

- 4 He should establish a *sthānīya* in the middle of eight hundred villages, a *dronamukha* in the middle of four hundred villages, a *kārvaṭika* in the middle of two hundred villages, (and) a *saṅgrahaṇa* in a group of ten villages.
- 5 On the frontiers, he should erect the fortresses of frontier-chiefs (as) the gates of the country, under the command of frontier chiefs. 6 Trappers, Sabaras, Pulindas, Caṇḍālas and forest-dwellers should guard the intervening regions between them.
- 7 He should grant (lands) to priests, preceptors, chaplains and Brahmins learned in the Vedas (as) gifts to Brahmins, exempt from fines and taxes, with inheritance passing on to corresponding heirs, (and) to heads of departments, accountants and others, and to gopas, sthānikas, elephant-trainers, physicians, horse-trainers and couriers, (lands) without the right of sale or mortgage.
- 8 He should allot to tax-payers arable fields for life. 9 Unarable fields should not be taken away from those who are making them arable.

is to be one krośa or two. krośa is the same as goruta of 2.20.25, though krośa itself is not mentioned in that chapter. Cnn explains 'niśāvasāne yāvantam pradeśam gavām rutam kṛṣṭam vyāpnoti.' — anyonyārakṣam 'giving protection to each other,' though 'protected against each other's eneroachments' is also possible. 3 bhṛṣṭi is from D, explained in Cnn as 'a stretch of pebbles, sand etc.', suggesting the dry bed of a rivulet. The Medinī gives śūnyavāṭikā 'a deserted garden' as the meaning. The word occurs in the Rgoeda 1.56.3 (girer bhṛṣṭiḥ) in the sense of a ridge or edge. Meyer proposes ghṛṣṭi and explains vanaghṛṣṭi by 'the edge of a forest.' The reading gṛṣṭi is explained as 'a small hill' in Cb and 'a plant named Badarā or a kind of tree' in Cs. This latter is unlikely. As a tree it would have been put later in the compound with Śālmalī, etc.

- 4 kārvaṭikam: the form khārvaṭikam is also possible. These towns are established for purposes of revenue, being the headquarters of revenue officers like gopa, sthānika, etc. Cf. 2.35.1-6 below.
- 7 brahmadeyāni: the substantive may be grāmāni or kṣetrāṇi; perhaps the latter is to be understood. abhirūpadāyādakāni: Cnn explains 'with heirs of the same type as the person to whom the gift was originally made.' D's anirūpais obviously corrupt, but suggests that anurūpa-dāyādakāni may have been the original reading. Cj has 'of which sons, grandsons etc. endowed with learning and character are to be owners and which are not to revert to the king.' abhirūpadāyakāni of G M is possible in the sense of 'as worthy gifts' or 'yielding suitable revenue,' but does not seem original.
- 8 aikapurusikāni 'for one generation,' not to pass on to their heirs. Waste land being state property, it is to revert to the state on the death of the donee. 9 $n\bar{a}dey\bar{a}ni$ is from Cnn (supported by D's corruption $n\bar{a}$. .ni). $n\bar{a}deyat$ is grammatically impossible.

- 10 He should take away (fields) from those who do not till them and give them to others. 11 Or, village servants and traders should till them. 12 Or, those who do not till should make good the loss (to the treasury).
- 13 And he should favour them with grains, cattle and money.
 14 These they should pay back afterwards at their convenience.
 15 And he should grant to them favours and exemptions which would cause an increase in the treasury, (but) avoid such as would cause loss to the treasury.
 16 For, a king with a small treasury swallows up the citizens and the country people themselves.
 17 He should grant exemptions at the time of settlement or as people come.
 18 He should, like a father, show favours to those whose exemptions have ceased.
- 19 He should set going work in mines, factories, produce-forests, elephant-forests, cattle-herds and trade-routes and (establish) water-routes, land-routes and ports.
- 20 He should cause irrigation works to be built with natural water sources or with water to be brought in from elsewhere. 21 Or, to others who are building (these), he should render aid with land, roads, trees and implements, and (also render aid) to (the building of) holy places and parks. 22 If one walks out of the joint building of an irrigation work, his labourers and bullocks should (be made to) do (his share of) the work. 23 And he should be a sharer in the expenses and yet should receive no portion (of the benefits derived).
- 10 ācchidya: confiscation is possible because the newly settled land was originally state property. 11 grāmabhṛtaka: these would appear to be state servants since they are included in the salary lists in 5.3.23. Their precise duties are not mentioned anywhere in the text. Cj understands 'barbers etc.', Cnn 'potters, smiths etc.' apparently corresponding to the modern balutedārs, though these receive no salary. 12 vāvahīnam: vā found in D seems necessary. Meyer's explanation of apahīnam as 'a smaller rent or tax' is not very likely. Loss suffered by the state is to be understood; 'vinaṣṭakṣetraphalam' (Cnn).
- 14 anu as a conjunctive in the sense of 'afterwards' is not very common. Cf., however, the Rāmāyāṇa 2.84.4 (asmān vadhiṣyati anu Dāśarathim Rāmam). 17 yathāgatakam, i.e., even if they come to settle there sometime after the first settlement.
- 19 panyapattana is ordinarily 'a market town '; but in the text, it refers principally to 'a port,' not an inland town. Cf. 2.28.7, 10, 12; 7.12.21; etc. This may suggest that market towns were principally situated on river-banks or the sea-coast.
- 20 setum: this refers primarily to an embankment or dam built for storing water, also to the building of tanks. The setu is sahodaka when there are natural springs of water or a natural flow of water; it is āhāryodaka when it is a sort of a storage tank with water brought into it through channels. Cf. 7.12.4-5. 22 saṁbhūyasetubandhāt, i.e., when all settlers decide to pool their resources to build a tank for common use. 23 The punishment for a person backing out of a joint venture appears

- The ownership of the fish, ducks, and green vegetables in the irrigation works should go to the king.
- 25 The king should enforce discipline on slaves, persons kept as pledges and kinsmen who do not obey (their masters etc.).
- 26 And the king should maintain children, aged persons and persons in distress when these are helpless, as also the woman who has borne no child and the sons of one who has (when these are helpless).
- 27 The elders of the village should augment the property of a minor till he comes of age, also the property of a temple.
- 28 If a person with means does not maintain his children and wife, his father and mother, his brothers who have not come of age, and his unmarried and widowed sisters, a fine of twelve panas (shall be imposed), except when these have become outcasts, with the exception of the mother.
- 29 If one renounces home (to become an ascetic) without providing for his sons and wife, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed), also if one induces a woman to renounce home. 30 One who has lost his capacity for activity may renounce home after securing permission from the judges. 31 Otherwise, he shall be put under restraint.

rather severe; hence Meyer proposes to include punyasthānārāmānām ca in s. 22, to read anapakrāmantah and to understand rājā as the subject in s. 23, 'labourers and bullocks coming together shall do work for irrigation in connection with holy places and parks, without staying away. And the king shall share in the expenses and shall receive no benefit.' This is extremely unlikely. The harshness of the punishment may be justified on the ground that the person who agreed to join in the work of new settlement, is backing out of what is beneficial to the entire village. 24 plava 'a kind of duck' (Cs) or 'birds' (Cb Cj), rather than 'a boat.' — 'harita, i.e., nālikā (reeds) and paņya, i.e., śrngātaka, kaseruka, etc.' (Cnn). — rājā svāmyan gacchet: this is apparently because the land on which the tank is built is state property.

- 25 -āhitaka-: see 3.12.9 ff.
- 26 -vyādhita- (read after -vṛddha- in GM) does not appear to be original. anātha is to be understood with each of bāla etc. 'bālādīnām antahpatito'pyanāthaśabdo viścsanam, anyathā atiprasangan syāt' (Cnn); and anātha is also to be understood with striyam and putrān as well. Cf. Breloer (KSt, III, 137 n.4).
- 27 The reading varjayeyuh is quite unlikely. About elders being in charge of the property of minors see 3.5.20.
- 28 kanyā vidhavāś ca describe the two kinds of sisters who must be maintained. - anyatra mātuḥ, i.e., a mother, even if patita, must be maintained. Cf. Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra 2.2.48 : patitām api tu mātaram bibhṛyād anabhibhāṣamāṇaḥ.
- 29 striyam ca pravrājayataḥ: Cnn remarks that the woman meant is anivṛttarajaskā and still able to bear children. 30 luptavyāyāmah is from D Cj. The latter explains 'devoid of internal and external powers (bāhyābhyantaraśaktivikalah).' Cnn has 'prajananaśaktyabhāvād.' The word vyavāya read in G_1 means 'coitus ' and does not appear to be original.

- 32 An ascetic sect other than the (Brahmanical) forest hermit, a corporation other than that of those born in the same place or an association with agreements except one for a joint undertaking shall not settle in his country-side.
- 33 And there should be no parks there nor halls for recreation.
 34 Actors, dancers, singers, musicians, professional story-tellers or minstrels shall not create obstruction in the work (of the people).
 35 Because of villages being without shelter (for outsiders) and because of men being engrossed in (work on the) fields, an increase in the treasury, labourers, goods, grains and liquids follows.
 - 36 The king should exempt from taxes a region laid waste by the army of an enemy or by foresters, or afflicted by disease or famine, and he should prohibit expensive sports.
 - 37 He should protect agriculture that is oppressed by the troubles of fines, labourers and taxes, and herds of cattle (oppressed) by thieves, wild animals, poison and crocodiles as well as by diseases.
 - 38 He should keep clear trade-routes that are harassed by (the king's) favourites, works-officers, robbers and frontierchiefs or are reduced by herds of cattle.
- 82 vānaprasthād anyah etc.: this would exclude all heretical sects from the land.

 sajātād anyah saṃghah: though sajāta means 'born together,' it seems to refer to those who live at the same place, the idea being to prevent foreign tribal groups (saṃghas) from settling in the country. Only native or indigenous saṃghas are to be favoured. Cj explains 'which was formed at the time of settlement or which was there before in a bhūtapūrva janapada.' Cb explains sajāta by 'who are conversant with the four vidyās.' Cs, reading sujātād explains 'formed for the good of the king and the country.' Cnn thinks that this forbids the formation of śrenīs.

 sāmutthāyikād anyah samayānubandhah: sāmutthāyika refers to those who join together for some common undertaking; in the present case, settlers on land joining together for some specific undertaking like the building of a tank are to be understood. That is how the commentators understand. Cnn remarks that these restrictions apply only to the time of settlement; heretics and others may enter the villages with the king's permission (ayam nivešaviṣayo niyamah; āgantavas tu pāṣandādayo rājñānujñātāh pravišanti).
 - 35 nirāśrayatvāt: āśraya 'shelter' for naṭa, nartaka, etc.
- 36 pariharet: in the context, 'should exempt from taxes' has to be understood; 'dandakaradi na grhniyat' as Cnn has it.
- 37 viṣagrāha seems to mean 'poison and crocodiles' in view of 2.29.13, 24. The expression can hardly mean 'a poisonous creature.'
- 38 kārmikaiḥ; these are the state officers in charge of state undertakings. See 2.7.22-23. śodhayet 'should keep clear of noxious elements,' the noxious elements being the favourites, officers etc.

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39 Thus the king should protect produce-forests, elephantforests, irrigation works and mines that were made in ancient times and should start new ones.

CHAPTER TWO

SECTION 20 DISPOSAL OF NON-AGRICULTURAL LAND

- 1 On land unsuitable for agriculture, he should allot pastures for cattle. 2 And he should grant to ascetics wildernesses for Vedastudy and soma-sacrifices, with safety promised to (everything) immovable and movable in them, one goruta in extent at the most.
- 3 He should cause an animal park for the king's recreation to be laid out, with the same extent (i.e., one goruta), with a single entrance, protected by a moat, containing shrubs and bushes bearing sweet fruits, having trees without thorns, with shallow pools of water and stocked with tamed deer and (other) animals, containing wild animals with their claws and teeth removed (and) having male and female elephants and cubs useful for hunting. 4 And he should establish on its border or in conformity with the (suitability of the) land, another animal park where all animals are (welcomed) as guests (and given full protection).
- 5 And he should establish forests, one each for the products indicated as forest produce, as well as factories for goods made from forest produce, and (settle) foresters, attached to the produce-forests.
 - 39 dravyadvipavanam: these are referred to in the next Chapter.

2.2

For the correct form of the name of this Section, bhūmicchidrāpidhānam, see 1.1.4 above. Cj too shows the correct form. — bhūmicchidra, i.e., kṛṣyayogyā bhūh—Yādaya's Vaijayantī.

- 1 vivītāni: the root is vī 'to eat' according to Cnn (vī khādane'tra draṣṭavyaḥ).

 2 There is little doubt that Brāhmaṇebhyo and the consequential tapovanāni ca (in G M) are not original. The regions are meant not for Brahmins as such, but for ascetics. As Cnn has it 'brahmāraṇyam yatra Āraṇyakādivedopaniṣad adhīyate, somāraṇyam yajñabhūmiḥ.' goruta-parāṇi: for goruta, see 2.20.25.
- 3 'gulmāḥ karamardakādayaḥ gucchā badarāmalakādayaḥ' (Cnn). mārgayuka: Cj explains 'mṛgayāśīlā mṛgayavaḥ, teṣām karma mārgayukam;' Cnn 'mṛgayur vyādhaḥ tasya karma.' mārgāyuka is grammatically indefensible. 4 sarvātithimṛgam: this appears to be a sort of a zoological garden.
- 5 kupyapradiṣṭānām, i.e., enumerated in 2.17 below. These are dravyavanas. D adds tarūṇām after dravyānām; it seems to have been a marginal gloss on the latter word. aṭavīś ca: as often in this text, aṭavī refers to forest-dwellers or foresters, not to forests; cf. 1.18.7; 2.1.36 etc. 'aṭavīś ca āṭavikāmś ca' (Cnn).

- 6 On the border (of the kingdom), he should establish a forest for elephants guarded by foresters. 7 The superintendent of the elephant-forest should, with the help of guards of the elephant-forest, protect the elephant-forest (whether) on the mountain, along a river, along lakes or in marshy tracts, with its boundaries, entrances and exits (fully) known. 8 They should kill any one slaying an elephant. 9 To a person bringing in the pair of tusks of an (elephant) dying naturally, a reward of four paṇas and a quarter (shall be given).
- 10 Guards of elephant-forests, aided by elephant keepers, footchainers, border guards, foresters and attendants, with their own odours suppressed by the urine and dung of elephants, with their bodies covered with branches of the *Bhallātakī*, (and) moving with five or seven female elephant decoys, should ascertain the size of the herds of elephants, by means of indications provided by sleeping places, foot-prints, dung and damage caused to river-banks. 11 They should maintain a record in writing of (every) elephant, (whether) moving in a herd, moving alone, lost from a herd, lord of a herd, (and whether) wild, intoxicated, cub or released from captivity.
- 12 They should catch elephants whose outward marks and behaviour are excellent in the judgment of elephant-trainers.

 13 Victory (in battle) for a king depends principally on elephants.

 14 For, elephants, being possessed of very big-sized bodies and being capable of life-destroying activities, pound the troops, battle-arrays, fortresses and camps of enemies.
 - 15 Elephants from the Kalingas and the Angaras are best; those from the east, those from Cedi and Karūṣa and those from
- 6 pratyante 'on the border' of the kingdom, hardly on the border of the dravyavana. Cj refers to the region between Lauhitya in the east, Prayāga in the west, Gangā in the south and Himavat in the north, describing it as the prācya vana and implies that the janapada should not be inside this region. aṭavyārakṣam 'of which the protection is secured by foresters.' 7 nāgavanādhyakṣaḥ: this officer is different from the hastyadhyakṣa of 2.31–32. Cnn quotes mnemonic verses giving descriptions of the pārvata, nādeya, sārasa and ānūpa regions.
- 10 Cj reads sīmaka for saimika and padya for padyā. lenḍa-: this form of the word is adopted throughout on the strength of D Cnn. Cf. also 'padapracārair lenḍaiś ca'—Mānasollāsa, 2.182. -kūlaghāta- is damage done to riverbanks when elephants butt in sport. 11 ekacarain niryūtham: according to Cnn the former has left the herd of his own accord, the latter is driven out of the herd (ekacarain svayam eva yūthān niḥsṛtam, niryūtham yūthān nirdhāritam).
- 14 -anīkavyūha- as two ideas 'troops and battle-arrays' (Cnn) is preferable to 'arrays of an army.' prāṇaharakarmāṇo: Cnn quotes 'spṛśannapi gajo hanti.'
- 15 $k\bar{a}ling\bar{a}ngaraj\bar{a}h$ is from D; M's $-r\bar{a}j\bar{a}h$ is corrupted from it, the editions making an attempt to correct it by reading $-gaj\bar{a}h$. Cnn, which has intruded into the text of D, gives a definition of $\bar{a}ngareyaka\ vana$, showing that the Anga region

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the Daśārņas and the Aparāntas are considered as of medium quality among the elephants.

16 Those from the Surastras and the Pancanadas are declared to be of the lowest quality among them. Of all of these, valour, speed and spirit increase by training.

CHAPTER THREE

SECTION 21 CONSTRUCTION OF FORTS

In all four quarters, on the frontiers of the country, he should carse a nature-made fortress, equipped for fight, to be made: a waterfort (either) an island in the midst of water or high land shut in by water, (or) a mountain fort (either) consisting of rocks or a cave, (or) a desert fort (either) one without water and shrubs or a salty region, or a jungle fort (either) a marshy tract with water or a thicket of shrubs.

is not to be thought of here. Cb reads $kalingavangaj\bar{a}h$. According to mnemonic verses quoted in Cnn the $k\bar{a}linga$ vana lies between Utkala, the southern ocean, the Sahya Mountain and Kalinga; the $\bar{a}ngareyaka$ vana lies between Vidiśā, the Narmadā, Brahmavardhana and the Pāriyātra Mountain. According to Cnn, only these two types of elephants are best, those from $pr\bar{a}cya$ etc. being madhyama. — $pr\bar{a}cy\bar{a}s$ $cedikar\bar{u}saj\bar{a}h$: the $pr\bar{a}cya$ vana lies between the Lauhitya, Prayāga, the Gangā and Himavat; the $cedikar\bar{u}saka$ vana between Mekalā, Tripurī, Dasārṇa and the Unmattagangā (Cnn). — $d\bar{a}s\bar{a}rn\bar{a}h$ is from Cb; a derivative as in the other cases is better. The $d\bar{a}s\bar{a}rna$ vana lies between Dasārṇa, Mahāgiri, Vindhya and the Vetravatī (Cnn). No description of the $\bar{a}par\bar{a}nta$ vana is found in these verses. 16 $saur\bar{a}strak\bar{a}h$: the $saur\bar{a}straka$ vana lies between Avantī, the Narmadā, Dvārakā and Arbuda (Cnn). — $p\bar{a}n\bar{c}canad\bar{a}h$: this is certainly preferable to $p\bar{a}n\bar{c}cajan\bar{a}h$ of G M. The $p\bar{a}n\bar{c}canada$ vana lies between Kurukṣetra, Kālikākānana, the Sindhu and Himavat (Cnn). — Very similar details are found in the $m\bar{a}nasoll\bar{a}sa$ of Someśvara (2.177 ff.).

2.3

Many of the details concerning the building of a fort are far from clear. Meyer calls this 'the most frightful' among the chapters of this text.

1 daivakṛtam 'made by fate,' i.e., provided by nature; the reading devakṛtam 'made by the gods' conveys the same idea perhaps a little more clearly. — There are two varieties of each of the four kinds of durgas. — nimnāvaruddham 'surrounded on all sides by water' (nimnena jalena—Cnn). Cb renders nimna by 'lakes.' — prāstaram: this seems to mean 'made of or consisting of rocks.' Cj understands 'a peak on top of a mountain with the sides chiselled off (śikharam eva samantataṣ ṭaṅkacchinnapārśvatvād durgamam).' — nirudakastambam 'without water and without shrubs' rather than 'where shrubs grow on waterless ground' (Meyer). — khañjanodakam: khañjana is a marshy place, a bog; cf. 10.4.8; 12.4.25. That and water surround this kind of fort; 'sapaṅkajalam, khaji gativaikalye iti pāṭhāt' — Cnn. Its mention as vanadurga seems due to the growth of weeds etc. in the morass. All these are 'pature-made' and hence no man-made

- 2 Among them a river fort and a mountain fort are places for the protectors of the country, a desert fort and a jungle fort are places for foresters or places of retreat in times of calamity.
- 3 In the centre of the country, he should lay out a sthānīya, the headquarters for revenue, on a site recommended by experts in the science of building, at the confluence of rivers or on the bank of a lake that never dries up, either a (natural) lake or a (man-made) tank, round, rectangular or square or in accordance with the nature of the building site, with water flowing from left to right, a market town, served by a land-route and a water-route.
- 4 He should cause three moats to be dug round it, at a distance of one danda from each other, fourteen, twelve and ten dandas broad, three-quarters or a half of the breadth deep, one-third (of the surface-breadth) at the bottom or square with the bottom, paved with stones or with the sides (only) built of stones or bricks, reaching down to (natural springs of) water or filled with water coming from elsewhere, with (arrangements for) draining excess water, and stocked with lotuses and crocodiles.

fortification is necessary in their case. 2 nadīdurga: the same as udakadurga. — janapadārakṣa-: this expression is understood as in Cnn in the sense of antapāla frontier-chiefs. It corresponds to aṭavī, i.e., foresters in the next clause. The expression may also mean 'protection of the country.' — The Devīpurāna 72.53-55 agrees with this text in the matter of these eight durgas.

- 3 samudayasthānam, i.e., the place where revenue is ultimately brought and kept. sthānīyam: this is the headquarters for eight hundred villages (2.1.4 above). In most cases, it is the fortified capital of the state. It seems that hrada is illustrated by saras, a natural lake, and tatāka, an artificial tank; hrada appears to be a common name for the two. pradakṣinodakam, i.e., in effect on the right bank of the river. panyapuṭabhedanam is evidently a market town, 'where packages coming from different places are opened for sale' (Cj Cs). According to Meyer puṭabheda is 'a bend in the river' (nadīvakram, says the Medinīkośa). According to Charpentier (ZDMG, 70, 237-242) it means a fork in the river where it breaks into two. amsapatha is the same as sthalapatha.
- 4 dandāntarāh: D adds dvidandāntarāh vā after this. Cnn, however, shows no explanation of it. A danda is about six feet. In 2.20.19 a dhanus of 108 angulas (about 6'9") is mentioned as a measure for prākāra and roads. In the present passage, however, dhanus is not used at all, only danda. We may, with Cnn, understand the widest of the three moats as being nearest the rampart and the narrowest furthest away from it. tribhāgamūlāh, i.e., the width at the bottom is to be one-third the width at the surface. Meyer understands tribhāga in the sense of three-fourths; that doesn't appear likely, though it would make the sides less sloping. mūle caturaśrapāṣānopahitāh in the text is an emendation suggested by Meyer, the meaning being that the bottom should be paved with square stones. But the emendation is unnecessary. We should read with D mūlacaturaśrā vā and regard it as an option to tribhāgamūlāh in the sense 'or, square with the bottom,' i.e., with straight instead of sloping sides. The translation is in conformity with this, with this reading; pāṣānopahitāh 'paved with stones (all through) 'becomes an

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- 5 At a distance of four dandas from the moat, he should cause a rampart to be made out of the earth dug out, six dandas high, made compact, twice that in breadth, piled upwards with a platform-like (flat) surface (at the top) or with a jug-like side, pounded by elephants and bullocks (and) having (on the sides) clusters of thorny bushes and poisonous creepers. 6 With the remainder of the earth, he should cause the low places in the residential areas or palace grounds to be filled up.
- 7 On top of the rampart, he should cause a parapet to be built, double the breadth in height, built of bricks, from twelve hastas upwards up to twenty-four hastas, either odd or even in number (of hastas in height), with a passage for the movement of chariots, shaped like a palm-stem and with the top decked with 'drums' and 'monkeyheads.' 8 Or, he should cause it to be made of stones, close-knit with

option to the following pāṣāṇeṣṭakābaddhapārśvā vā ' with sides (alone) paved with stones or bricks.' — saparivāhāḥ refers to arrangements for draining away excess water. — padmagrāhavatīḥ ' having lotuses and crocodiles,' the former for beauty, the latter as a danger to enemies. Cf. Samarāngaṇasūtradhāra, 10.17-22. Meyer thinks that padmagrāha may refer to some contrivance for letting water in or out by closing or opening it. That is possible though uncertain.

- 6 avaruddham 'enclosed firmly 'seems to refer to firmness of foundation and the compactness of the structure. Cnn explains 'with both sides tiled with stones etc. (pāṣāṇādibhir baddhobhayapārśvam).' That seems hardly intended. ūrdhvacayam: 'with a high pile'; Cj Cnn explain 'in the shape of an ant-hill (valmīkanikarasamsthānam—Cj).' mañcapṛṣṭham 'with the top shaped like a platform, i.e., flat.' Cnn understands 'slightly depressed in the middle to make the parapet wall on it firm (madhye kimcin nimnam prākāradārḍhyārtham).' This is not an option to ūrdhvacayam as Cs understands it. kumbhakukṣikam vā: 'with jar-like sides,' i.e., bulging in the middle to make elimbing difficult. This is an option to ūrdhvacayam, mañcapṛṣṭham obviously being common to both. 6 vāstucchidram refers to areas in the city unsuitable for building purposes because they are not level. rājabhavanam from D appears genuine in view of vā.
- 7 The height of the brick parapet is to be 12, 13, .. up to 24 hastas and the width to be half the height in each case. For hasta see 2.20.12. rathacaryāsamcāram: evidently this passage for the movement of carts is to be on the top of the parapet, though in the case of the smaller widths, it is not easy to suppose that rathas could move freely on top. Meyer makes ratha-etc. as the substantive and tāla-.ācitāgram and prthu...sailam as adjectives to it. That seems hardly possible. All the expressions only describe the vapra. tālamūlam as in D Cb is better. As an adjective to vapram, it is explained 'shaped like the root of a palm tree, i.e., broad at the base and narrow at the top' (Cb.) murajakaih kapišīrsakaiš ca: the two expressions describe the shape of the coping stones on top. Cj thinks that these were covers for fighters, the former with even tops (samašīrobhih),' the latter 'shaped like the Asvatha leaf (aśvathapatrasamsthānaih).' Meyer's rendering '(a chariot passage) with a palm base and with figures of female breasts (uraja) and monkey-

big slabs, but under no circumstances (should he have it) made of wood.

9 For, fire remains lurking in it.

10 He should cause turrets to be made, square with the breadth, provided with steps for going down, (of the) same (length) as the height, and at a distance of thirty dandas from each other. 11 Midway between (every) two turrets, he should cause a tower to be built, with two stories inclusive of a hall, (and) one and a half times in length.

12 Between each turret and tower, in the centre, he should cause to be erected a board, compact with planks having holes with coverings, as a place (from which to fight) for three archers. 13 In the intervening spaces, he should cause a 'gods' way 'to be made, two hastas in breadth and four times that in length, at the side.

heads' is quite unlikely. 8 pṛthuśilāsamhatam vā śailam is an option to aiṣṭakam above. 9 avahitaḥ ' placed in,' i.e., lurking.

10 vişkambhacaturaśram 'square with the width (of the parapet);' the turret is thus a square structure, each side being as long as the parapet-width. - utsedhasamāvakṣepasopānam: Cnn explains 'with a flight of steps for descent (on the inside) in conformity with the height of the parapet together with the rampart (savaprasya prākārasya ya utsedhas tasya samo yo'vakṣepaḥ tatra sopānāni ārohaṇārtham niśreṇīpadānīva yasya)' and adds that soldiers can then easily go to the top even when they carry weapons in both hands. This, however, can hardly be understood appropriately with the attālaka or turret. The steps may be only from the turret to the top of the parapet. And avaksepasopāna as 'a ladder for throwing down (and taking up) at will' is not unlikely. Cj remarks that there should be murajakas and kapiśīrṣakas even on top of the attālaka. 11 saharmyadvitalām, i.e., having two floors, one of them (the upper one) being a room or hall. It seems that the lower floor was without walls, there being only pillars to support the upper hall. — adhyardhāyāmām 'with a length one and a half times the width,' the width apparently being co-extensive with the width of the parapet. The pratoli tower is thus bigger and loftier than the attalaka. With the reading dvyardhā- Meyer understands 'two and a half times.' — 12 sāpidhānaetc.: It seems that a board of planks is fixed at the outer edge of the parapet; through holes in it, archers could shoot at the enemy outside and the holes could be covered at will so that arrows from outside could not come in. Cnn which has this explanation (sacchidraphalakatvam śaranirgamārtham, sāpidhānatvam paraśarapratiskhalanārtham) adds that the name indrakośa is due to the many eye-like holes in it (akṣisamānasahasracchidropetatvāt). — 13 antareṣu, i.e., in the spaces between the various structures, just described. - pārśve 'at the side' means according to Cnn 'on the outer side of the parapet (prākārabahiḥpārśve) ' since the devapatha is intended for the protection of the base of the parapet on the outside. The devapatha is, according to it, made of strong wood fixed with copper-strips, with openings for shooting arrows but otherwise covered on all sides (sāradārumayam tāmrapatrikābaddham adhahkṛtaśaramārgam sarvataś chāditam). It is so called apparently because entry into it was difficult. That such a structure should be designated -patha is rather odd. - GM add anuprākāram astahastāyatam in the s., but the words seem to be merely a paraphrase of pārśve caturguṇāyāmam and appear to have got into the text from a marginal gloss. - It should be remarked that in view of the structures on the parapet, rathacaryā (s. 7) would be difficult on it.

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- 14 He should cause tracks to be made of a width of one danda or two dandas, and in an unassailable place a run-way and an exit-door.
- Outside (the fort), he should cause a covered road to be made that is strewn with knee-breakers, a mass of pikes, pits, concealed traps, barbed wires, 'serpent-backs,' 'palm-leaves,' 'three-peaks,' 'dog's jaws,' bars, 'jumping sandals,' frying pans and ponds.
- 16 Having made on both sides of the parapet a 'ram's head' one danda and a half (in extent), he should cause the gate-way to be laid out, with space for six beams of the tower, from five dandas (square)
- 14 dandāntarāh: antara is 'width' as in 2.4.3 below. caryāh 'tracks, courses' seems to refer to steps for going up and down from the devapatha to the pradhāvanikā. The tracks would naturally be well protected as they are apparently on the outside of the wall. — pradhāvanikām: Cnn explains 'a run-way protected by a small zig-zag wall of the height of a man, extending from the prākāra to the big moat, intended as a cover for the fighters (gomūtrikākārā puruṣapramāṇamuṇḍaprākāreņa agrāhye pareṣām niṣkiradvārair nirgatya parikhārakṣārtham pradhāvanti yodhā asyām).' Cj has a similar explanation. Cb understands pradhāvitikā merely as 'a screen for the protection of soldiers from the arrows of the enemy.' - niskiradvāram: Cnn has 'a small exit door made of iron at the end of a stair-case leading down from the devapatha in the outer wall of the rampart; through this door soldiers come out into the pradhāvanikā for the protection of the moat (devapathasya adhastāt prākārakukṣipradeśeṣu niṣkiradvāram niṣkīryante bahiḥparikhārakṣārtham yodhā yena tad ārohaṇāvataraṇārtham kṛtam tiryak prākārabāhyabhittişu svalpatarasopānam kālāyasadrdhakapāṭam).' Cj seems to have a similar explanation. For this door, cf. 13.4.12.
- 15 ahipṛṣṭha, tālapatra, ṣṛṇgāṭaka etc. have reference to the shape of the contraptions which may have been made of iron or strong wood. śvadanṣṭra: in 10.4.9 it is obviously the name of a plant dangerous to elephants; here, however, a contraption shaped like a dog's jaws made of iron may be understood as in Cnn. upaskandanapādukā 'sandals that make one jump' (Meyer). Cj has 'upaskanda, i.e., much broken ground, and pādukā, i.e., a hole of the size of the foot, covered with dust etc.'
- 16 meṇḍhakam: there is little doubt about this being the original reading. According to Cnn Cj, it refers to a structure on the rampart on both sides of the gate-way, resembling a ram's head with two horns. It seems that according to Cnn the two heads are above the level of the height of the prākāra and face each other in the opening made for the gate-way. Cj is not quite clear but seems to imply that the two ram's heads face inside the wall as well as outside, apparently above the gate extending over its entire width (meṣaśṛṇgadvayasaṅsthānam dvāra-suṣirābhimukhāgrabāhuprākāram—Cnn; antar bahiś ca bāhū prasārya meṣaṣṛṇgavat mārgābhimukhau—Cj). adhyardhadaṇḍam: this, according to Cnn, refers to the extent of the projection of the ram's heads in the gate-way opening. As the gate-way area is 5-daṇḍa square, we get an opening of two daṇḍas (1½ into 2, i.e., 3, and 5 minus 3), i.e., 8 hastas for the gates between the two rams's heads. (ubhaya-meṇḍhakaśṛṇgacatuṣṭayamadhye'ṣṭahastaṁ dvāramārgāvakāśaṁ muktvā—Cnn). Apmenḍhakaśṛṇgacatuṣṭayamadhye'ṣṭahastaṁ dvāramārgāvakāśaṁ muktvā—Cnn). Apparently in Cj this referred to the extent of the projection on the inside and on the outside of the gate-way area. pratolīṣaṭtulāntaraṁ dvāram: according to Cj

onwards increased by one danda upto eight dandas square, or one-sixth part more than the length or one-eighth part (more). 17 From fifteen hastas onwards increased by one hasta upto eighteen hastas (should be) the height of the floor. 18 The circumference of a pillar (should be) one-sixth of the length, double that the portion fixed in the ground; the capital (should be) one-fourth (the length) (in circumference).

19 Occupying one-fifth part of the ground floor (should be) a hall, a well and a border-room. 20 There should be two platforms

pratoli is the name of the gate described here. That seems also to be Cnn's idea. Apparently the gate resembles the *pratoli* or tower of s. 11, as it has two floors, one of them a walled-in hall. The expression seems to mean 'a gate, having space for six beams of the pratoli.' tulā is a beam and the six beams apparently are necessary for the ceiling of the ground floor; in a gate-way 5 dandas square in area, each tulā would be 5 dandas long and there would be a space of a little less than one danda between every two tulās. Cb reads talāntaram, explaining tala as 'an archway pillar to support the gate-way.' Pillars, of course, would be necessary, but it is doubtful if tala could be understood in that sense; tulā, however, might be so understood. - After caturaśram, Cb Cs add dvidandam vā. The words, if genuine, are misplaced. They should come after adhyardhadandam krtvā above. - şadbhāgam āyāmād adhikam is a modification of the idea in caturaśram. Apparently, if, e.g., the parapet ran north-south, the slightly longer side of the gate-way would be east-west. - 17 talotsedhah: the height referred to is apparently that of the ground floor. Cb Cs read tulotsedhah 'the height of the pillars' which comes to the same thing. - 18 stambhasya: as this word for pillar is used, tulā as pillar (Cb Cs in s. 17) appears less likely. - • sadāyāmaḥ has to be understood as 'one-sixth of the length,' i.e., āyāmaşadbhāgah. Meyer thinks that şadāyāmād should be read for this sense. — dvigunah 'double' the one-sixth, i.e., one-third. — cūlikāyāh: we have to supply pariksepah. The capital of the pillar is thicker than the rest of it.

19 āditalasya: this refers to the ground floor area. — pañcabhāgāḥ, i.e., occupying one-fifth part of the area. Cb Cs read pañca bhāgāḥ as two words, understanding five divisions, a vāpī, two śālās and two sīmāgrhas. This is extremely doubtful. As the two pratimañcas occupy one-tenth part each and the kapātayogas three-fifth part, one-fifth part would indeed be left over for $s\bar{a}l\bar{a}, v\bar{a}p\bar{\imath}$ and $s\bar{\imath}m\bar{a}grha$ together. — śālā vāpī sīmāgṛham ca: according to Cnn the three are on the inner side. The śālā is innermost and serves as a sort of armoury (praharanāvaranādisthānam). The $v\bar{a}p\bar{\imath}$ in front of the $s\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ is a hole six angulas (about $4\frac{1}{2}''$) in width, through which persons stationed above strike at advancing enemies (śālāgratah sthitam şadangulantaram suşiram vapī yaya pravisatah satrūn uparisthitah praharanti). In front of the $v\bar{a}p\bar{\imath}$ and of the same size as the $s\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ is the $s\bar{\imath}m\bar{a}grha$, so called because it is on the border between the outside and the inside (agrasthito sālāpramāno bhāgah sīmāgrham bāhyābhyantarabhāgayoh sīmni sthitatvāt, sīmāgrham yuddhārtham). 20 pratimañcau: these are two platforms opposite each other, evidently between the gate-leaves and the simāgrha. They are intended for sentries (dvārarakṣakāvasthānabhūtau — Cnn). Cnn places the platforms on the two sides of the vāpī (vāpībhāgasyobhayatah). This would appear doubtful, as the vāpī, according to Cnn, is only a hole six angulas in width. — After pratimancau, D has a passage which is again derived from Cnn. — antarā'niharmyam ca is a proposed emendation. The idea understood is that of a small room between the platforms, its purpose being

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facing each other, occupying one-tenth part (of the space) and in between a small room. 21 And at half the height of the floor, there should be a structure with pillars. 22 There should be an upper chamber measuring half the built-in area or having a space one-third of it, with sides constructed with bricks, with a stair-case on the left running from left to right and on the other side a stair-case concealed in the wall. 23 The crest of the arch should be two hastas (in height). 24 The two door-leaves should occupy three-fifths (of the space). 25 There should be two bars (to the doors). 26 The stake (should be) one aratni (in height). 27 There should be a side-door five hastas (in height). 28 There should be four elephant-bars. 29 The 'elephant-

apparently to store the weapons for the sentries. D reads antaram āṇī harmyam ca; Cnn on this is not clear. antara seems understood in the sense of the region enclosed by śālā, vāpī, sīmāgrha and the pratimañcas; in this region are to be two ānis, i.e., doors opening to stair-cases; in the rest of the region there is to be a harmya, a white-washed room for the sentries to sleep etc. (śālāvāpīsīmāgrhapratimañcāvaruddhapradeśe...mantaram ityucyate, tatra āṇī ityāṇidvayam sopānamārgadvāradvayam, śesapradeśadvaye harmyam raksakaśayanāsanārtham dhavalagrham). Cj also seems to understand ani in the sense of a door. It is not easy to see where exactly the doors and the room would be situated. 21 samucchrayād ardhatale sthūnābandhaś ca: according to Cnn this describes the dvitīyatala, i.e., the first floor. Its height is to be half that of the ground floor, i.e., 7½ hastas, the floor area remaining the same. Apparently, rows of pillars, not regular walls support the ceiling of this floor (sārdhasaptahastah samucchrayah ucchrayāpekṣayā ardhatalam ucyate; kṣetram tu āditalasamānam; atra sthūņāh kṣudrasthambhāh āditalasyopari sthūņānyāsam kṛtvā bandho dvitīyatalabandhaḥ). It is also possible that the 7½ hastas of the first floor are taken out of the total height of 15 hastas, so that the āditala too would be 7½ hastas high. 22 uttamāgāram ' the upper chamber ' is the second floor (tṛtīyatala) according to Cnn, which adds that it should be shaped like a bell or a jar (ghanṭākalaśādiracanayā). — vāmatah: apparently to the left of a person standing in the gate-way and facing outside. - pradaksinasopānam, i.e., with stairs turning to the right at the landings, requiring a clock-wise movement for going up. gūdhabhittisopānam, i.e., with stairs concealed in walls; see 1.20.2 above. 23 toraņasirah: this is the part above the frame of the gates. Cnn seems to understand an opening of two hastas for ventilation as well as for discharging arrows (uttaradehalyām suṣiram...vātapraveśanārtham śaramokṣārtham ca). 24 kapāṭayogau : yoga conveys the idea of fixing the leaves of the gate. For their movement when opening or closing, three-fifths of the area would seem to be quite necessary. 25 G M read dvau dvau, implying two bars for each gate-panel. That is how Cnn understands even with a single dvau. Two bars running the full width may however appear sufficient. 26 indrakilah 'an iron stake or bolt' to be fixed in the ground inside after the gate is closed. Cnn remarks that Indra was 'fixed' by Indrajit with such a stake, hence the name (tasmin Indrajitā kila Indro baddhah). 27 ānidvāram 'a small door ' in one of the panels of the gate. Five hastas is its height. 28 hastiparighah: the purpose of these, as Cj says, is to prevent the gate being broken down by elephants. They seem to be iron stakes fixed in the gates on the outside (bahih hastipratighālakṣamā vāryām iva parighāh syuh dvārarakṣārtham—Cj). So Cnn 'kapāṭarakṣārtham...hastinām asādhyāh.' 29 niveśārdham 'half the structure,' i.e., half the width of the gate-way, e.g., 21 dandas for a five-danda gate. This is the

nail' (passage) should be half (the width of) the structure. 30 The bridge should be equal (in width) to the opening and capable of being withdrawn, or it should be made of earth where there is no water.

31 Having fixed an opening equal to (the width of) the parapet, he should cause the gopura-(gate) to be made, with one-third shaped like a lizard's mouth. 32 Having made a well in the middle of the parapet, he should erect the puṣkarinō-gate; with four halls at a distance of one (daṇḍa) and a half (from each other) and with holes, the kumārīpura-(gate); a bare house with two stories, as the muṇḍaka-gate; or (he should erect gates) in accordance with the (availability of) land and materials.

width of the passage for going down. Cj seems to read niveśārtham and include it in the preceding s. 'for the protection of the settlement, i.e., of the fort.' That is not happy. — hastinakha is the name of the passage, so called perhaps because it resembled a nail of the vapra appearing like an elephant's foot. Cnn says it is paved with stones (śilāmayam) and, of course, sloping (kramān nimnam). 30 samhāryo, i.e., a drawbridge. G M read asamhāryo vā, where vā serves no purpose. Meyer proposes samhāryo'samhāryo vā, which is not very likely. Cb Cs render asamhārya by 'firm, made of wood.' — bhūmimayo vā nirudake, i.e., ground of so much width should be left unexcavated, the moat being on either side (tāvatīm bhūmim apahāya khātavyam ityarthaḥ—Cnn). — S. 31 should be read in the next paragraph.

31 According to the commentators we have in this and the next s. a description of different types of gates, gopura being the name of the gate described here. tribhāgagodhāmukham ' with one-third shaped like a lizard's mouth;' apparently the top one-third would be so shaped and possibly it would be between the two mendhakas on either side. The explanation in Cnn is far from clear owing to lacunae, but it seems that according to it, the gate-way opening (mukha) is to be of the same height as the prākāra, i.e., 12 hastas, and not 15 as in the pratolī. It adds that the gate is so called because cattle generally go out of this gate for the pastures (prāyo vivītābhimukham gavām etad dvāram iti gopuram). 32 puṣkarinīdvāram: this is the name of another type of gate; in this there is to be only a $v\bar{a}p\bar{i}$, hence the name puskarini'lotus-pond gate.' The $v\bar{a}p\bar{\imath}$ would appear to be a sort of hollow into which the enemy soldiers would be trapped, should they happen to surge through the gate. Cnn seems to imply that the floor corresponding to the hole between the two mendhakas is made of planks (prākārayor meṇḍhakayor madhye yat suṣiram tatsama...phalakāstāro bhūmikābandho...yuddhasaukaryārtham). That the weapons are discharged from the ceiling above is clearly to be understood. - catuhśālam etc.: this describes the gate called kumārīpura 'the princess gate' so called because it is enclosed by walls on all sides. Actually, it has rooms on the four sides. Apparently the rooms would contain soldiers ready to shoot at the enemy intruding in the inner quadrangle. - adhyardhāntaram 'with a space of 1½ dandas;' this apparently describes the area of the quadrangle, one and a half danda on each side; in this area would the enemy be trapped. Cnn seems to understand 'one and a half times the pratoli gate,' understanding this of $v\bar{a}p\bar{\imath}$ (i.e., the $v\bar{a}p\bar{\imath}$ is to be a hole of nine angulas?). - sāṇikam ' with holes ' in the walls through which to shoot arrows (Cnn). - mundaharmyadvitalam mundakadvāram: this is the 'bare' gate, without a roof on top or without the uttamāgāra (Cnn). Cb understands munda in the sense of 'round.' --- bhūmidravyavasena vā: this allows further variation in

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He should cause channels to be made for storing goods, one third more in length (than the breadth).

34-35 In them should be stored stones, spades, axes, arrows and choppers, clubs and hammers, sticks, discuses, machines and 'hundred-killers,' pikes prepared by smiths and bamboos with piercing points, 'camel-necks,' incendiary objects as well as all the materials described in the section on forest produce.

CHAPTER FOUR

SECTION 22 LAY-OUT OF THE FORTIFIED CITY

1 Three royal highways running west to east and three running south to north, that should be the division of the residential area. 2 It should have twelve gates (and be provided) with suitable (places for) water, drains and underground passages.

conformity with the land, materials etc. According to Cnn, this option has reference to the entire durga, not merely the gate. S. 33 should be detached from this paragraph.

33 tribhāgādhikāyāmāh, i.e., the length of the channels or pits is to be one-third more than the width, the actual length or width to vary according to need. Cnn's illustration 'yadi daśahasto viṣkambhas tadā pañcadaśahasta āyāma ityādi' presupposes a different reading ardhādhikā-. — bhānda 'goods' here refers to weapons. — The pits are to be inside along the rampart (anuprākāram antah -Cnn).

34 kāṇḍakalpanāḥ ' arrows of various kinds ' (Meyer), ' instruments for repairing or sharpening arrows (śarasańskāropakaraṇāni)' (Cnn). kalpana or kalpanā may also mean 'a cutter, a chopper.' — muşundhī is 'gadādi mace and so on ' (Cnn), 'a round piece of wood with many nails (kīlabahulo vartulah kāṣṭhaviśeṣaḥ)' (Cj). Sataghnī 'a huge bar with a thousand spikes (kīlasahasrācitah sthūlaparighah)' (Cj). — 35 ustragrīvyah: according to Cj, this is the same as kacagrahanī, i.e., a long pole with a hook at one end. Cnn has a lacuna, but it seems to understand some long-necked vessel, for it has tailādikāni yaih kṣipyante. That seems better. Hot oil would be poured from above over the enemies below from such vessels. Perhaps then ustragrīvī is the same as the ustrikā of 14.1.33; 14.2.44. — kupyakalpe ca yo vidhih: a reference to 2.17; plants, poisons etc. seem to be meant.

2.4

1 vāstuvibhāgaḥ: with three east-west and three north-south roads, the town would be divided into 16 squares. Cnn seems to bring the highways into some sort of relation with the paramaśāyika plan of Indian architecture which has 81 squares. Referring to navabhage in s. 7 below, it remarks that without this plan that expression cannot be understood (na hi ekāśītipadam vihāya navabhāgasambhavah). Its remarks concerning the situation of the roads are, however, far from clear. Unfortunately, the fragment containing this important commentary by Yogghama, comes to an end at this point. - 2 yuktodakabhramacchannapathah: the position of yukta in the compound shows that it should be understood in the sense of 'suitable, proper.' udaka stands for udakasthāna 'places where (drinking)

- 3 Roads should be of a width of four dandas. 4 The royal highway and roads in a dronamukha, a sthānīya, the country-side and pasture-lands as well as paths in a harbour town, a battle array, a cremation ground and a village (should be) eight dandas (in width). 5 Paths on irrigation works and in forests, four dandas, paths for elephants and along fields two dandas, five aratnis the chariot path, four the cattle-path (and) two the path for small animals and men.
- 6 On an excellent building site, fit for the four varnas to live on, the royal residence (should be erected). 7 In the ninth part to the north of the heart of the residential area he should cause the royal palace to be built in accordance with the procedure laid down, facing the east or the north.
- 8 The residence of the preceptor and the chaplain, the places for sacrifices and for water as well as councillors should occupy its north-by-east part, the kitchen, the elephant stables and the magazine the south-by-east part. 9 Beyond that, dealers in perfumes, flowers

water is available, such as wells etc.' Cf. 2.36.43, also 1.20.10. bhrama is a water-course, particularly a drain for taking water out of the city. channapatha 'a covered road' seems to be underground. Cj understands udakapatha 'a channel for bringing water into the city,' bhramapatha 'a drain for taking water out of the city' and channapatha 'a sub-terranean passage.' It is doubtful if patha is to be construed in this way.

- 3 caturdaṇḍāntarāḥ: antara has clearly the sense of 'width.' rathyāḥ: these are roads in the city other than the six highways. 4 rāṣṭravivītapathāḥ i.e., roads passing through the country-side and pastures. That these are as broad as the royal highways is perhaps because they connect the towns and villages. saṃyānīya: saṃyāna is a 'sea voyage' so called because a number of vessels sail together (sam-yā) like a sārtha on land. saṃyānīya is a harbour town. vyūhapatha refers apparently to the open spaces between the different parts of a battle array. śmaśānapatha: apparently a path leading to a cremation ground is meant. 5 kṣetrapatha would be along the fields rather than through them. rathapatha, different from rathyā, seems to be a cart-road in the country-side.
- 6 pravire: according to Cb, this means 'full of fertility.' 7 vāstuhrdayād uttare navabhāge: it seems necessary to agree with the commentators and think of a paramasāyika plan for the city area. This has 9 by 9, i.e., 81 squares. The central 1/81st square would be the vāstuhrdaya. 1/9th part (consisting of 9 smaller squares) to the north of this central square is meant to be reserved for the antahpura, i.e., the royal palace and contingent buildings. In other words, the grounds for the palace etc. would occupy one-ninth of the city area a little to the north of the centre. Cf. 10.1.2 for the same idea. yathoktavidhānam antahpuram: see 1.20.1-2.
- 8 tasya, i.e., antahpurasya. pūrvottaram, i.e., the northern half oft he area to the east (pūrvasyām diśi uttarah Cj). āvaseyuh shows that these places are within the huge area of the antahpura, while adhivaseyuh of the next s. has reference to residences of citizens unconnected with the antahpura. 9 All mss. add -dhānya- after -mālya-; it is proposed to drop it in view of dhānya in s.11 below.

and liquids, makers of articles of toilet and Kṣatriyas should live in the eastern quarter.

- 10 The store-house for goods, the records and audit office, and workmen's quarters (should occupy) the east-by-south part, the store-house for forest produce and the armoury the west-by-south part.

 11 Beyond that, grain-dealers of the city, factory officers and army officers, dealers in cooked food, wine and meat, courtesans, dancers and Vaisyas should live in the southern quarter.
- 12 Stables for donkeys and camels and the workshop (should occupy, the south-by-west part, stables for carriages and chariots the north-by-west part. 13 Beyond that, workers in wool, yarn, bamboo, leather, armours, weapons and shields and Sūdras should live in the western quarter.
- 14 The rooms for wares and medicines (should occupy) the westby-north part, the treasury and cattle and horses the east-by-north part. 15 Beyond that, the tutelary deities of the city and the king, and workers in metals and jewels and Brahmins should live in the northern quarter.

This is supported by the actual comment in Cb. — There can be no doubt about prasādhanakāravaḥ of D being the original reading. pradhānakāravaḥ is unlikely.

- 10 karmaniṣadyā: this clearly refers to quarters for servants employed in the royal precincts. 11 nagaradhānyavyāvahārika 'those who deal in grains in the city, nagarasthāne dhānyena ye krayavikrayādi kurvanti' (Cj). Cb seems to understand two things, possibly 'city-administrators and grain-dealers.'
- 12 kharostra-: donkeys (or mules) and camels could be used in war; cf. 10.4.18.

 karmagrha 'a workshop' for work connected with the palace.
- 15 nagararāja- etc.: we may understand 'city-deity, king's tutelary deity, and artisans in metals and jewels' or 'workers in metals and precious stones for the city, the king and deities (i.e., temples).' The former seems meant. - In the lay-out as described here, the area to the north where mostly Brahmins live would be smallest in extent, while that to the south where Vaisyas live would be largest. That might appear to be in conformity with the likely ratio between the two varnas. O. Stein has discussed the details of this chapter in AOr, vol. 8, pp. 72ff. and has arrived at rather different conclusions regarding the lay-out. He places the antahpura right on the border in the north, and his plan does not take into account the words tatah param used in all four directions. His kitchen thus becomes separated from the antahpura by a number of localities intervening, so that he himself is forced to ask what kitchen could be meant at this great distance from the antahpura. There is little doubt that the items mentioned in ss. 8, 10, 12 and 14 are proximate to the palace and are part of the rajanivesa, and that items in ss. 9, 11, 13 and 15 refer to the extensive areas outside the palace grounds. — Stein also interprets karmagrha in the sense of 'a prison house' from karman in the sense of 'torture' as in 4.8 below. That is hardly right. For the prison-house the word is bandhanāgāra.

16 In enclosures in the non-residential areas, quarters for guilds and foreign merchants should be situated.

17 He should cause to be built in the centre of the city shrines for Aparājita, Apratihata, Jayanta and Vaijayanta as well as temples of Siva, Vaiśravaṇa, Aśvins, Śrī and Madirā. 18 He should install the presiding deities of the dwelling places according to their respective regions. 19 The (city-) gates (should be) presided over by Brahman, Indra, Yama and Senāpati. 20 Outside (the city), at a distance of one hundred dhanuses from the moat, should be made sanctuaries, holy places, groves and water-works, and the deities of the quarters in the respective quarters.

16 vāstucchidrānuśāleşu: anuśāla seems to mean 'an enclosure or a hall'; anulāsa of G M hardly conveys any sense. Cj with -anusāreşu explains 'in unoccupied areas (vāstucchidreṣu, i.e., avyāpteṣu) and in regions near the city wall (prākārasamīpeṣu ca deśeṣu).' This is also the explanation of Cb, which however has -anulāseṣu. Perhaps the original reading was vāstucchidre'nusālam 'in non-residential areas along the rampart (sāla).' — śreṇī 'washermen etc.' (Cj), 'i.e., weavers, washermen, tailors etc.' (Cb). — -prapaṇi- is from D and seems to mean 'a foreign merchant.' The word is apparently derived from prapaṇa 'barter, exchange' which is Vedic. Cj reading pravaṇi has 'small merchants from Gandhāra etc.'; Cb with pravaṇika has 'merchants from foreign lands.' — nikāya 'groups' (Cj). Perhaps 'residences, quarters' may appear better.

17 Aparājita- etc.: As all the four names signify invincibility in some form or the other, they appear to be spirits of victory. Meyer thinks that they are all forms of Kumāra or Skanda. Cj understands by these four, Viṣṇu, Indra, Indra's son and Skanda respectively, Cb Cs Durgā (Aparājitā), Viṣṇu, Subrahmaṇya and Indra respectively. The feminine form of the first name appears questionable. - kostha 'a shrine' is a walled-in compound, with one or more structures inside. Siva and Vaiśravaņa are mentioned in a Devatādvandva compound by Patanjali on Panini 6.3.26 (Stein, AOr, 8, 337 n.6).—Śrī is Lakṣmī, the Goddess of Wealth and Prosperity. - Madirā 'the Intoxicating One, the Fascinating One' is apparently some form of Durgā or Kālī. Meyer thinks that the association of drink in connection with the worship of this deity was responsible for this name. - puramadhye: this would be in front of the palace grounds, to its south, in the central 1/81st part. - 18 kosthakālayesu (found in G M) does not appear to be original. The vāstudevatās appear to be unconnected with Aparājita etc. and their kosthas. They are the tutelary deities that are supposed to preside over the different parts of the vāstupuruṣa. - yathoddeśam can hardly mean 'according to the prescription (of the Śilpaśāstra)' (Stein, AOr, 8, 338). — 19 brāhmaindraetc.: this shows that Brahman presided over the north and Senapati over the west, and not Kubera and Varuna respectively as later. Only the four principal gates are thought of here and hence there is no contradiction between the number four of the gates here and the number twelve in s. 2 above, as Stein (AOr, 8, 338) thinks. - 20 bahih might mean 'outside (the city)' or may be connected with parikhāyāh ' from the outermost moat.'

THE ACTIVITY OF THE HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS [2. 4. 28

- 21 The northern or the eastern part of the cremation ground should be for the best among the *varṇas*, to the south the cremation ground for the lower *varṇas*. 22 For transgression of that, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed).
- 23 The quarters for heretics and Candalas (should be) on the outskirts of the cremation ground.
- 24 He should fix boundaries for householders in accordance with areas (necessary) for their workshops. 25 In them they should make, with permission, flower-gardens and fruit-orchards, as well as stores of grains and commodities. 26 An enclosure for a group of ten families should be a place for a well (for them).

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- 27 He should cause to be made stores, capable of being used over a number of years, of all kinds of fats, grains, sugars, salts, perfumes, medicines, dried vegetables, fodder, dried meat, hay, wood, metals, hides, charcoal, tendons, poisons, horns, bamboos, barks, strong timber, weapons, shields and stones. 28 He should cause the old to be constantly replaced by new.
- 21 varnottamānām etc.: the readings from D are preferred as being more likely. varnottarāṇām in the other reading seems to be understood by Cb as referring to Sūdras, which is unlikely. It may be, however, that Cb had before it śmaśānabhāgo varṇāvarāṇām dakṣiṇena varṇottamānām. The discrepancy that Stein finds between this passage and 2.36.31-33 (AOr, 8, 348) is due to the different character of the offences mentioned in the two places. The use of the wrong cremation ground is not a light offence as Stein thinks, and the lowest sāhasa-daṇḍa in this text is not 250 paṇas, but 48-96 paṇas (see 3.17.8 below).
- 23 -ante, i.e., samīpe (Cb). Stein points out that 2.36.14 shows pāṣaṇḍāvāsa to be inside (abhyantare). Perhaps the difference is due to difference in sources. It is more likely, however, that the present s. is not original, but a later addition. It seems to represent the Brahmanical ideal of an age characterised by bigotry.
- 24 karmāntakṣetravaśena: the vā after this in G M serves no purpose. According to Stein, this s. states an option to the entire plan of the town described so far. That is not likely. We have here a reference to the fixing of boundaries of the individual households. This is to depend on the nature of the work in which the household is engaged. 25 -vāṭān dhānya- is emended from D's reading -vāṭadhānya-. It is clear that ṣanḍa and kedāra are out of place in the city area. And we must have a separate expression from dhānya- onwards, for nicayān is not to be construed with puṣpaphalavāṭa. anujāātāḥ: this implies that all private stores are known to the state, which can requisition them in times of emergency. 26 daśakulīvāṭam kūpasthānam: Cb reads -vāpam and explains 'as much land as can be ploughed by ten bullocks or as much area as can be irrigated by one well.' This implies the presence of fields in the city area, which appears extremely doubtful. The idea intended seems to be that there should be one well for every ten families. vāṭa seems to convey the idea of a compact unit formed by the ten families.

27 -gandha- seems to have dropped out inadvertently in G M. — For kṣāra see 2.15.14 below.

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- 29 He should station (a force consisting of) elephants, horses, chariots and infantry-men, under more than one chief. 30 For, a (force) under more than one chief does not fall a prey to enemy instigations, through mutual fear.
 - 31 By this is explained the making of frontier forts.
 - 32 And he should not allow in the city 'outsiders' who cause harm to the country. He should cast them out in the country-side or make them pay all the taxes.

CHAPTER FIVE

SECTION 23 THE WORK OF STORE-KEEPING BY THE DIRECTOR OF STORES

- 1 The Director of Stores should cause to be built a treasury, a ware-house, a magazine, a store for forest produce, an armoury and a prison-house.
- 2 Having caused to be dug a four-cornered well free from water and dampness, and having paved the walls on both sides and the bottom with big slabs of stone, he should cause an underground cellar to be made with a frame-work of strong timber, level with the ground,
- 31 samskāra means everything concerning the making of a fort, building, layout, making stores, etc. In 9.1.34-36 the idea of repairs also seems implied.
- 32 bāhirikān: Cb understands 'gamblers, beggars, dancers, actors etc.' Stein suggests (AOr, 8, 356) that these are wandering tribes, something like the gypsics. That seems probable. pure rāṣtropa- is proposed for purarāṣtropa- of the mss. That makes the idea of kṣipet janapade more clear. Cb Cs read janapadasyānte and explain 'should settle them on the frontiers and (vā as ca) make them pay all taxes (or taxes like all other persons—Cs).' It seems, however, that vā shows an option, the idea being that if they stay in the city, they must be made to pay the usual taxes.

2.5

- 1 The inclusion of the bandhanāgāra here seems to suggest that prisoners were, like the other objects, to be taken charge of and treated with care.
- 2 ubhayataḥ: Cj understands it in the sense of ubhayam, referring to pārśva and mūla. It mentions an alternative explanation 'along both (the length and breadth), ubhayataḥ ... āyāmaviṣkambhābhyām.' In any case, it can hardly be understood with pārśvam alone. bhūmisamam tritalam: Cb, reading -samatritalam, explains 'with two floors underground and one above.' It seems rather that all three floors are underground. anekavidhānam, i.e., with different arrangements for different types of goods. kuṭṭima- etc.: Cb Cs explain 'of which the upper floor (deśa), the middle floor (sthāna) and the ground floor (tala) are firmly fixed (kuṭṭima).' This is doubtful. Cj has 'with paved sides (deśa) ground floor (sthāna) and upper floor (tala).' This is better. But deśa may be understood in the sense of 'surface,' both of the walls and the floors. devatāpidhānam: this expression, read in the text on the authority of Cb (supported by G M), is dropped

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with three floors, with various arrangements, with ground and upper floors having well-made surfaces, with a single door, (and) with a staircase provided with a mechanism. 3 On that he should cause a treasure-house to be made, with a prohibition (to enter) on two sides, with an entrance-hall, built of bricks, and surrounded by (channels) storing goods; or, (he should cause to be built only) an (above-the-ground) palace. 4 On the border of the country, he should cause a permanent treasure to be laid by persons condemned to death, as a provision against calamity.

5 He should cause to be made a ware-house and a magazine with pillars of baked bricks, with four halls (opening on to a quadrangle), with many, ground and upper floors, (and) with a (secret) passage for escape through hollow pillars on two sides, in between, a store for forest produce with many long halls (and) with the walls surrounded by rooms, a similar (structure) with an underground cellar as an armoury, (and) separate prison-houses for those convicted by judges

in the translation. It does not seem original. In the absence of any reference to a secret passage here, the expression has little significance, as it has in 1.20.2. A secret subterranean passage leading from the underground treasury to a nearby temple does not appear contemplated here. D Cj do not show the expression. 3 ubhayatonisedham: the idea seems to be that the two walls along the length are without doors, as Cj seems to imply (ubhayapārśvāyatakudyam). Cb has 'with a two-fold prohibition, to enter and to leave'; that is not convincing. — pragrīva 'an entrance-hall'; cf. 2.30.4; 2.31.2. — bhānḍavāhinī: we have to understand kulyā as in 2.3.33; the channels may also serve as obstacles to people trying to get inside. — prāsādam vā: this is an option to the bhūmigrha (with kośagrha above it). In this alternative there is no cellar, only an above-the-ground structure as a kośagrha. 4 dhruvanidhim: as the word nidhi shows, the treasure is to be buried in the ground. — abhityaktaih: these are to be executed after the work is over, so that the king alone would know where the treasure lies buried.

5 anekasthānatalam: here, too, sthāna may be understood as 'ground-floor', though it may also mean 'an apartment,' as in vibhaktastrīpuruṣasthānam that follows. - vivria- etc.: the idea seems to be that of escape (apasāra) through pillars that are open, i.e., hollow (vivrta). The purpose of such a passage in the stores is, however, not quite clear; perhaps it is meant as a precaution in case of fire. - ubhayatah: Meyer construes this with the preceding, i.e., 'with hollow pillars on both sides.' In view of antah used with kupyagrham, it seems that ubhayatah means rather 'on the two sides (of the kupyagrha).' — dīrghababulaśālam: as timber is the principal commodity in the kupyagrha, long and many halls are necessary. - kaksyāvrtakudyam: the walls of the halls are surrounded by rooms, in which apparently minor kupya products would be stored. The implication may be that the halls themselves are open to the sky. - tadeva, i.e., on the same plan as the kupyagrha, big halls surrounded by rooms. - dharmasthiyam, i.e., for those convicted by the judges. In the 3rd Book, terms of imprisonment are not actually laid down as punishment, only fines. Those who cannot pay fines are apparently taken to prison. - apasāratah: D Cj read aparādhatah 'in accordance with the offence.' But this cannot be properly understood with either the

and for those punished by high officers, with separate apartments for women and men (and) with their rooms well-guarded against escape.

- 6 And in all (structures) he should cause the halls to be provided with a ditch, a well, a latrine and a bath-room, with precautions against fire and poison, with protection by means of cats and ichneumons and with (arrangements for) worship of their respective deities.
- 7 In the magazine, he should place a basin with a mouth one aratni (in width) as a rain-gauge.
- 8 Presiding over bureaus of experts for the different products, he should receive gems, articles of high value, articles of small value and forest produce, whether old or new. 9 Among these (articles), in case of fraud concerning gems the highest fine for violence (shall be imposed) on the perpetrator and the instigator, in case of fraud concerning articles of high value the middle fine for violence, in case of fraud concerning articles of small value and forest produce (making good) the same and an equal amount in addition as fine.

preceding or the following expressions. Cj construes it with the preceding, 'separate rooms for men and women, for the reason that a crime may be committed if men and women are confined together.' apasārataḥ, however, seems definitely better, to be construed with suguptakakṣyam.

- 6 This s. is missing in D. There is however no reason to doubt its genuineness. \$\sidentilon \lambda \lambda \lambda \text{a}\$ as a separate word following Cj. The compound that follows is also read as in Cj. \$kh\tilde{a}ta\$ is a ditch all round as a moat, \$udap\tilde{a}na\$ is for drinking water. \$varca\$ as 'latrine' is found in 3.8.28. \$vadaivata- (daivata\$ is from Cb): these are the tutelary deities of the various structures, 'Vaiśravaṇa of the \$ko\$agrha\$, Sitā of the \$ko\$th\tilde{a}g\tilde{a}ra\$, \$\tilde{s}r\tilde{o}\$ of the \$panyagrha\$, \$\tilde{s}ana\$ of the \$kupyagrha\$, Skanda of the \$\tilde{a}yudh\tilde{a}g\tilde{a}ra\$, Yama and Varuṇa of the \$bandhan\tilde{a}g\tilde{a}ras'\$ (Cj). Cb has \$\tilde{s}r\tilde{i}\$ in \$panyakosth\tilde{a}g\tilde{a}ra\$ and Viśvakarman in \$kupyagrha\$. With the reading \$-vacca\$, Meyer includes \$sarves\tilde{a}m\$... \$vacca\$ in the preceding s. as a description of the \$bandhan\tilde{a}g\tilde{a}ra\$ (sarves\tilde{a}m\$, i.e., for all prisoners). He also understands \$agnivisa\$- etc. as applicable to prisons only, \$vadaiva\$ being the deity of each individual prisoner. This is hardly satisfactory.
- 7 aratnimukham: according to Cb the gauge is square, each side being one cubit. The Bṛhat Samhitā 23.2 also refers to a hastaviśāla kuṇḍaka, adding that it should measure one āḍhaka of rain. Perhaps the vessel was cubical in shape. Cj adds that the capacity of the vessel should be one droṇa, for rain is measured in droṇas (2.24.5).
- 8 tajjāta 'one born to it,' i.e., an expert (tadabhijā a ityarthah—Cj). adhişthitah is used in an active sense. In spite of 2.11.1, kośādhyakṣah is not to be understood as the subject here (Stein, Megasthenes und Kautilya, p. 211); this officer has not been mentioned in this chapter. The samnidhātṛ as the officer in over-all charge has to be understood. ratna, sāra and phalgu are described in 2.11 and kupya in 2.17 9 tacca tāvacca: Breloer (KSt, III, 283) renders this by 'the quality and the quantity.' A reference to quality is hard to find here.

13 He should accept corn that is clean, full (in measure) and new. 14 In case the opposite kind is brought in, the fine shall be double the price.

15 By that are explained the commodities, the forest produce and the weapons (to be received in the stores).

16 In all departments, the punishments for officers, subordinates and servants, in cases of defalcation up to one paṇa and beyond that (increased by one paṇa) upto four paṇas, shall be the lowest, the middle, the highest fines and death (respectively). 17 For one in charge of the treasury, execution (shall be the punishment) for robbing the treasury. 18 For those who help them, (the punishment shall be) half the fines. 19 Reproof (only), if they were not aware.

10 rūpadarśaka: see 2.12.25-26 below. 11 chedayet: Breloer (KSt, III, 285) understands 'cut off (from currency), i.e., confiscate.' — āhartuḥ: Breloer understands 'the user.' Bringing to the treasury is primarily meant.

14 Reading $m\bar{u}lya$ - as in D is preferable to understanding $m\bar{u}la$ in the sense of 'price.'

15 lena etc.: i.e., these are to be accepted only if good in quality; if not, a fine equal to double the price is to be imposed. Breloer (KSt, III, 287 n.2) proposes to read panyakupyam 'goods of small value so far as they are commodities.' kupya, he says, is already mentioned in s. 8. The change is not necessary. Whereas s. 8 is general in character and concerns fraud (s. 9), this s. is concerned with quality and punishment for low quality.

16 paṇādi- etc., i.e., when the misappropriation is of goods up to 1, 2, 3, and 4 panas in value respectively. parama 'maximum' shows the limit in each of the four cases. paṇa-dvipaṇa-tripaṇa-catuṣpaṇa-paramāpa- would have made this explicit. D has something like this with tripana missing. Meyer, who has this explanation, would understand param apahāreşu. Cj has 'for one paṇa the lowest fine, for two the middle, for four the highest, for five corporal punishment (vadha).' Breloer (KSt, III, 290) proposes to read dvipaņa-catuspaņāstapaņa-dašapaņaparam apahāreṣu to make this passage conform to 4.9.4 below. The slight discrepancy may, however, be due to this being merely a rough resume, while 4.9.4 gives full details; perhaps also due to a difference in sources. Cb Cs read panādi-dvipaņacatuspaṇāḥ param apahāreṣu and explain 'the fines for the three kinds of servants (yukta, upayukta and purusa) are 1, 2 and 4 panas respectively; for defalcation a second time, the three sāhasa-daṇḍas respectively; if the offence is still repeated, death for all three types of servants.' This is extremely unlikely, in view of 4.9.4. 18 vaiyāvrtyakara: cf. 2.8.22; 4.8.9 etc. The original word seems to be vaiyāpriya- from vyāpria. Prakrit veyāvacca is the same word. — ardhadandāh is meaningless in the case of vadha or ghāta. Meyer, following Sorabji, understands 'half (the value of the treasure robbed) as fine.' This is unlikely. ardhadanda is applicable only when a fine is prescribed; apparently there is no mitigation when death is laid down. Or, vadha may be 'corporal punishment' which can be thought of as reducible.

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- 20 For thieves, in case of breaking open (the treasury), death by torture (shall be the punishment).
- 21 Therefore, with trustworthy men under him, the Director of Stores should bring the stores into being.
 - 22 He should be conversant with receipts from outside and inside even after a hundred years, so that when asked he would not falter in respect of expenditure, balance and collections.

CHAPTER SIX

SECTION 24 THE SETTING UP OF REVENUE BY THE ADMINISTRATOR

- 1 The Administrator should attend to the fort, the country, mines, irrigation works, forests, herds and trade-routes (as the main sources of revenue).
- 2 Custom-duties, fines, standardization of weights and measures, the city-superintendent, the mint master, the superintendent of passports, spirituous liquors, animal slaughter, yarn, oil, ghee, sugars, the goldsmith, the market-establishment, prostitutes, gambling, buildings,
- 20 corāṇām abhipradharṣaṇe: Meyer explains 'for forcible robbing through bandits (with whom the officers are in league).' But the genitive in corāṇām as usual points to the offenders themselves, on whom the punishment is to be inflicted.

 citro ghātaḥ: see 4.11 below. The s. is repeated in 4.9.7.
- 22 bāhya and ābhyantara refer to the country-side and the city respectively.

 na sajjeta 'would not stick' i.e., would not falter. vyaye śese ca samcaye is from D. vyayaśesam ca darśayet is colourless. And samcaya refers to what comes in, a mention of which is necessary.

2.6

The preparation of the budget and fixing of state dues from the various sources are the samāhartṛ's duties mentioned here. For other duties that he has to carry out, see 2.35 below. They show that he is in charge of general administration and is not a mere collector of revenue nor concerned merely with assessment of revenue.

- 1 durgam etc.: these are the principal sources of revenue. avekseta, i. e., fix after due consideration.
- 2 pautavam: this evidently refers to prices of weights and measures, inspection fees etc. Cf. 2.19. nāgarika: this can only refer to fines imposed by this officer; no revenue seems to come through him. Cf. 2.36. lakṣanādhyakṣa is the mint-master; see 2.12.24. Perhaps the minting charges and fees for examination of coins are to be understood under this item. mudrādhyakṣaḥ: fees for passports are laid down in 2.34.1. surā sūnā sūtram, i.e., income derived through officers as described in 2.25, 2.26 and 2.23 respectively. These are mostly products of state activity. tailam ghṛtam kṣāraḥ: these apparently are produced in state stores, and income from their sale seems meant. sauvarnikaḥ: profit from the working of the state goldsmithy is meant; cf. 2.14. panyasamsthā i.e., income received from the activity of the panyādhyakṣa of 2.16 and the samsthādhyakṣa of 4.2. veṣyā: obviously income from the department of the ganikā-

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the group of artisans and artists, the temple-superintendent, and what is to be received at the gates and from outsiders, — these constitute (the source of income called) 'fort'.

- 3 Agricultural produce, share, tribute, tax, the trader, the river-guard, the ferry, ships, the port, pastures, road-cess, land-survey and thief-catching, these constitute 'country'.
- 4 Gold, silver, diamonds, gems, pearls, corals, conch-shells, metals, salt and ores derived from the earth, rocks and liquids, these constitute 'mines'.
- 5 Flower-gardens, fruit-orchards, vegetable gardens, wet crop fields, and sowings of roots, these constitute 'irrigation works'.

dhyakṣa (2.27) is to be understood. — dyūtam: cf. 3.20. — vāstukam: imposts mentioned in chapters 3.8-9 appear to be meant. A 'house-tax' is possible, but there is no specific reference to it elsewhere in the text. According to U. N. Ghoshal, it is 'ground-rent' (Revenue Systems etc., p. 97). — kāruśilpigaṇah: a tax on crafts and professions may be understood, though this too is not specifically laid down anywhere. The penalties of 4.1 could be understood. — devatādhyakṣah: this officer's duties are not laid down anywhere. Apparently he supervised the management of temples and levied fees. Cj seems to understand collections at temple-fairs (yātrā), for which cf. 5.2.39. Temples owned by the state would be a direct source of income. — dvārabāhirikādeyam: two ideas are meant, dvārādeya and bāhirikādeya. The former is mentioned in 2.22.8; the latter is probably a reference to taxes mentioned in 2.4.32 above. D reads dvāram bāhirikādeyam; the meaning would apparently be the same, but 2.22.8 might seem to favour the former reading.

- 3 sītā is income from crown lands worked by the sītādhyakṣa (2.24). As Cj explains 'sītā svakṛṣiḥ.' — bhāgaḥ 'share' of produce from private lands, usually one-sixth (2.15.3). - balih is apparently an occasional levy such as those mentioned in 5.2. - karah appears to be a tax paid in cash. It is rather surprising that bali and kara do not figure under durga as well. — nadīpālah: such a guard is not mentioned elsewhere. Apparently fines for unauthorised crossing of rivers forming boundaries between states are to be understood; cf. 2.28.15 ff. tarah: see 2.28.21 ff. — nāvah: hire for state boats seems meant; cf. 2.28.3 ff. - pattanam: evidently port dues are meant. - vivitam: 2.34.12 mentions some of these sources of income. — vartanī as in 2.21.24. — rajjuś corarajjuś ca: according to Cj 'income from the village for fixing measurements (grāmaparijāāpramāṇam) and income for finding out thieves by the pradestr's activity.' Cb explains 'what is received from district officers (vişayapāla) and what is given by the village to the thief-catcher.' rajju seems to refer to revenue from survey operations, as Ghoshal (Revenue Systems etc. p. 53) says. corarajju may be 'fine imposed on the territory where the thief is traced 'as Breloer (KSt, III, 181) says. Cf. 4.13.10. Stein (AOr, VI, 31 & n.) would omit rajjus, as being due to dittography.
- 4 loha refers to metals other than gold and silver. bhūmiprastara- etc.: see 2.12.1 below.
- 5 mūlavāpa: sowing by root is distinguished from sowing by seed or stem. Ginger, turmeric etc. are meant (Cs). Cj adds -kanda- after mūla-; that refers to bulbs. Johnston (JRAS, 1929, 99-101) thinks that we should read mūlāvāpa

- 6 Enclosures for beasts, deer-parks, forests for produce and elephant forests, these constitute 'forests'.
- 7 Cows and buffaloes, goats and sheep, donkeys and camels and horses and mules, these constitute 'herds'.
- 8 The land-route and the water-route constitute 'trade-routes'.
 9 This is the corpus of income.
- 10 Price, share, surcharge, monopoly tax, fixed tax, manufacturing charge and penalty constitute the heads of income.
- 11 What is intended for the worship of gods and manes and for charity, gifts for benedictions received, the royal palace, the kitchen, the employment of envoys, the magazine, the armoury, the warehouse, the store for forest produce, factories, labourers, maintenance of
- 'having hollows (āvāpa in the sense of ālavāla) for holding water at the base.' This is not very likely. Breloer (KSt, III, 169) construes mūlavāpa in the sense of 'plantings' with puspa and phala, these two plantings being then connected with three kinds of fields vāṭa 'garden,' ṣanḍa 'culture' and kedāra 'water-culture.' Thus he arrives at six kinds of setu. This is far from likely. How can flowers and fruits be understood as growing in kedāra?
- 6 paśumṛga i.e., 'gavaya etc. and deer etc.' (Cb). Cj's 'domesticated animals and forest animals' is less likely. Meyer understands paśumṛga as one, 'antelope'. paśu and mṛga are, however, distinct. parigraha is an enclosure or preserve, set apart for the various objects.
- 9 āyaśarīram, i.e., the total sources of income. Breloer (KSt, III, 174) remarks that durga and rāṣṭra represent income from administration, khani, setu and vana income from state property and vraja and vanikpatha indirect taxes. vraja, however, belongs rather to the second category.
- 10 mūlyam is necessary as in 2.12.35. vyājī is a sort of excess in measure or weight charged when goods are received in the treasury or stores. It amounts to a surcharge of 5% on every transaction. Cf. s. 22 below. It seems to have originated in the idea of a possible shortfall during measuring or weighing, which required to be made good by this surcharge. Breloer (KSt, III, 185) thinks that the object of vyājī is to recover the cost of the apparatus used for measuring etc. - parigha: 'either money for ferrying (ātaradravya) or begging and receiving food '(Cb). Meyer has 'gate-toll.' Breloer (KSt, III, 433) suggests 'a monopoly tax' guaranteeing that the technical production is supervised by the state. This seems a more likely explanation. See 2.12.35. - klptam is a fixed tax ' to be paid by a village collectively either in cash or kind' (Cb). Cf. 2.28.2. - rūpikam a menufacturing charge of 8%; cf. 2.12.26. — atyayah: this would ordinarily include danda. But in 2.12.35 both are separately mentioned. Perhaps there atyaya is restricted to penalty for violation of state regulations, while danda is fine imposed by judges and magistrates only. - ayamukham refers to heads under which revenue is classified.
- 11 devapitṛ- etc. and svasti- etc. are on the king's account. For the latter, Breloer (III, 189) compares the varṣāsanas granted to Brahmins by the Peshwas. koṣṭhāgāra etc.: establishment charges are to be understood in these cases. parigraha is here clearly upkeep or maintenance. vyayaśarīram: payments to ministers, officers, spies etc. do not seem capable of inclusion here. vyaya is not

foot-soldiers, horses, chariots and elephants, herds of cattle, enclosures for beasts, deer, birds and wild animals, and stores of fuel and grass,

— these constitute the corpus of expenditure.

- 12 The king's (regnal) year, the month, the fortnight and the day, thus the date-entry, the third and seventh fortnights of the rainy season, winter and summer short by one day, the rest full, (and) a separate intercalary month, this is time.
- 13 The (revenue) estimate, accrued revenue, outstanding revenue, income and expenditure and balance (are items in accounting).
- 14 The place, the sphere of activity, laying down the corpus (of income), receipts, the total of all (items of) revenue (and) the grand total, this is (revenue) estimate.

classified into heads or *mukha*. Breloer (KSt, III, 189-193) finds six heads: expenses on cultural things, expenses for court, for treasury administration, for the army, for herds and for parks.

12 The mention of divisions of time is for purposes of account-keeping and budgeting. - rājavarṣam: the commencement and end of the king's regnal year are apparently made to coincide with those of the works-year of 2.7.6-7 which ended on the Aṣāḍha full moon day. - vyuṣṭam: though there is no iti before it, it seems to mean the date-entry, by year, month, fortnight and day. In 2.7.31-33, it refers to the period for which the accounts are made up. - varṣāhemantaetc.: it seems that varṣā includes śarad, hemanta includes śiśira and grīṣma includes vasanta. In each of these three groups, the 3rd and 7th fortnights have fourteen days, the rest full 15 days. The short fortnights thus are the 1st fortnight in Bhadrapada, Kārttika and so on in every alternate month. This fortnight is the kṛṣṇa pakṣa, according to Cj; that is in consonance with Aṣāḍha full moon marking the end of the year and by implication of every month. These statements about short fortnights are not in agreement with the present day practice of calculating the kṣaya or vṛddhi of a tithi. Cs brings varṣā into relation with the sun's passing through the zodiacal signs of Leo, Virgo, Libra and Scorpio, and so on. For such an explanation, there is no justification in the text which is unaware of the rāšis; besides, we would thus get solar months in which there can no question of short or full pakṣas. — pṛthag adhimāsakaḥ: cf. 2.7.8 below. Cs's 'different from the solar month is the lunar month ' is quite unlikely.

14 karanīya seems to be a sort of (budget) estimate of revenue, made at the beginning of the year. — samsthānam 'situation, position' seems to refer to locality, such as village, district etc. for which the estimate is made. Cb Cs understand 'assessment of revenue for an individual village'; Cj has 'regulations (sthitih) such as this is to be done by this person only and at this time only, i.e., a royal order stating this.' Some such meaning suits 2.7.2,3, and is not unlikely even here. Meyer has '(expenses for the) continuation (of the administration).' — pracārah: this seems to refer to the sphere of activity of the particular adhyakṣa. The commentators understand 'region (deśa).' — śarīrāvasthāpanam as in ss. 1-9 above. — sarvasamudayapindah samjātam: the former seems to refer to the total of items under each of durga, rāṣṭra etc., while the latter is the grand total of durga, rāṣṭra and others. Cb explains 'the taxable capacity of villages' and 'the total of different kinds of revenue' respectively. Cj seems to understand 'estimated revenue'

15 Deliveries into the treasury, what is taken by the king, and the expenses of the city, (these as) paid in, what is carried forward from last year, what is released by a decree and what is ordered by word of mouth, (these as) not to be remitted, — this is accrued revenue.

16 Acquiring (the fruits) on completion (of an undertaking), the remainder of fines, (these as) what has to be recovered, what is withheld by force and what is used (by officers), (these as) what must be cleared, — this is outstanding revenue, not containing goods of high value, and containing few goods of high value.

and 'actual recoveries (which may be more or less)' respectively. — Breloer (KSt, III, 196-197) finds here similarities with the system of budgeting under the Peshwas. The final total, according to him, is the ain jamā or balance left after deductions are made for revenue officers, Inamdars etc. who received at source. Deductions, however, do not seem intended here. And state officers do not receive at source in this text. There are full salary lists in 5.3.

15 pravistam is from Cb (supported by Cj's pravistaka-) and seems necessary. It is one kind of siddha or accrued income, which is entered, i.e., actually paid in. arpita in kośārpita favours this reading as against apravistam. — rājahārah: apparently some income went directly to the king and not through the treasury.

— puravyayah: the reference to vyaya is strange in this connection. Apparently income ear-marked for city-expenditure also did not go through the treasury. It is not easy to see the reason for this. Cj has parutsamvatsarā-; parut in the sense of 'last year' appears better than parama-. — apātanīyam is the other kind of siddha; it has accrued, but is not actually paid in. It may be last year's dues not yet received or such as may have been allowed by the king to be paid in later, either by a written or an oral order. The income, however, is not to be dropped or surrendered (apātanīya) in any case. Cb reads āpādanīya 'which has to be brought in and delivered,' which comes to the same thing. Cs understands this s. to refer to expenditure, not revenue and explains āpātanīya by 'to be deducted from revenue.' For siddha and pravista, cf. 2.8.18,21.

16 sesa seems to refer to outstanding dues. It is also of two kinds āharanīya and praśodhya. - siddhikarmayogah is from D and seems to convey the idea of acquiring the fruits of a work on its completion; income from the partly completed work is not immediately available, but would be received only when the whole work is completed. With prakarma, Cb has 'loan on interest,' Breloer (KSt, III, 200-203) 'arrangements (yoga) for promotion (prakarma smoothening, polishing) of the establishment.' Cj seems to understand 'what is lent for house-building or what is used by an officer from what was given to him.' Cs has 'recovering unpaid taxes when crops etc. are ready,' which in effect is the same as the explanation adopted. - dandaśesam is, according to Cb Cs, 'surplus left over from the army.' This hardly fits in here. A ca after this would have been better to mark off the two kinds of āharanīya. — balātkṛtapratiṣṭabdham: perhaps -ṣṭambham was the original reading; else kṛta is superfluous. Cj understands balātkṛta in the sense of balātkāra. - avamṛṣṭam 'touched' i.e., used; 'yan mukhyādibhir balād upayuktam' (Cj). The reading avasistam 'remitted' seems hardly appropriate. - The difference between aharaniya and prasodhya is that the former is easily recoverable, the latter only with some effort (Cb). — asāram alpasāram ca, i.e., the dues must not contain 17 Current, outstanding and derived from other sources is (the three-fold) income. 18 What comes in from day to day is current (income). 19 What belongs to the preceding year or what is transferred from another sphere of activity, is outstanding (income). 20 What is lost and forgotten, fines imposed on employees, extra income, compensation for loss, gifts, property of a person involved in a riot, property of an issueless person and treasure-trove is income derived from other sources. 21 Balance due to (army-) disbandment and from undertakings (given up) in the middle because of sickness, is return from expenditure. 22 Accretion, viz., increase in the price of commodities at the time of sale, excess in weights and measures called surcharge or the increase in price because of competition for purchase, — this is (also) income.

goods of high value ($s\bar{a}ra$), only phalgu and kupya, or they must contain only few goods of high value. $v\bar{a}$ would be better instead of ca. Cb has 'yielding no fruits though expenses are incurred and yielding small fruit for high expenditure,' as two additional varieties of śeṣa. In that case, it is not clear why they are put after śeṣam. Cj reads anādeyam at the end and explains 'that (from a family, though normally tax-paying) without anything of value or having only few such things—not to be recovered.' This yields a good sense.

19 parapracārasamkrāntah: this seems to refer to transfer from the sphere of activity of one adhyaksa to that of another. Cb has 'what was due in one officer's time recovered by his successor, or what has come from the enemy's territory.' — 20 pārśvam: the exact nature of this is not clear. Cb understands a surcharge on the fixed dues, Cp (on 2.15.3) a levy as recommended in 5.2, Breloer an impost for making good a deficit (p. 321). Cj Meyer understand a bribe. — pārihīņikam is compensation for loss suffered, rather than 'penalty for failure to carry out the task, or, something received from a mortgagee' (Cb). - damara seems to be 'a revolt' which would justify the confiscation of property. Cb understands 'booty obtained in a fight'; for that the usual word is vilopa (cf. 9.2.9 etc.) aputrakam is not to be understood to refer to the son alone; cf. 3.5.28. Meyer, however, would understand the expression in the literal sense. 21 The s., repeated in 2.15.10, describes lapsed grants. Two reasons for 'return from expenditure' seem mentioned, vikṣepa 'disbandment of the troops' and vyādhitāntarārambha 'undertakings given up midway because of illness or epidemics.' Some such word as visṛṣṭa or parityakta after antarā would have been better. For vikṣepa, see 7.9.22; 8.5.15 etc. Cb Cs have three items 'balance from army-expenditure, from expenses for medical hall and from other undertakings like durga, antahpura etc.' Provision for medical halls is not mentioned elsewhere. Meyer has 'windfall (pratyāya) for purposes of expenditure (vyaya) is sickness through bankruptcy or failure (of a private undertaking of the king) (vikṣepavyādhita) and remainder from an undertaking given up in the middle (antarārambhaśeṣa).' This is highly problematical. — upajā primarily refers to increase in the commodities (particularly live-stock) through natural causes; cf. 2.29.8,11. A natural increase in price is meant here. Cb Cs Meyer understand 'what is obtained from prohibited sale.' - mānonmānavišeşo: this seems to be a description of vyājī, in which case it would refer to the 5% surcharge; see s. 10 above. It is also possible that the expression is unconnected with vyājī, and refers to the difference between ordinary weights

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- 23 Current (expenditure), that arising out of current, gain (and) that arising out of gain, this is (four-fold) expenditure.
 24 What is spent from day to day is current (expenditure). 25 Receipts (by officers, servants etc.) after a fortnight, a month or a year is gain.
 26 That arising out of these two is (expenditure) arising out of current (expenditure) and out of gain respectively. This is expenditure.
- 27 What is left over after calculation of income and expenditure from the total of revenue-items is the balance, received and carried forward.
 - 28 Thus the wise (Administrator) should fix the revenue and show an increase in income and decrease in expenditure and should remedy the opposite (of these).

CHAPTER SEVEN

SECTION 25 THE TOPIC OF ACCOUNTS IN THE RECORDS AND AUDIT OFFICE

1 The Superintendent should cause the Records Office to be built facing the east or the north, with separate halls, (as) a place for record-books.

and measures and those used for receipts in the treasury, as in 2.29.21-23, 29. See 2.15.11 below where $vy\bar{a}j\bar{i}$ seems distinguished from $tul\bar{a}m\bar{a}n\bar{a}ntaram$.

23 The difference between nitya and lābha is that the former expenditure is incurred from day to day, the latter at fixed intervals of time, a fortnight, a month, a year etc. Breloer remarks (KSt, III, 209-216) that the term lābha represents the point of view of the recipient, labourer, officer etc. as in bhaktavetanalābha, and that it is a sort of deferred payment. It may also stand for a lump payment. 26 tayor utpannah, i.e., items of expenditure of the two types not foreseen at the time of the budget.

27 samjātād āyavyayaviśuddhā: what is meant is that from the total income the total expenditure is deducted. samjātād āyād vyayaviśuddhā or samjātāyavyayaviśuddhā would have been better. Perhaps the latter was the original reading. — prāptā, i.e., actually received in the treasury. — anuvṛttā, i.e., accrued but not actually delivered into the treasury; it is thus carried forward to the next account period.

28 sādhayet, i.e., overcome, remedy, take steps against. — It is clear that the samāhartṛ fixes the assessment of revenue, prepares the budget and keeps the accounts.

2.7

According to Cj akṣa is what is used for counting, such as a pair of scales etc. and paṭala is a house (akṣāṇi gaṇakopakaraṇāni paricchedasādhanatayā indriyāṇīva tulādīni, teṣāṇi paṭalam gṛham). akṣa primarily seems to refer to 'beads' used as counter or tally. As is clear from the Chapter, the akṣapaṭala is a recordscum-audit office.

1 pratyaimukham of G M is unlikely in view of 2.4.7 and other places.

- 2 There he should cause to be entered in the record-books: the extent of the number, activity and total (income) of the departments; the amount of increase or decrease in the use of the (various) materials, expenses, additions, surcharge, mixing, place, wages and labourers in connection with factories; the price, the quality, the weight, the measure, the height, the depth and the container in connection with jewels, articles of high value, of low value and forest produce; laws, transactions, customs and fixed rules of regions, villages, castes, families and corporations; the receipt of favours, lands, use, exemptions, and food and wages by those who serve the king; the receipt of jewels and land (and) the receipt of special allowances and (payments for) remedial measures against sudden calamities, by the king and his queens and sons; and payments and receipts in connection with peace and war with allies and enemies.
- 3 From that he should hand over in writing the (revenue) estimate, accrued revenue, outstanding revenue, income and expenditure, balance,
- 2 samkhyā- is the total number of departments. pracāra is the activity in which each department is engaged. - samjāta is the total income from the department; cf. 2.6.14, 27. — dravyaprayogavrddhiksaya is the increase or loss in weight or volume which raw materials undergo in the process of manufacture as described in 4.1.8 ff. - prayāma may refer to additions or extensions to the factory, though addition to expenses (Breloer, KSt, III, 227-9) is also possible. - yoga is the mixing of materials in the process of manufacture. Cj gives the illustration of the mixing of colouring matter with gold as in 2.13.47 ff. Meyer understands yogasthāna as 'the place of employment or work.' — prativarņaka is the standard of quality, also quality. - samghānām as in D is necessary; cf. 3.7.40. — dharma seems to refer to peculiar laws about marriage, inheritance etc. prevalent in a region etc., which are authoritative for that region etc. vyavahāra 'transactions,' i.e., agreements or contracts between parties; cf. 3.1.2-14. This implies that all agreements or contracts are to be registered with the state. Cb explains vyavahāra by 'cash and landed property that is inherited.' - caritra 'customs, usages,' which, unlike dharma, do not have the appearance of having a religious sanction. - samsthāna: this word cannot mean 'locality' here as it probably does in 2.6.14. Cj explains 'royal order, this should be done, this should not be done and so on (samsthānam samsthitī rājājñā atredam kartavyam idam na kartavyam iti).' Breloer (KSt, III, 241 n.1), comparing this passage with 3.1.39, identifies samsthāna with rājašāsana there, which is the explanation of Cj. The idea is elearly that of rules fixed by the state. Cb Cs construe samsthana 'sticking to convention about' with each of dharma, vyavahāra and caritra. — pragraha 'favour, honour'; cf. s. 41 below. — rājñaś ca patnīputrāṇām: the ca should have come after -putrāṇām; if the king is not to be included, ca is unnecessary. - nirdeśa is an extra allowance, according to Cb Cs; what is ordered by the king, according to Cj. — autpātikapratīkāra 'taking steps against portents, such as carthquakes etc.' (Cb, which mentions this as a v. l.). Cb's reading is autpādika 'money obtained during festivals etc.' It seems better to adopt a reading with which pratīkāra can be easily construed.
- 3 tatah may be 'from the accounts office' or 'from the record-book.' upasthānam, i.e., time fixed for officers to come and render accounts (Cb). Similarly

(the time for) attendance (for audit), (sphere of) activity, customs and fixed rules, to all the departments.

- 4 And over works of the highest, the middling and the lowest kinds, he should appoint a superintendent of that class, (but) over (works) bringing in revenue, a suitable (officer), by injuring whom (if necessary), the king would not regret. 5 His co-receivers, sureties, those living on his work, his sons, brothers, wives, daughters and servants shall bear the loss (incurred) in the work.
- 6 Three hundred and fifty-four days and nights constitute the year of work. 7 He should fix that as ending on the full moon day in Āṣāḍha, (whether) short or full. 8 He should provide the intercalary month with a (separate) bureau.
- 9 And (he should have) the activity (of departments) watched by spies. 10 For, the person in question (viz., the officer) if not conversant with the activity, customs and fixed rules, causes loss of revenue through ignorance, if unable to endure the trouble of (energetic) activity, through laziness, if addicted to the pleasures of the senses, sound and others, through remissness, if afraid of an uproar (among subjects) or of an unrighteous or harmful act, through fear, if inclined to show favour to

Breloer (KSt, III, 235-236). Meyer's 'outstanding and accrued income' as in 2.15.11 does not appear likely here. — prayacchet: the subject is evidently akṣapaṭalādhyakṣaḥ. — Apparently the āya, vyaya, nīvī etc. would be those of the preceding year, though the haranīya would be that of the current year.

- 4 tajjātikam, i.e., an officer of the uttama kind for work of the uttama type and so on. sāmudayikeşu (see śuddhipatra in the text): we have to supply karmasu and explain with Cj 'of which the purpose is to bring in revenue (samudayaprayojaneṣu āyasthāneṣu).' The word is derived from samudaya 'revenue.' Cb Cs reading sāmudāyikeṣu supply karmakareṣu 'from among a large number of workmen capable of doing a work.' This is not satisfactory. upahatya, i.e., inflicting a fine or corporal punishment (Cj), the punishment being for loss of state revenue, through ignorance etc. to be mentioned presently. 5 sahagrāhinaḥ, i.e., those who have received a share of the state revenue along with the officer. For the expression, cf. 3.11.14. karmopajīvinaḥ, i.e., the staff and workmen. As Cb Cj say the later one in the list becomes liable in the absence of each preceding one.
- 6 karmasamvatsarah: this is the official year for completing the accounts of the various undertakings. 7 Āṣāḍhīparyavasānam: pūrnīmānta months are clearly implied. ūnam pūrnam vā, i.e., whether the work is spread over the full year or only a part of it. Cb has 'in accordance with the period the officer was there.' 8 karanādhiṣṭhitam etc.: apparently the yearly accounts had only twelve sections, one for each month; so accounts for the intercalary month were kept separately.
- 9 apasarpādhisthitam: supply kuryāt from the preceding. 10 samkrośa 'outcry, uproar'; cf. 1.17.39 above. tutāmāna- etc.: For the four ways of assessing extent or size, see 2.21.15. upadhāna 'placing near, introducing' implies substitution. Cf. 4.2.22. The word is related to upadhi 'fraud.'

those who have work with him, through love, if inclined to do them harm, through anger, because of reliance on learning or wealth or the support of a (royal) favourite, through arrogance, (and) because of (deceit in) introducing a difference in weight, measure, assessment or counting, (he causes loss) through greed.

- 11 'Among those (causes of loss of revenue), the fine is as much as the loss of money, increased by one-fold in each succeeding case according to the order (as stated above),' say the followers of Manu. 12 'In all cases (the fine shall be) eight times (the loss),' say the followers of Parāśara. 13 'Ten times,' say the followers of Brhaspati. 14 'Twenty times,' say the followers of Uśanas. 15 '(The fine shall be) in conformity with the offence,' says Kauţilya.
- 16 The accounts should come in on the Āṣāḍha full moon day. 17 When the (officers) have come with sealed account books and balances in sealed containers, he should impose restriction in one place, not allowing conversation (among them). 18 After hearing the totals of income, expenditure and balance, he should cause the balance to be taken away (to the treasury). 19 And he should make the superintendent pay eightfold whatever may increase in the balance over the total of income (as shown) on the page inside (the account-books) or whatever the (officer) may cause to decrease (from the balance) because of (the inflation of) expenditure. 20 In the reverse cases, it shall fall to the lot of (the officer) himself.
- 11 teṣām refers to ajñāna etc. ekottaraḥ, i.e., one-fold for ajñāna, two-fold for ālasya, three-fold for pramāda and so on. Mānavāḥ: the rule is not found in the Manusmrti.
- 17 samudrapustakabhāṇdanīvīkānām: this seems to mean that accounts officers bring accounts in sealed books and works officers bring actual balances in sealed containers. — ekatra asambhāṣāvarodham, i.e., the two sets of officers are not to be allowed to converse among themselves. Breloer remarks that this is like treating them as witnesses (KSt, III, 246). 19 antaraparne is from D supported by Cb. parna seems to refer to the palm-leaf on which the accounts are written. antahparne would perhaps have been better 'on a leaf inside (the account-book).' Cs explains the reading antaravarne as 'in the book in which the actual balance is described,' which practically comes to the same thing. Meyer has 'in case of deviation (antaravarne) of the balance.' Breloer (KSt, III, 246-247) tentatively suggests 'between-counting' (?). - vyayasya: supply agrāt after this. parihāpayet: nīvyām is to be understood with this. The balance is reduced because the expenditure is inflated. 20 viparyaye, i.e., when the actual balance is greater than what is shown in the account book or when expenses are shown to be less than those actually incurred. — tam eva prati syāt, i.e., the officer shall keep it. Breloer, however, has 'the state keeps the difference of what the officer has counted to his own disadvantage '(KSt, III, 247). The former idea seems better. Cf. the illustration 'yad atra mām prati syāt' in the Siddhāntakaumudī. Cj seems to understand that the officer is not to be punished, since he has spoken the truth. It also refers to the opinion that even this officer is to be fined eight times.

- 21 For (officers) not coming at the proper time or coming without the account-books and balances, the fine shall be one-tenth of the amount due.
- 22 And if, when the works officer presents himself, the accounts officer is not ready for audit, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed). 23 In the reverse case, the fine for the works officer (shall be) double.
- 24 The high officers should render accounts in full in accordance with their activity, without contradicting themselves. 25 And among these he who makes a divergent statement or speaks falsely shall pay the highest fine (for violence).
- 26 He should wait for one month, if the (officer) has not brought in the day-to-day accounts. 27 After the month, the (officer) shall pay a fine of two hundred paṇas increased (by that amount) for each succeeding month. 28 If an (officer) has a little of the written balance due (from him), he should wait for five days. 29 If he brings in the day-to-day accounts after that period, preceded by (delivery of the balance into) the treasury, he should look into (the case) with refer-
- 22 kārmika is obviously the officer concerned with the carrying out of the work, while the kāranika is the account-keeper. apratibadhnataḥ, i.e., not being ready with his accounts; Cb has 'failing to write down.' Because of the high fine, Breloer (KSt, III, 250-1) understands 'not putting in proof, not being able to substantiate a discrepancy (upasthita).' This does not seem likely. 23 dviguṇaḥ: the fine is double because he has the actual nīvī with him and has failed to turn up with it.
- 24 samagrāh may be construed with mahāmātrāh, which is not very happy, or nīvīh may be understood as the substantive. But samagrāni (gāṇanikyāni) would have been better. avisamamantrāh: 'not saying what is different,' i.e., not making contradictory statements. Meyer has 'not having dissimilar or unsuitable plans.' Cb Cs read -mātrāh and the latter explains 'should broadcast (śrāvayeyuh) all over the country-side (pracārasamam) all the related activities or a harmonized statement of income, expenditure and balance.' This is very doubtful. 25 prthagbhūtah seems to be one whose statements do not tally with those of others, or rather, one who contradicts himself. Cb seems to understand one who has disappeared, made himself scarce.
- 26 akṛtāhorūpaharam: ahorūpa seems to refer to the day-to-day accounts, and the expression refers to the officer who fails to bring such accounts. A month is allowed to bring them in. This implies that the day-to-day accounts for a month are allowed to be completed by the end of the next month. 28 alpaśeṣale-khyanīvīkam, i.e., when a small part of the balance as arrived at in the account-book is not brought in. This apparently refers to the works officer, while the preceding ss. referred to the accounts officer. pañcarātram apparently in the case of the monthly account. 29 kośapūrvam ahorūpaharam: i.e., the balance due is delivered in the treasury and the relevant accounts are brought in after a lapse of five days. Though the accounts officer is also thought of (ahorūpahara), the works officer would seem to be principally concerned. samkalana evidently refers

ence to laws, transactions, customs and fixed rules and by totalling up, (and by looking at) the work actually carried out, ly inference and the use of spies.

30 And he should check (the accounts) for each day, group of five days, fortnight, month, four months and year. 31 He should check the income with reference to the period, place, time, head of income, source, bringing forward, quantity, the payer, the person causing payment to be made, the recorder and the receiver. 32 He should check the expenditure with reference to the period, place, time, head (of expenditure), gain, occasion, the thing given, its use and amount, the person who orders, the person who takes out, the person who delivers and the receiver. 33 He should check the balance with reference to the period, place, time, head, bringing forward, the article, its characteristics, amount, the vessel in which it is deposited and the person guarding it.

34 If, in an affair of the king, the accounts officer is not ready for audit or disregards an order or changes the income and expenditure in a way different from the written order, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed).

to the totalling of items in the accounts. — avekṣela: the purpose of this investigation is to find out if the delay in delivery was justified or not. — Ms. D breaks off towards the beginning of this s., there being only one more folio containing 2.11.21-39.

30 pratisamānayet: the object is 'accounts.' 31 vyusta refers to the period for which the accounts are made up, 'yathā pravardhamāne pañcadaśarājavarṣe' (Cj). See 2.6.12 above. — utpatti refers to the source included in āyaśarīra. — anuvṛtti is being brought forward from the preceding period of account. — pramāṇa: Breloer suggests parimāṇa in conformity with the reading of mss. in the next two ss. However, pramāṇa might appear better in all three ss. — dāpaka is the person on whose behalf the payment is made. Cb does not seem to have read this word. 32 lābha, i.e., payments to employees; cf. s. 2 above. — yoga 'application,' i.e., use to which the article would be put. — vidhātṛka is an emendation suggested by Meyer 'who arranges the delivery.' Of the other readings only nidhātṛka 'store-keeper' of Cb Cs conveys any sense. Cj seems to derive its viyātaka from yat 'to strive.' 33 anuvartana is obviously the same as anuvṛtti. — rūpa, i.e., the article or object constituting the nīvī.

34 rājārthe: this seems to refer to state undertakings, as distinguished from the work of collecting taxes, fines etc. from subjects. — kāranika, it is clear, is not an officer in the audit office, as Cj seems to have understood in s. 22 above. — pratişedhayato: as the fine would appear small if we refer this only to disregarding the king's order, Breloer (KSt, III, 262) understands 'who suppresses an order.' — nibandha is the written statement handed out at the beginning concerning heads of income etc., as laid down in s. 3 above.

- 35 For one writing down an item (in the accounts) without any order or in a wrong order or in an illegible manner, or twice over, the fine is twelve panas. 36 For one writing down the balance (in any of these ways) the fine is double (that). 37 For one who swallows it, the fine is eight-fold. 38 For one who destroys it, the fine is one-fifth of the amount and restitution (of what is lost). 39 In case of a false statement, the punishment is that for theft. 40 If admitted afterwards, (the fine is) double, so also if an item is forgotten and then brought in.
 - 41 The (king) should put up with a minor offence and should be content even when the revenue is small; and he should honour with favours the officer who confers great benefit (on the state).

CHAPTER EIGHT

SECTION 26 RECOVERY OF REVENUE MISAPPROPRIATED BY STATE EMPLOYEES

- 1 All undertakings are dependent first on the treasury. 2 Therefore, he should look to the treasury first.
- 3 Prosperousness of activities, cherishing of customs, suppression of thieves, control over employees, luxuriance of crops, abundance of commodities, deliverance from troubles, reduction in exemptions, (and) presents in cash, these are (the means of) increase in the treasury.
- 4 Hindrance, lending, trading, concealment, causing loss, use, interchange and misappropriation, these are (the causes of) depletion of the treasury.
- 35 kramāvahīna is 'lacking in order,' while utkrama is 'in a wrong order.'—
 avalikhataḥ is not necessarily 'who enters wrongly,' for it cannot be understood of
 avijāātam; 'who writes down' is enough.— vastukam, i.e., an item in the ledger.
 36 avalikhataḥ in this case may be understood as 'who writes down less
 (than the actual balance)' as in Cs, though that is not necessary. The reading
 avalihato is found in this s. in Cj which explains 'who tastes, i.e., swallows a little
 (īṣad āsvādayataḥ).' 38 pañcabandhaḥ cannot be five times (Cs Meyer), in view
 of 2.8.11; 3.1.20; 3.11.33 etc. 40 pratijñāte, i.e., when an admission is made
 that a false statement was made by him earlier.— dviguṇaḥ: double the fine
 for theft might appear too severe in the case of prasmṛtotpanna. Meyer therefore
 thinks of double the 12 paṇas prescribed in s. 35. That does not appear very
 likely.

2.8

- 1 kośapūrvāḥ etc.: contrast 8.1.23 and the discussion in 8.1.33-52 below.
- 2 pracāra may, as usual, be understood as departmental activity rather than as 'country' (Cj Cs). anugraha is maintenance, preservation as before. pratiṣedha, i.e., keeping a strict control or check rather than 'dismissal.' upasarga 'troubles' such as fire, floods etc.

- 5 Failure to carry out a work, failure to realize its fruit, or failure to deliver it (in the treasury), constitutes hindrance. 6 For that the fine is one-tenth (the amount involved).
- 7 Lending at interest of goods from the treasury is lending. 8 Trading in (state) commodities is trading. 9 In those cases, the fine is double the fruit.
- 10 If the (officer) makes the due date as not due or the date not due as due, that is concealment. 11 For that the fine is one-fifth.
- 12 If the (officer) causes a diminution of the revenue fixed or causes an increase in the expenditure sanctioned, that is causing loss.

 13 For that the fine is four times the amount lost.
- 14 The use of the king's goods by oneself or allowing it by others is use. 15 For that, the punishment is execution for use of jewels, the middle fine for violence for use of articles of high value, (restitution of) that and an equal amount as fine for use of articles of small value and forest produce.
- 16 The appropriation of the king's goods by (the substitution of) other goods is interchange. 17 That is explained by (rules concerning) use.
- 18 If the (officer) does not deliver the income that has accrued (or) does not pay the expenses put down in writing (or) denies the balance received, that is misappropriation. 19 For that the fine is twelve times (the amount).
- 20 Of those (officers) the ways of embezzlement are forty.
 21 What has accrued first is realized afterwards, what has accrued later is realized first, what is to be carried out is not carried out, what is not to be carried out is carried out, what is carried out is made out as not carried out, what is not carried out is made out as carried out, what is a little carried out is made out as much, what
- 5 siddhi refers to securing the fruits of an undertaking, recovery of revenue, taxes etc. Its asādhana is not earrying out the work at all, anavatāraṇa is not securing the fruit produced and apraveśana is not delivering it into the treasury. Cj explains anavatāraṇa by 'not writing down in the accounts (lekhyākaraṇam).'

 Cp begins with this s. and continues to the end of the Book.
 - 9 phala, i.e., the interest received or profit made.
- 18 prāptām nīvīm seems to refer to the balance received by and in the possession of the officer.
- 20 catvārimsat: the passage is referred to in the Dasakumāracarita, VIII. 21 pūrvam siddham etc.: the recovery of the income accrued is delayed, evidently in consideration of gratification received. kṛtam, i.e., made out, represented. anyatah refers to the source of the income. Cs understands deyam na dattam adeyam dattam as a single case of misappropriation, similarly kāle na dattam akāle dattam. There is little justification for this. anyato dattam: Cs under-

is carried out much is made out as little, one thing is carried out while another is made out (as carried out), what is carried out from one source is made out as from another, what is to be paid is not paid, what is not to be paid is paid, payment is not made in time, payment is made untimely, a little paid is made out as much, what is overpaid is made out as little, one thing is given while another is made out as given, what is paid to one is made out as paid to another, what is delivered (into the treasury) is made out as not delivered, what is not delivered is made out as delivered, forest produce for which the price has not been paid is delivered, that for which the price has been paid is not delivered, concentration (of goods) is made out as dispersal. or dispersal made out as concentration, an object of high value is changed for one of low value, or one of low value for one of high value, the price is raised, or (the price is) reduced, the year is made discrepant as to months, or the month discrepant as to days, discrepancy as to source, discrepancy as to head (of income etc.), discrepancy as to

stands tas in the sense of the dative; that is better, though the sense of the ablative is also not unlikely. — From pravistam onwards offences by treasury and stores officers are mentioned. — kupyam adattamūlyam pravistam: Cp Cs explain 'a thing is borrowed at the king's command; after a time a part of the price is paid, making the entry that full price is paid.' There is no reference to part-payment here. It seems that the price is not paid from the treasury, yet the stores officer receives the goods, to be afterwards appropriated by him, the sufferer being the person from whom the goods are received. - dattamulyam na pravistam: Cp Cs have 'a thing purchased at a high price is entered as purchased at a lower price.' There is no reference to high or low price here. The case is clearly one where the price is paid from the treasury, but the goods are not received in the stores. Meyer understands pravista as 'entered in the register' when sales are made from stores to merchants. In the first case, the merchant pays less though the entry shows the regular price. But can adatta mean 'paid less'? - samksepo viksepah krtah: from here onwards, market officers are to be understood. For these terms see 2.16.1. The commentators understand 'aggregate tax to be paid by a village etc.' and 'splitting a tax among individuals (Cp Cs) or collecting it from one individual only (Cb).' In the opposite case, 'viksepa, i.e., a tax to be received from an individual in small instalments and samksepa, i.e., recovering it at one time in a lump sum.' All this seems unlikely. — mahārgham alpārghena parivartitam: the purchaser suffers in this case, while in the opposite case the treasury suffers. samāropito'rghah: the panyādhyakṣa, who fixes prices (2.16.2-3), might do so to his own advantage. — After pratyavaropito vā, Cb and the editions add rātrayah samāropitāh pratyavaropitā vā. G M do not show these cases; they are also unnecessary in view of maso divasavisamah krtah. And with the deletion of these expressions the number forty is very smoothly arrived at. - samvatsaro etc.: from here onwards, works-foremen are thought of. The idea in this case is, when there is an intercalary month, that fact is not taken into account when making payments on a yearly basis. - māso etc.: the number of days in the month are manipulated to the detriment of the workers. — samāgamaviṣamah: here and in the following cases, visama seems to stand for visamatva, though it can be understood as an adjective to upāyah. samāgama seems to be the same as āgama and to refer

workmen, discrepancy in performance, discrepancy in the sum-total, discrepancy in quality, discrepancy in price, discrepancy in weighing, discrepancy in measuring, (and) discrepancy as to (container) vessels,— these are the (forty) ways of embezzlement.

22 In these cases, he should interrogate, each individually, the subordinate officer, the store-keeper, the recorder, the receiver, the person who pays, the person who causes the payment to be made, the adviser and the help-mate. 23 And in case of a false statement by these, the fine shall be the same as for the officer (concerned). 24 And he should issue a proclamation in the sphere of his activity, 'Those wronged by such and such an officer should communicate (it to us).' 25 To such as communicate, he should cause payment to be made in accordance with the injury suffered.

26 And in case of many accusations, if the (officer) denies (all charges) and is proved guilty in a single case, he shall be liable for all.
27 In case of partial admission, he shall stand trial in all cases. 28 And in case of misappropriation of a large amount of money, if proved guilty with respect to even a small part of it, he shall be liable for all.

29 An informer, to whom a guarantee is given against reprisal (by the officer), should receive one-sixth part (of the amount involved),

to 'source' (Meyer), though Cp Cs explain it as 'the presence of labourers at the time of payment of wages.' — It is proposed to read kārmika- for dhārmika-. The latter is explained as defalcation by the purohila and his men from amounts sanctioned for charitable purposes like gifts to Brahmins (Cb Cp Cs). This is unsatisfactory. We expect dharma- not dhārmika-. And since the preceding and the following cases have reference to some work carried out by an adhyakṣa, kārmika would appear far more likely. The idea is of discrepancy in the matter of workmen (their number, wages etc.). — nirvartana-: Meyer prefers to read nivartana 'because of the ceasing of a particular source of income.' In all these cases, however, the reason for the fraud is not stated, only the item in connection with which the fraud is committed. — pinda is the total amount of the commodity or income. — varna 'class,' i.e., quality of the commodity. Cf. 4.2.22. A reference to the four varnas (Cs) can hardly be understood and 'fineness or touch of gold' (also Cs) unnecessarily restricts the sense to a particular case only.

22 upayukta is a subordinate officer (Meyer) rather than a supervising or higher officer (Cp Cs). Cf. 2.5.16. — nidhāyaka seems to be the store-keeper as in Cs. — G M read mantrimantrivaiyā- etc.; one -mantri- is clearly superfluous. It is possible, however, that one -mantri- is a corruption of -mitra-. Cf. 2.9.25, also 4.8.9 (where we have sahāya).

26 paroktah: see 3.1.19 ff. 27 vaisamye, i.e., when some charges are admitted and others denied (Cp Cs). Cj has 'when different persons bring different charges against him.' — anuyoga 'questioning, interrogation' apparently by the pradesirs. — 28 -apahāre is to be preferred to -apacāre in the context of this Chapter.

29 sūcaka who secretly informs against an officer involved in fraud. — pratighāta is reprisal by the officer; cf. 7.6.26; 9.6.27. For avasthā 'guarantee,' cf.

if the matter is proved, one-twelfth part, if (he happens to be) a state servant. 30 If in an accusation concerning a large amount, only a small portion is proved, he shall receive a share of what is proved. 31 In case it is not proved, he shall receive corporal or monetary punishment, and no favour shall be shown to him.

32 But (if) when the charge is being proved, the informer, at the instigation of the accused (officer), were to throw up the case or to make himself scarce, hè shall be condemned to death.

CHAPTER NINE

SECTION 27 INSPECTION OF (THE WORK OF) OFFICERS

- 1 All superintendents, endowed with the excellences of a minister, should be appointed to works according to (their) capacity. 2 And he should constantly hold an inspection of their works, men being inconstant in their minds. 3 For, men being of a nature similar to that of horses change when employed in works. 4 Therefore, he should be cognizant of the worker, the office, the place, the time, the work to be done, the outlay and the profit in these (undertakings).
- 5 They should carry out the works according to orders, without concerting together or quarrelling amongst themselves. 6 Concerting together, they might swallow up (the fruits of) the undertakings, quarrelling, they might ruin (them). 7 And they must not commence any work without informing the king, excepting measures against calamities.
- 8.4.33. 31 na cānugrāhyaḥ: this does not necessarily mean 'he is not to be saved from the vengeance of the officer' (Cs).
- 32 Meyer's construction, supplying yadi in the first half, is adopted. That appears to be the construction in Cj as well: $nispattau\ pramānaih\ sambhāvitāyām$ 'when the charge is likely to be proved.' Cb explains the first half 'when it is proved, the informer should say that the information was given to him by some one else and should remain hidden.' Similarly Cp: 'should transfer the blame of being an informer to treasonable persons or plead an alibi (ātmānam apavāhayet)' supplying dūṣye in the first half. Cs has 'when the matter is proved, he should cease the accusation and $(v\bar{a})$ free himself from the bondage of the case (ātmānam apavāhayet).' The idea rather seems to be that the informer after making the accusation, withdraws it at the instigation of the accused or fails to appear for proving his charge.

2.9

upayukta ordinarily 'a subordinate officer' is here used for 'officer' in general. The Chapter in fact uses the word yukta and does not use upayukta even once.

- 4 karana 'office, department' (Cp) seems better than 'way of doing or means of doing' (Cj). prakṣepa 'investment, outlay' is common in this text. 'Wages of workmen' (Cp Cs) is an unnecessary restriction.
 - 6 Cf. 1.15.37 above.

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- 8 And in cases of remissness on their part, he should fix a fine double the day's wages and (other) expenses. 9 And he who, amongst them, carries out the work as ordered or better, should receive a (high) position and honour.
- 10 'If an (officer) with a small income has a large expenditure, he consumes (state revenue). 11 In the reverse case and when an (officer) spends in conformity with his income, he does not consume,' thus say the teachers. 12 Only through spies would (this) be ascertained, says Kautilya.
- 13 He who causes loss of revenue consumes the property of the king. 14 If he causes loss through ignorance and other causes, he should make him pay that, suitably multiplied. 15 He who procures double the (normal) revenue, consumes the country-side. 16 If he brings in (the whole) for the king, he should be warned in case of a minor offence, in case of a major offence should be punished according to the offence. 17 He who makes out as expenditure the revenue (he has raised) consumes the works of men. 18 He should be punished according to the offence in cases of loss (or waste) of days of work, the price of goods and the wages of men.
 - 8 -vetanavyaya- 'wages and (other) expenses 'rather than 'expenses on wages.'
 - 9 yathādiṣṭam etc.: cf. 1.8.13 which is a quotation from Piśuna.
- 14 ajñānādibhiḥ refers to the eight causes mentioned in 2.7.10. yathā-guṇam, i.e., 1,2,3 etc. times in case of ajñāna, ālasya, pramāda etc. respectively. In 2.7.11-15, this scale of fines is attributed to the Mānavas, while Kauṭilya himself preferred punishment according to offence. Meyer thinks that we should read yathāparādham instead of yathāguṇam here as well. Cp Cs understand 'double, three times, etc. according to the offence,' i.e., apparently according to repetition of the offence. This also seems likely.
- 17 samudayam vyayam upanayati: Cb Cp Cs Meyer understand 'who brings in the expenditure as income,' i.e., the sanctioned expenditure instead of being spent on the work is returned to the treasury as income from that work. For this we expect vyayam samudayam (iti) upanayati. As the parallel ss. 13, 15 show, samudayam is the object, not part of the predicate. Moreover, on this explanation, there is no apahāra to which the next s. refers. The idea rather is that the income actually raised from the work is represented as expenditure. Thus no benefit is derived by the state and the labour of workmen is wasted so far as the state is concerned. The difference between s. 13 and this s. is that in the former case no revenue (or less revenue) is produced, while in this case revenue is produced, but spent away instead of being brought to the treasury. — 18 karmadivasa- etc.: with Meyer, three things should be understood, karmadivasa, dravyamūlya and purusavetana. Cp Cs understand two things 'loss of the price fixed for the fruit of the work that would have been achieved on those days and loss of wages by the labourers.' — There is apahāra in this case because the net income is pocketed by the officer. It may be calculated on the basis of karmadivasa etc. that are lost.

- 19 Therefore, he who is appointed by an order to a particular department shall communicate to him (i.e., the king) the real nature of that work and the income and expenditure (both) in detail and in the aggregate.
- 20 And he should keep in check the patrimony-squanderer, the immediate-spender and the niggardly. 21 He who consumes in unjust ways the property inherited from the father and the grandfather is the patrimony-squanderer. 22 He who straightway consumes whatever is produced is the immediate-spender. 23 He who amasses wealth by putting his dependents and himself to suffering is the niggardly. 24 If he has a (large) party (dependent on him) he is not to be deprived of property; in the opposite case, he should be deprived of all property.
- 25 Of that niggardly officer who, placed in charge of a large amount of revenue, stores it, deposits it or sends it out, stores it in his own house, deposits it with citizens or country people, sends it out to an enemy's territory, a secret agent should find out the party of advisers, friends, dependents and kinsmen as well as the coming in and going out of goods. 26 And having insinuated himself into the confidence of that (servant) of his who might be making movements (to and fro) in the enemy's territory, he should find out the secret. 27 When it is fully ascertained, he should cause him to be executed on the pretext of a letter from the enemy.
- 28 Therefore, his superintendents should carry out the works accompanied by accountants, writers, examiners of coins, receivers of balances and supervisors. 29 Supervisors are those who ride elephants, horses and chariots. 30 Their assistants, endowed with
- 24 Cp Cs understand by sa all three. However, only the niggardly seems meant, as Cj shows. The confiscation of property thought of has hardly any scope in the first two cases. $an\bar{a}deyah$: according to Cs, though his property may not be seized, he himself is to be removed from office. That is not certain. $pary\bar{a}-d\bar{a}tavyah$: Cb has 'should be removed from office.' Cf. however 5.2.54, 58 where this meaning seems unlikely. The confiscation of all property is meant.
- 25 sainnidhatte...paravişaye has to be understood as parenthetical. It is possible that this is a marginal gloss that has got into the text. 26 saincāram 'movement,' i.e., coming in and going out. anupraviśya: cf. 1.17.39; 1.18.9. 27 śatruśāsanāpadeśena, i.e., with a forged letter supposedly written by the enemy to the officer, suggesting that the money sent by the latter was received by him.
- 29 uttarādhyakṣāḥ: these are evidently trained in the army and work as supervisors ostensibly for guarding the works and protecting royal property. They could hardly be 'deputy adhyakṣas' as Stein (AOr, 6, 42) thinks.

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skill and integrity, (should work) as spies over the accountants and others.

- 31 He should establish (each) department with many heads and without permanency (of tenure of office).
 - 32 Just as it is not possible not to taste honey or poison placed on the surface of the tongue, even so it is not possible for one dealing with the money of the king not to taste the money in however small a quantity.
 - 33 Just as fish moving inside water cannot be known when drinking water, even so officers appointed for carrying out works cannot be known when appropriating money.
 - 34 It is possible to know even the path of birds flying in the sky, but not the ways of officers moving with their intentions concealed.
 - 35 And he should make those who have amassed (money wrongfully) yield it up and should change them in (their) works, so that they do not consume (the king's) property or disgorge what is consumed.
 - 36 But those who do not consume (the king's) goods and increase them in just ways, should be made permanent in their offices, being devoted to what is agreeable and beneficial to the king.

CHAPTER TEN

SECTION 28 THE TOPIC OF EDICTS

- 1 They declare that as śāsana (edict) which is used for giving (directions or) orders. 2 For, kings principally depend on edicts, peace and war being rooted in them.
 - 31 anityam implies frequency of transfer from department to department.
 - 32 arthacara 'an officer handling money.'
- 34 caratām: Meyer following Sorabji understands the idea of 'grazing, feeding on,' i.e., swallowing, adding that car is still used in this sense in India. That is however not certain.

2.10

1 śāsane, i.e., for issuing directions or orders. It may also mean 'for purposes of administration.' — 2 tanmūlatvāt samdhivigrahayoh: Stein (ZII, 6, 48) thinks that these words are a gloss, as they do not apply to all śāsanas or written documents. However, the clause seems quite genuine as it supports the statement śāsanapradhānā rājānah where rājašāsana alone can be thought of.

- 3 Therefore, the scribe should be endowed with the excellences of a minister, conversant with all conventions, quick in composing, with a beautiful hand and capable of reading a document.
- 4 He should listen with an attentive mind to the command of the king and set it down in writing, which is precise in meaning, with a courteous mention of the country, the sovereignty, the family and the name in the case of a king, and with the customary mention of the country and the name in the case of one who is not a king.
 - 5 Having taken into consideration, in (every) matter, the caste, the family, the position, age and learning, the profession, property and character, also the place and time and connections by marriage, he should compose the document in conformity with the person (addressed).
- 6 Arrrangement of subject-matter, connection, completeness, sweetness, exaltedness and lucidity constitute the excellences of writing.
 7 Among them, arranging in a proper order, the statement first of the principal matter, is arrangement of subject-matter. 8 The statement of a subsequent matter without its being incompatible with the matter in hand, right up to the end, is connection. 9 Absence of deficiency or excess of matter, words and letters, description in detail of the matter by means of reasons, citations and illustrations, (and) expressiveness of words, is completeness. 10 The use of words with a charming meaning easily conveyed is sweetness. 11 The use of words that are not vulgar is exaltedness. 12 The employment of words that are well-known is lucidity.
- 13 The letters (in the alphabet) beginning with a are sixty-three.

 14 A combination of letters is a word. 15 That is four-fold: noun,
- 3 samaya may be 'conventions' of writing or customs of different classes of men (Cp Cs); Cp adds that according to some, it means 'script' or 'language.' āsugranthaḥ may be 'quick in composing' or 'quick in writing.' Cj reads āśugrathanaḥ, which is better.
 - 4 Cp seems to have read niścityārtham.
- 8 Cp Cj read prakṛtasya for prastutasya. 9 udāharaṇa is, according to Cb Cs, 'conformity with statements in the śāstras' and dṛṣṭānta' 'an instance from actual life.' aśrāntapadatā: according to the commentators, this means 'the use of a word (e.g. samdhatsva) for a sentence (e.g. samdhim kuru).' This would be economy of words. The expression literally means 'having words that are not tired or exhausted,' i.e., probably words which retain their power of expression, expressive words.
- 13 $varn\bar{a}s\ triṣaṣṭih$: these are 22 vowels (5 short, 8 long and 9 pluta), 25 mutes (k,kh,...m), 4 semi-vowels, 4 non-combinables $(anusv\bar{a}ra,\ visarga,\ jihv\bar{a}m\bar{u}l\bar{\imath}ya$ and $upadhm\bar{a}n\bar{\imath}ya$), 4 sibilants, and $4\ yama$ -conjuncts (doubles of the first four in each group of mutes before the nasal of the same group). This is according to the $Taittir\bar{\imath}ya$ $Pr\bar{a}tis\bar{a}khya$ and the $P\bar{a}nin\bar{\imath}ya$ $Siks\bar{a}$. 14 $varnasangh\bar{a}tah$ padam: Stein

verb, preposition and particle. 16 Among them, a noun signifies being. 17 A verb, not having a specific gender, is indicative of action. 18 Those that qualify an action, pra and others, are prepositions. 19 Indeclinables, ca and others, are particles. 20 A collection of words constitutes a sentence, when the sense is completed. 21 A group with a minimum of one word and a maximum of three words should be made, not conflicting with the meaning of the other words.

22 For concluding the writing, the word *iti* and (the sub-script) These are the words of so and so '(should be used).

23-24 Censure, praise, query, statement, request, refusal, reproof, prohibition, injunction, appearement, help, threatening

(ZII, 6, 51-2) thinks that this definition is incomplete and should be corrected to varņās trisastir varņasamghātah; varņasamudāyo 'kṣaram; tatsamudāyah padam, as in the Vājasaneya Prātiśākhya (8.50). There seems little justification for doing so. - taccaturvidham: cf. Nirukta 1.1.8 ff. Stein points to similarities with the Vājasaneya and Rk Prātišākhyas, but though he states that the conclusion from all this could be that this text represents pre-Paninian knowledge, he adds 'a corresponding chronological deduction can hardly be made.' It is not easy to see why not. 16 sattva 'being' is distinguished in the Nirukta from bhāva 'becoming.' 20 Stein compares the Tarkasamgraha. 21 vargah: according to the commentators this means 'a compound,' and the idea is, it should have 1 to 3 words in addition to the first, i.e., a compound should have 2 to 4 words. The compound should also be in conformity with the later words (2nd to 4th, parapadāthānuparodhena). Only Cj understands parapada as the principal word, which may be the first (as in pūrvakāya) or second (as in rājapuruṣa) or both (as in dharmārthau) or outside the compound (as in bahuputra). Cb offers another explanation 'groups of words should be so formed that they are not likely to be wrongly construed with the preceding or the following words. E.g., after purano manavo dharmah svako vedaś cikitsitam, ājñāsiddhāni catvāri, we should have hantavyāni na hetubhih, and not na hanlavyāni hetubhih; for, in the latter case, na is likely to be construed with ājñāsiddhāni.' Cs has another explanation in which eka...parah alone is taken to refer to compounds as above and parapadārthā- etc. is understood to mean 'a pause, i.e., the sign of a pause, such as a comma etc. should be made, without harming the sense of the following words.' There seems no reason, however, why ekapadaetc. should be understood independently of the latter. This explanation of the entire s. may well have been intended. Meyer understands varga as 'accumulation 'i.e., padding, in order to make the sense of one word clear or to strengthen it. - anurodhena and anuparodhena ultimately mean the same thing.

22 vācikam asya: Cp Cs have 'when a part of the message is not written down but is to be communicated by the person carrying the letter, the words "oral message should be heard from the bearer of this letter" should be added at the end.' This agrees with Mudrārākṣasa, Act 5, but is extremely doubtful here. The reference is only to the writing of the name of the person on whose behalf the letter is written. Cj supplies śraddheyam 'the words of so and so must be believed' adding this is possible only in the case of the vācikalekha of s. 43 below.

24 abhyupapattih: both here and in s. 35 this is how the word must be read (as in Cj) and not as abhyavapattih as in the mss. The latter means 'surrender' as in 12.1.11. — arthāh lekhajāh, i.e., subject-matter of a writing.

and propitiation, — with these thirteen are matters arising out of writing concerned.

- 25 Among these, mention of defects concerning birth, body or action is censure. 26 Mention of the merits of these same is praise. 27 'How is this so?' is query. 28 'Thus (it is)' is statement. 29 'Give (it to me)' is request. 30 'I will not give' is refusal. 31 '(This is) unworthy of you' is reproof. 32 'Do not do (so)' is prohibition. 33 'Let this be done' is injunction. 34 'What I am is you; what object belongs to me is yours,' this conciliation is appeasement. 35 Aid in calamities is help. 36 Pointing to the future as full of danger is threatening. 37 Propitiation is three-fold, in doing a thing, in case of transgression and during the calamity of a person and so on.
 - 38 Documents of communication, command and gift, documents of exemption and authorization, (the document) giving news of happenings, the document in reply and (the document) applicable everywhere, these are (types of) decrees.
 - 39 'So and so has communicated; he has said so; hence let it be given if there be truth (in it)', 'He has spoken of an excellent deed in the presence of the king,' this is communication stated to be of various kinds.
 - 40 Where there is the command of the king concerning punishment or favour, especially in the matter of servants, that is the characteristic of a decree of command.
 - 41 Where honour, rendered in accordance with merits, is to be seen, whether in distress or when making a gift, those two become (decrees of) favour.

37 arthakṛtau, i.e., for the sake of getting some work of one's own done. — atikrame, i.e., in case of transgression by oneself. — puruṣādi-, i.e., when some person is in distress etc. — Stein (ZII, 6, 56-7) has pointed out that a partly agreeing list is found in the Bṛḥaddevatā, 1.35 ff., Nirukta, 7.3, Kāvyādarśa, 2.30 ff. and the lexicons.

- 39 According to Cb Cp Cs there are two communications here, one in the first two lines and the other in the third line, both from persons at the court to officers away from court. The first communication is 'some one has told the king (that you have discovered a treasure-trove and have appropriated it); on that the king has said thus (if the officer does not hand it over, I shall recover double from him). So better hand over if there is truth (in the report about the treasure-trove).' The second is 'some one has told the king that you have done a good deed.' Cj seems to understand in the first communication 'you are reported to have a horse worthy of the king; if true, give it to him' and in the second 'I have learnt from the king that your act is approved and you will certainly get some benefit.' The use of both ced and yadi is rather strange.
 - 41 Cp understands paridane twice, once as loc. sing. like ādhau and again as nom.

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- 42 The favour, which (is conferred) at the command of the king, on the various castes and on the different cities, villages and regions, the expert should designate as (the decree of) exemption.
- 43 The delegation of authority in the matter of doing a work and in the matter of issuing orders, this may be a document authorizing (the issuing of) orders or even containing an authorization (for doing a work).
- 44 With respect to a document, they designate happenings as of two kinds, (viz.,) those associated with the divine, of various kinds, and those concerning men, based on facts.
- 45 After seeing the document as it really is and then after reading it out, the document in reply should be prepared exactly as the words of the king (may be).
- 46 That, in which the king asks the princes and officers to ensure protection and comforts for travellers, would be (the decree) called applicable everywhere; it should be known on the road, in the country and everywhere (else).
- 47 The means are conciliation, gifts, dissension and force.

dual in the sense of paridānalekhau with upagrahau as adjective to it in the sense of 'occasions for showing favour.' The diffleulty is that paridāne is neut., while upagrahau is mas. It seems obvious that in s. 38 this document is named paridāna, while here it is called upagraha. Cs supplies sa paridānalekhah at the end of the first half and explains the second half 'these two become the means of showing favour during distress felt by the addressee and when showing compassion towards a servant.' paridāna as 'dayāviṣkaraṇa' seems hardly possible. Cb seems to have read paridhāne 'on the occasion of mental distress (ādhau) and bodily illness (paridhāne).' Meyer suggests ādhi as 'pledge' or the same as upādhi 'title'; either is unlikely. It seems that a condolence letter and a letter of gift are meant.

- 43 kāryakarane is from Cb. kāryā of the mss. implies that instructions about writing are being given. But we have descriptions of documents here, not instructions about writing them. Cj seems to have read nisṛṣṭisthāpanām kuryāt. vācikalekhaḥ...naiṣṛṣṭikaḥ: the translation follows the explanation in Cs, the former as authorization to issue orders in the king's name (corresponding to vacane) and the latter as authorization to carry out a work (corresponding to kāryakarane). Cb seems to understand vācikalekha as only another name for naiṣṛṣṭika. Meyer has 'a document in the very words of the king (vācika) or the result of another authorization (naiṣṛṣṭika),' making four varieties in all.
- 44 daivasamyuktām, i.e., about divine calamities. tattvajām refers to mānuṣīm pravṛttim and means 'based on actual happenings,' ('real' Cb). 'Concerning spiritual well-being' (Cs) is little likely.
 - 45 pratyanubhāṣya ' reading out ' to the king (Cs) rather than to himself (Meyer).
- 46 pathikārtham: Cj understands that the dūta or envoy is meant. Other travellers too may be understood. īśvarān: 'durgapāla, antapāla, etc.' (Cb and others). Feudatory princes seem to have been primarily meant.
 - 47 Cf. 9.5.9 ff. and 9.6.20 ff. Stein (ZII, 6, 64-5) considers it extraordinary

- 48 Among them, conciliation is five-fold, praising of merits, mention of relationship, pointing out mutual benefits, showing (advantages in) the future, and placing oneself at the (other's) disposal. 49 Amongst these, appreciation of the merits of birth, body, occupation, nature, learning, property and so on, praise, adulation, this is praising of merits. 50 The praising of (common) kinship, marriage relationship, relationship through teaching, relationship through sacrificial performances, (common) family, (affection of the) heart, and (common) friend, this is mention of relationship. 51 The praising of mutual benefits accruing to one's party and the party of the other, this is pointing out mutual benefits. 52 'If this were done in this way, this will happen to us (both)' this raising of hope is showing (advantages in) the future. 53 'What I am is you, what object belongs to me should be used by you in your works,' this is placing oneself at the (other's) disposal.
 - 54 Conferring benefits of money is making gifts.
 - 55 Creating apprehension and reprimarding is dissension.
 - 56 Killing, tormenting and seizure of property constitute force.
- 57 Absence of charm, contradiction, repetition, incorrect (use of a) word, and confusion, these are the defects of writing.
 58 Among them, (the use of a) black leaf, (and) writing unattractive, uneven and faint letters constitute absence of charm. 59 The incompatibility of the later with the earlier is contradiction. 60 Statement a second time of what is said without any distinction is repetition.
 61 The wrong use of gender, number, tense and case is incorrect (use of a) word. 62 The making of a group where there should be no group

that the four $up\bar{a}yas$ which properly belong to $n\bar{\imath}ti$ 'foreign policy' should have been discussed here. But since royal decrees are under consideration (in the preceding ss.) this discussion is not unnatural here; for, royal documents would be concerned with one or the other of the $up\bar{a}yas$. The lists in ss. 23-37 above (regarding documents in general) and in ss. 47-56 (regarding royal decrees) are not mutually exclusive. The differences between the present passage and 9.5.10-11 and 9.6.24 are due to difference in context, perhaps also to a difference in sources.

49 guṇagrahaṇam from Cb is obviously necessary. guṇāguṇa as 'merits that are there and that are not there' (Meyer) is hardly convincing. — praśaṅsā stutiḥ: one of the words is superfluous. Cs has 'praise of existing merits and mention of non-existent merits.' 50 kula, i.e., friendship between the two families without there being kinship. — hṛdaya refers to friendship between the parties themselves, while mitra refers to a common friend. 53 ātmopanidhānam corresponds to sāntva in s. 34 above.

57 lekhadoṣāḥ: as Stein (ZII, 6, 65) points out this discussion of defects in writing should preferably have come after that of excellences in ss. 6-12 above. 58 kālapatrakam: Cb Cj read kālapatitam 'writing over a dimmed earlier writing' (Cb), 'rubbed off after writing' (Cj). 62 Here Cp understands varga as yati

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and not making a group where there should be a group, this reversal of qualities is confusion.

63 After going through all the sciences in detail and after observing the practice (in such matters), Kautilya has made these rules about edicts for the sake of kings.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

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- SECTION 29 EXAMINATION OF THE PRECIOUS ARTICLES TO BE RECEIVED INTO THE TREASURY
- 1 The Superintendent of the Treasury should receive jewels, articles of high value, articles of small value or forest produce, to be received into the treasury, (while) presiding over bureaus of experts in the (various) lines.
- 2 That from the Tāmraparņi, that from Pāṇḍyaka-vāṭa, that from the Pāśikā, that from the Kulā, that from the Cūrṇi, that from (Mt.) Mahendra, that from the Kardamā, that from the Srotasī, that from the Lake, and that from the Himavat, these are pearls. 3 The shell, the conch and miscellaneous are the sources (of pearls).
- 4 (A pearl that is) lentil-shaped, triangular, tortoise-shaped, semi-spherical, with a layer, coupled, cut up, rough, spotted, gourd-
- 'caesura.' guṇaviparyāsaḥ is only a description of avarage varga- etc. (Cb and Meyer).
- 63 Kautilyena: Cp says that the implication is that other writers before him had not composed a corresponding section. narendrārthe: there is nothing to show that narendra here is a special designation of Candragupta Maurya or that śāsana means 'established law,' as V. R. R. Dikshitar (IHQ, III, 178-9) thinks.

2.11

ratna includes sāra and phalgu as well, but not kupya which is described in 2.17 below, though s. 1 includes it along with the others. — Cb has prāveśya also here. — adhisthitah: see 2.5.8.

- 1 kośādhyakṣaḥ: this officer is clearly under the samnidhātṛ; cf. 2.5.8 where the latter is referred to as receiving articles in the treasury.
- 2 pāṇḍyakavāṭaka: Cb Cp identify Pāṇḍyakavāṭa with Mt. Malayakoṭi in the Pāṇḍya country. H. V. Trivedi (IC, I, 249-50) thinks it is either Negapatam or Ramnad 'the port of embarkation for Ceylon.' pāśikya: the river Pāṣikā 'in the Pāṇḍya country '(Cj) seems more likely than 'near Pāṭaliputra '(Cb Cp). kauleya: the river Kulā is near Mayūragrāma in Ceylon (Cb Cp). caurṇeya: the river Cūrṇā is near the town Muracī in Kerala (Cb Cp); river Cūrṇā near Kerala (Cj). kārdamika: river Kardamā is in Pārasīka (Cp), in Conideśa (Cb), in the Uttarāpatha (Cj). srautasīya: river Srotasī is on the shore of Barbara (Cp) or Parpara (Cb). hrādīya 'from a pool called Śrīghaṇṭa in the sea off the coast of Barbara '(Cp) or Parpara (Cb). 3 prakīrṇakam: Cp quotes a memorial verse mentioning six such sources, the temple of an elephant, the hood of a serpent etc.

shaped, dark, blue, and badly perforated, is defective. 5 (That which is) big, round, without a flat surface, lustrous, white, heavy, smooth and perforated at the proper place is excellent.

- 6 Šīrṣaka, upaśīrṣaka, prakāṇḍaka, avaghāṭaka and taralapratibaddha, — these are varieties of (pearl-) strings.
- 7 One thousand and eight strings make the indracchanda (neck-lace). 8 Half that (number) make the vijayacchanda. 9 Sixty-four make the ardha-hāra. 10 Fifty-four make the raśmi-kalāpa. 11 Thirty-two make the guccha. 12 Twenty-seven make the nakṣatra-mālā. 13 Twenty-four make the ardha-guccha. 14 Twenty (strings) make the māṇavaka. 15 Half that (number) make the ardha-māṇavaka. 16 These same, with a gem in the centre, become their (respective) māṇavakas.
- 17 (A necklace of) only śīrṣakas is an unmixed hāra. 18 Like that, are the rest. 19 With a gem in the centre, it is an ardhamāṇavaka.
- 4 siktakam: Cb text shows sikthakam, but the explanation 'spotted' presupposes siktaka. Cs adopting sikthaka explains 'having spots of the shape of siktha (bees' wax? or boiled rice?).'
- 6 śīrṣaka 'with one big pearl in the centre, the rest small and uniform in size' (Cb Cp). upaśīrṣaka 'one big pearl with a small pearl on each side of it,—a series of these' (Cb). prakāṇḍaka 'one big pearl with two small pearls on each side—a series of these' (Cb). Cp seems to understand 'with five pearls as principal, i.e., in the centre.' avaghāṭaka 'a big pearl in the centre with pearls gradually decreasing in size on both sides' (Cb Cp). taralapratibaddha 'a string of uniform-sized pearls throughout' (Cb which, however, reads -prativid-dham). The readings and explanations of Cj are far from clear. yaṣṭipra-bhedāḥ is from the commentators for -pradeśāḥ of the mss.
- 8 After s. 8 Cb adds śatam devacchandah, explained rather curiously as 'containing 881 strings.' The commentators add that these varieties are primarily for decoration in temples etc. (devalavitānādişu śobhākaraṇārtham Cj). The Bṛhat Samhitā 81.31-36 has a closely parallel passage with a few variations. It has a hāra of 108 strings, its ardhaguccha has 20 strings, māṇavaka 16 and ardhamāṇavaka 12 and it adds a mandara of 8 strings and a hāraphalaka of 5. 16 ete eva 'i.e., an indracchanda with a gem in the centre instead of a pearl is indracchanda-māṇavaka and so on '(Cb Cp); 'e.g., padmarāgendracchanda and so on '(Cj). Meyer has 'these have a gem in the centre, therefore they are called māṇavakas.' tat in the sense of 'therefore' seems doubtful here.
- 17 ekaśirṣakaḥ etc. 'when in an indracchanda we have only śirṣaka strings, we get indracchandaśirṣakaśuddhahāra, and so on '(Cp). This is what seems meant. Cb has 'when there are only pearls in śīrṣaka etc. it is called a śuddha hāra.' According to Cj there are twenty strings in a śuddhaśīrṣaka hāra, but only one according to others mentioned in it. Meyer's 'with one big pearl in the centre and made of bright pearls (śuddha) is the Ravisher (hāra)' is doubtful. 19 Because of a different ardha-māṇavaka in s. 15 above, Meyer regards ss. 17-19 as supicious.

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 - 20 One with three strips is a phalaka-hāra or one with five strips.
- 21 A single string is the unmixed ekāvalī. 22 The same, with a gem in the centre, is the yaṣṭi. 23 Variegated with gold and gems it is the ratnāvalī. 24 With gold, gems and pearls at intervals, it is the apavartaka. 25 With stringing in a gold thread it is the sopānaka. 26 Or, with a gem in the centre, it is the maṇi-sopānaka.
- 27 By that are explained varieties of strings and net-works for the head, hands, feet and waist.
 - 28 Gems come from Koți, from the Mālā and from beyond the sea.
- 29 The ruby, of the colour of the red lotus, of the colour of saffron, of the (colour of) pārijāta-flower, (and) of the (colour of the) morning sun. 30 The beryl, of the colour of the blue lotus, of the śirīṣa-flower, of the colour of water, of the colour of (green) bamboo, of the colour of the parrot's wing, yellow-coloured, of the colour of cow's urine
- 20 triphalakaḥ etc.: phalaka seems to be a strip of gold on which pearls or gems are set. A phalakahāra (as distinguished from śuddha hāra) has 3 or 5 such strips. Thus in the main Cb. Cp Cs read 19 and 20 as one s. 'an ardha-māṇavaka (of s. 15) with a gem in the centre, if accompanied by 3 or 5 strips of gold on which the gem in the centre is inlaid, is called a phalakahāra.' This is not unlikely. Cj seems to have 'a ten-stringed ardha-māṇavaka with a gem in the centre, with three or five gold-strips inlaid with gems strung in between is a phalakahāra.'
- 21 sūtram: according to the commentators, sūtra is the name and ekāvalī is descriptive of it. The closely parallel Br. Sam., 81.36, however, gives ekāvalī as the name, adding that it is 1 hasta in length. D has a folio covering ss. 21-30. 23 hemamani 'beads of gold' (Cb Cp); 'gold and gems' (Cj as also Meyer, who argues that without an actual gem the name ratnāvalī would hardly be justified). apavartaka probably contains a reference to the warding off of the evil eye. 25 suvarṇasūtrāntaram 'with gold plates only, without gems' (Cb), 'with gold only in various designs and with holes for threads to be woven in or with catches on both sides for holding the thread' (Cp), 'where a pearl is strung in a single gold thread (suvarṇasūtreṇa ekena antaritam mauktikam yatra tat)' (Cj). This last explanation has been adopted. 26 manisopānakam: Cj says that the name would vary with the gem used, vaidūryasopānaka, vajrasopānaka and so on. That seems reasonable.
- 28 kautah: 'from Koți between Malaya and the sea' (Cp), 'from Mt. Kūṭa' (Cb Cj). māleyakah: 'from Malaya' (Cb Cj), 'from Mālā, a part of Malaya, also called Karnīvana' (Cp). pārasamudrakah: 'from Mt. Rohaṇa in Ceylon' (com.).
- 29-32 The explanation attributed to 'others' in Cp is adopted, saugandhika, vaidūrya and indranīla being regarded as adhikāra-śabdas or generic names of various types of gems and the words following each understood as varieties of these. Cp itself regards saugandhika as only a variety of māṇikya or ruby. That is in conformity with the Mānasollāsa, 2.475-6. But the Bṛ. Sam., 82.1, seems to regard saugandhika as a basic variety of gems. padmarāgo 'navadya- is necessary for padmānavadya-, as two different types are thought of. nīlāvalīyah is read after indranīlah as in D; it is more likely to be a variety of sapphire than of vaidūrya.

(and) of cow's fat. 31 The sapphire, with blue lines, like the *kalāya*-flower, deep blue, having the lustre of the *jambū*-fruit, having the lustre of the dark cloud, the 'delighter' (and) the 'streaming interior.' 32 The pure crystal, of the colour of *mūlāṭa*-flower, shedding a cool shower and the sun-stone. These are the gems.

- 33 Hexagonal, square or round, of a flashing colour, having a suitable form, clear, smooth, heavy, lustrous, with lustre inside and imparting lustre, these are the excellences of gems. 34 With a dull colour and lustre, with grains, with a hole in the bloom, broken, badly bored, (and) covered with scratches, these are blemishes.
- 35 The vimalaka, the sasyaka, the añjanamūlaka, the pittaka, the sulabhaka, the lohitākṣa, the mṛgāśmaka, the jyotīrasaka, the māleyaka, the ahicchatraka, the kūrpa, the pratikūrpa, the sugandhikūrpa, the kṣīravaka, the śukticūrṇaka, the śilāpravālaka, the pulaka, the śuklapulaka, these are subsidiary types (of gems). 36 The rest are glass-crystals.
- It is to be noted that marakata itself is not mentioned. puṣyarāga 'yellow like turmeric' (Cp). nandaka 'white inside and blue outside' (Cp). sravanmadhya 'having rays shooting like flowing water' (Cp). The words śuddhasphaṭiko mūlāṭavarnaḥ are from the commentators, but seem to be genuine. In D they are found before indranīlaḥ, clearly out of place. Cj, however, with the same reading as D, understands śuddhasphaṭika and mūlādivarṇa as two further types of puṣyarāga. mūlāṭa, according to Cb Cp is 'curds with the upper layer removed.' It may mean the flower of the mūlāṭī plant. Cb has vaidūrya of five types up to śukapatravarṇa, puṣyarāga of two types up to gomedaka, then śuddhasphaṭika of two types mūlāṭavarṇa and nīlāvalīya, indranīla of four types up to jīmūtaprabha, and nandaka of three types, sravanmadhya, šītavṛṣṭi and sūryakānta. Cj has padmarāga, vaidūrya, puṣyarāga, indranīla, mahānīla, nandaka (i.e. candrakānta) and sūryakānta as the basic types. It is also conceivable that from saugandhika to sūryakānta, we have a single list of gems, without basic types and varieties. The absence of ca anywhere except at the end might indicate this.
- 33 samsthānavān 'capable of being tied or set' (com.); 'possessed of firmness, hard' (Meyer). The former as implying a suitable form or shape seems better. Br. Sam, 82.3, is closely parallel. 34 puspacchidraḥ 'with a drop in the interior' (Cp), 'with a flower-like whitish spot' (Cb). In the closely parallel Br. Sam. 82.4, this word seems to have been replaced by sadhātu' with some mineral.'
- 35 vimalaka 'white-red' (Cb), 'white-green' (Cp). sasyaka 'blue.' añjana-mālaka 'dark-blue.' pittaka 'of the colour of cow's bile.' sulabhaka 'white.' lohitākṣa 'black in the centre and red at the fringe.' mṛgāśmaka 'white and black.' jyotīrasaka 'white-red.' māleyaka (v. l. maileyaka) 'vermilion-coloured.' ahicchatraka 'of a faint red colour.' kūrpa 'with sand-grains inside.' pratikūrpa 'of the colour of sikthaka (bees' wax?).' sugandhikūrpa 'of the colour of the mudga-bean.' kṣīravaka 'milk-coloured.' śukticūrṇaka 'many-coloured.' śilāpravālaka 'coral-coloured.' pulaka 'with a black interior.' śuklapulaka 'with a white interior.' Thus mostly Cs. The names of some of these appear in a different form and the explanation of some differ in Cj. Most of these names have no doubt reference to colour, but māleyaka and ahicchatraka apparently refer to the place of their origin.

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- 37 Diamonds come from Sabhārāṣṭra, from Tajjamārāṣṭra, from Kāstīrarāṣṭra, from (Mt.) Śrīkaṭanaka, from (Mt.) Manimanta and from Indravāna. 38 The mine, the stream, and miscellaneous are the sources.
- 39 Like the cat's eye, the *sirīṣa*-flower, cow's urine, cow's fat, pure crystal, (or) the *mūlāṭa*-flower, and of the colour of any one of the gems, these are the colours of diamonds.
- 40 (A diamond that is) big, heavy, capable of bearing blows, with symmetrical points, (capable of) scratching a vessel, revolving like a spindle and brilliantly shining is excellent. 41 That with points lost, without edges and defective on one side is bad.
- 42 The coral from Alakanda and from Vivarna, red and of the colour of the lotus (is excellent), with the exception of that which is eaten by insects and which is bulging in the middle.
- 43 Sandal-wood from Sātana is red and has the smell of the earth.
 44 That from Gośīrṣa is blackish red and smells like fish. 45 The
- 36 kācamaṇayaḥ: artificial gems are clearly meant (yathoktamanirāgaprabhānu-kāriṇaḥ Cj). Cp explains by dhātudravyamaya 'made of mineral substances.'
- 37 Sabhārāṣṭra is Vidarbha (vidarbhaviṣaye veṇṇākaṇṭhapārśve jātam sabhārāṣṭrakam Cj). Cb reads mahārāṣṭrakam identifying the country with Āraṭṭa. tajjamārāṣṭrakam: Cj, reading tajjumā-, explains 'from Bhogavallī in the Kalingas.' G M read madhyamarāṣṭrakam 'from the Kosalas '(Cp Cs). kāstīrarāṣṭrakam: Cp seems to identify it with Kāṣī. Paṭaṇjali on Pāṇini 6.1.154 takes Kāstīra to be a Vāhīka-grāma (V. S. Agrawala, India in Pāṇini etc., p. 65). Cj has 'kāṣmīra-rāṣṭrakam śūrpākārabhūmijam.' śrīkaṭanakam: 'Kāncideṣa kaṅkādiṣu (?) parvate' (Cj). According to Oldham (JBORS, 13, 196) the locality is to be sought in the neighbourhood of Jabalpur Dist. 'There are villages called Kaṭanga and Kaṭangi still in the vicinity' (197 n. 2). maṇimanṭakam: Mt. Maṇimanṭa is in the Uṭṭarāpatha (Cp); 'śarkabhūmijam (?)' (Cj). Maṇimanṭha is mentioned in the Mahābhārāta, 13.18.83. indravānakam 'from the Kalingas' (Cp), 'from the Kālindī (kālindyam?)' (Cj). Cb's reading seems to be iṣuvānaka or iluvānaka.
- 40 bhājanalekhi 'able to scratch when shaken in a kāmsya vessel containing water '(Cb). tarkubhrāmi: 'though not revolving, yet appearing to revolve' (Cb Cp). tarku is a spindle and 'revolving like a spindle 'seems also likely. Meyer understands the idea of rays shooting from it like a spindle and would even read tarkubhrāmibhrājiṣnu as one word. 41 pārśvāpavṛtta 'slanting on one side' (Cb). The idea seems to be that of one side not being symmetrical with the other sides.
- 42 ālakandakam: Cj reads ālatsāndrakam, Cb ālasāndrakam. Cb has 'Ālasāndra, a country in the sea off the coast of the Pappar land;' this is Cp's explanation of ālakandaka. The latter may possibly contain a reference to the Laccadiv islands. Jayaswal's 'root-coral (kanda) with a yellow tinge (āla)' (Hindu Polity, I, App. C, 212 n. 1) seems little likely. vaivarnikam: 'Vivarna is off the Yavana-dvīpa' (Cp), 'off Coniyadeśa' (Cb). Cj reads vaivalgukam. garbhinikā 'bulging in the middle' (Cb), 'with a yaşti (strip?) in the middle' (Cp); 'with defects in the interior' (Meyer).

sandal-wood from Hari is of the colour of the parrot's feather and has the smell of a mango, also that from the Tṛṇasā. 46 That from Grāmeru is red or red-black and has the smell of goat's urine. 47 That from Devasabhā is red and has the smell of a lotus, also that from Jāpa. 48 That from Jonga is red or red-black and smooth, also that from Turūpa. 49 That from the Mālā is whitish red. 50 kucandana is rough, black like aloe or red or reddish black. 51 That from Kāla mountain is reddish black or of the colour of saffron. 52 That from Kośāgāra mountain is black or black-variegated. 53 That from the Šītodakā has the lustre of the lotus or is black and smooth. 54 That from Nāga mountain is rough or of the colour of moss. 55 That from Sākala is brown.

- 56 Light, smooth, not dry, unctuous with oil like butter, pleasant in smell, penetrating the skin, unobtrusive, not losing colour, capable of bearing heat, allaying heat, and pleasant to the touch, these are the excellences of sandal-wood.
- 57 Aloe from Jonga is black, black-variegated or variegated with round spots. 58 That from Donga is dark. 59 That from beyond the sea has a variegated appearance (and) has the smell of *uśira* or the fragrance of *navamālikā*.
- 60. Heavy, smooth, of a pleasant smell, wide-spreading (in fragrance), burning well, without a thick smoke, of a uniform fragrance, capable of standing a rubbing, these are the excellences of aloc.
- 61 Tailaparnika (incense) from Aśokagrāma has the colour of flesh and the fragrance of a lotus. 62 That from Jonga is reddish
- 43 The description of sāra articles begins with this s. sātanam 'from the Sātana country' (Cb), 'from the Sātana mountain' (Cj). 44 gośīrṣakam 'from the Gośīrṣa country' (Cb); the name is more likely to be that of a mountain, as in Cj. 45 haricandanam 'from the Harideśa' (Cb), 'from the mountain shaped like hari, i.e., monkey' (Cj). hari may possibly refer to the colour 'tawny.' tārṇasam 'from the mountain on the bank of the river Tṛṇasā' (Cj). 46 Grāmeru is 'a region' (Cb), 'a mountain' (Cj). basta 'goat' is the musk-deer, according to 'some' in the commentators. 47 Jāpa, Jonga and Turūpa are in Kāmarūpa, the rest of the places mentioned in connection with sandalwood are in the Malaya region (com.). 51 Cb's actual comment shows raktakālam before anavadyavarnam vā. That appears to have been original. 53 Sītodakā 'a river' (Cj), 'a country' (Cp).
- 56 sarpihsnehalepi: smearing with its oil is compared with smearing with butter.
 tvaganusāri 'pleasantly penetrating up to the roots of the skin's hair '(Cb).
 Cb seems to have read avikāri for avirāgi. Cf., however, s. 71 below.
- 58 dongakam: 'Donga is in Kāmarūpa '(Cp). Cj seems to have read $v\bar{a}ngakam$ 'from the Vangas.'
- 60 asamplutadhūmam 'without surging smoke' seems to convey the idea of absence of overpowering smoke, while burning; 'with a steady smoke, avasthitadhūmam' (Cj).

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- yellow and has the fragrance of a blue lotus or the smell of cow's urine.

 That from Grāmeru is smooth and has the smell of cow's urine.

 That from Suvarṇakuḍya is reddish yellow and has the smell of the citron fruit. 65 That from Pūrṇaka-dvīpa has the fragrance of a lotus or the smell of butter.
- 66 Bhadraśriya from beyond the Lauhityā is of the colour of the jātī-flower. 67 That from Antaravatī is of the colour of uśīra. 68 And both have the smell of kustha.
- 69 Kāleyaka from Svarņabhūmi is smooth and yellow. 70 That from the northern mountain is reddish yellow.

Thus the objects of high value.

- 71 Capable of (retaining fragrance when) formed into a lump or boiled or producing smoke, not losing colour, and amenable to mixing (with other substances); 72 and qualities similar to those of sandalwood and aloe, these are their excellences.
- 73 The kāntanāvaka and the praiyaka are skins from the northern mountain. 74 The kāntanāvaka has the lustre of the peacock's neck. 75 The praiyaka is variegated with blue, yellow and white lines and spots. 76 Both these are eight angulas in length.
- 77 The bisī and the mahābisī come from Dvādaśagrāma. 78 The bisī is of an indistinct colour, hairy or variegated. 79 The mahābisī is rough, mostly white. 80 Both are twelve angulas in length.
- 61 tailaparnika is a kind of incense. Meyer thinks it is a fragrant oil used as a salve. All the places of origin are in Kāmarūpa (com.).
- 66 bhadraśriya is camphor or takkola or śrīvāsaka or red sandalwood (Cp). 68 kustha is the name of a medicinal plant, also called pāribhāvya (com.).
- 69 kāleyaka is also a kind of fragrant substance. It is dāruharidrā (Amara, 2.4.101). Svarņabhūmi 'Burma' (Cs Meyer), 'Sumatra' (Meyer). 70 uttaraparvata is evidently the Himālaya.
- 71 piṇḍakvātha- etc.: the idea of their retaining fragrance when formed into lumps etc. (com.) is preferable to the idea of their capability to form lumps etc. (Meyer). yogānuvidhāyi, i.e., capable of mixing with other substances so as to retain the fragrance. The adjectives here are in the neuter and would apply only to tailaparṇika and bhadraśriya, hardly to kāleyakaḥ. Perhaps s. 71 should be read after s. 68. And perhaps the words iti sārāḥ should be read after s. 72; for ss. 71-72 describe qualities of sāra.
- 73 The description of *phalgu* objects begins with this s. *kāntanāvakam*: this and *praiyaka* as names of skins are derived from the place of their origin, in the Himālayas (Cj). 76 *aṣṭāngulāyāmam*: this comes to about six inches, clearly the skin of a very small animal. According to Cj it is the skin of the Himalayan rat.
- 77 Jayaswal (JBORS, 18, 97) identifies bisī and mahābisī with the Little Yūe Chi and the Great Yūe Chi of Central Asia. In another place (Hindu Polity, I, 214) he identifies mahābisī with the Mahāvṛṣas of the Vedas. These and the following names seem, however, to contain a reference to the animal rather than to the place

81 The śyāmikā, the kālikā, the kadalī, the candrottarā and the śākulā are produced in Āroha. 82 The śyāmikā is brown or variegated with spots. 83 The kālikā is brown or dove-coloured. 84 Both these are eight angulas in length. 85 The kadalī is rough and one hasta in length. 86 The same, variegated with 'moons', is the candrottarā. 87 The śākulā is one-third the kadalī (in length), variegated with circular spots or variegated with natural knots in the skin.

88 The sāmūra, the cīnasī and the sāmūlī are from Bāhlava. 89 The sāmūra is thirty-six aṅgulas and of the colour of collyrium. 90 The cīnasī is reddish black or pale black. 91 The sāmūlī is of the colour of wheat.

92 The sātinā, the nalatūlā, and the vṛttapucchā are from Odra. 93 The sātinā is black. 94 The nalatūlā is of the colour of the flower-panicle of the nala-reed. 95 And the vṛttapucchā is brown.

These are the varieties of skins.

- 96 Of skins, the soft, the smooth and the hairy are best.
- 97 Woollen cloth is white, all red and part red, with threads laid in with the needle, variegated in weaving, with pieces joined together and with broken off threads. 98 The blanket, the kaucapaka, the

of their origin. 78 duhilitikā 'hairy' (Cb Cp), 'of the shape of a house-lizard (gṛhagaudhakākārā)' (Cj). Meyer proposes dulihitikā (Prakrit for dvilikhitikā) 'having double lines.'

81 ārohajāḥ: Cb has 'Āroṭa in the Himālayas.' 87 kadalītribhāgā can hardly be 'three-fourths of kadalī' (Meyer). — koṭha 'red circles' (Cb). The word may be a Prakrit form of kuṣṭha 'a spot on the skin.' Cj seems to have read naga- (for koṭha-); but its explanation of it 'gāngasthānaiḥ' is far from clear. — kṛṭakarnikājinacitrā: the translation follows Cb. Meyer has 'variegated like the antelope's skin when knots are formed in it.' — vā seems obviously necessary for ca of the mss.

88 $b\bar{a}hlavey\bar{a}h$: 'Bāhlava is in the Himālayas' (Cb Cs). Bactria is more likely. Jayaswal asserts (JBORS, 18, 97) that a Central Asian fur is still known as $s\bar{a}m\bar{u}ra$ and is still imported into India.

92 audrāh: Cp derives it from udra in the sense of 'jalamārjāra.' More likely, however, it contains a reference to the place of origin as in the other cases, perhaps Orissa. Cj has Udradeśajātāh.

97 śuddha 'white' (Cb); śuddharakta 'all red' (Cb); pakṣa-rakta 'half-red, half-white' (Cb). If rakta from rañj means 'dyed,' the three terms may also mean 'undyed,' 'fully dyed' and 'part dyed.' Cj has pakṣmaraktam' dyed in (crosswise) threads only.' — khacita: the translation is as in Cb, which seems to imply some sort of knitting. — khaṇḍasaṃghātyā: as Cj has 'parts are separately made and then joined together.' Cb has 'with many threads left unwoven'. — tantuvic-chinna seems to refer to some sort of net-work or lace-work. Meyer refers khacita etc. also to colours, which seems little likely. 98 kaucapakah: Cb, reading ko-

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kulamitikā, the saumitikā, the horse's saddle-cloth, the coloured blanket, the talicchaka, the armour, the paristoma and the samanta-bhadraka are (varieties of) woollen cloth. 99 Slippery and wet as it were, fine and soft is best.

- 100 The black *bhingisī*, made out of a collection of eight woven strands (and) the *apasāraka* which keeps off rain, that is (woollen cloth) from Nepāla.
- 101 The sampuţikā, the caturaśrikā, the lambarā, the kaṭavānaka, the prāvaraka and the sattalikā are (products from) the hair of animals.
- 102 The dukūla from the Vangas is white and smooth. 103 That from the Pundras is dark and smooth like a gem. 104 That from Suvarņakudya is of the colour of the sun, with gem-smooth water-

explains by 'a covering.' Cp reading kucelaka has 'helmet from the forest.' Cb adds kapilā after this word and explains it by 'covering for the head.' — kulamitikā and saumitikā are housings for elephants, the latter being black (Cb Cp). Cj has 'somitikā karņatrāṇam, ear-guard.' — talicchakam is a kind of bed-spread (Cp) or carpet (Cj). — vāravāṇa: Meyer suggests the etymology from vāra 'horses' hair' and vāna 'weave', i.e., with a rough texture. — paristoma 'a kind of blanket' (Cb), 'a carpet for the elephant' (Cj). Meyer thinks that it is a bed-spread 'tucked in on all sides.' — samantabhadrakam: 'belt or hem at the bottom of the armour, sannāhatalapaṭṭaka' (Cj). 99 picchilam, i.e., 'where the hand slips' (Cj). iva may be construed with this word also.

of weaves (proti) of eight strands,' apparently suggesting very thick threads. — bhingisī is apparently the name of this cloth; so Cb, which, however, reads timkisī. — varṣavāraṇam apasārakaḥ: in spite of the absence of ca, this seems to refer to another type of Nepal cloth, apasāraka being the name and varṣavāraṇa (despite the difference in gender) descriptive of it. Meyer understands only one type in the whole s., the apasāraka. Three (bhingisī, varṣavāraṇa and apasāraka) are possible, but not very likely.

101 sampuṭikā 'a guard for shanks' (Cb); lambarā and kaṭavānaka are kinds of bed-spreads, so is prāvaraka also a bed-spread with a fringe on both sides (com.). It may be that sampuṭikā is 'a bag,' lambarā 'a curtain, hanging,' kaṭavānaka 'matting or rug,' and prāvaraka 'a rug.' sattalikā is also a kind of bed-spread. Cp says that to local people, kāṭavānaka is known as bhāṣyaka, prāvaraka as romāvartaka and sattalikā as tūlikā.

102 dukūlam: cf. J. Charpentier (ZDMG, 73, 144-145) for the suggestion that this is a case of Prakritism for dvikūla, a word primarily descriptive of the cloth 'with two borders' and secondarily of the material. — Suvarnakudya 'a region in Kashmir' (Cb). 'Suvarnakudya was subsequently changed to Karnasuvarna; which includes Murshidabad and Rajmahal in Bengal. The soil here is red like gold and hence the name' (Haraprasad Shastri, JBORS, V, 1919, 318). 104 manisnigdhodakavānam: 'soaking the material in water, then rubbing it with a gem and then weaving' (Cp), 'a weave producing the smoothness of a gem and the transparency of water' (Meyer). — caturaśravānam 'weave with one uniform colour' (Cb Cp). A reference to colour seems hardly to be there. Cj has 'un-

weave, with a uniform weave and with a mixed weave. 105 Of these, there is cloth with a single yarn or with one and a half yarns or with two, three or four yarns.

106 By that is explained the kṣauma from Kāśī and the Puṇḍras.

107 The patrornā-silk comes from the Magadhas, the Pundras and Suvarṇakudya. 108 The nāga-tree, the likuca, the bakula and the banyan tree are the sources. 109 That from the nāga-tree is yellow. 110 That from the likuca is wheat-coloured. 111 That from the bakula is white. 112 The remaining one is of the colour of butter. 113 Of these, that from Suvarṇakudya is best.

114 By that are explained the silk and silk-cloth from the land of Cina.

115 Cotton fabrics from Madhurā, the Aparāntas, the Kalingas, Kāśī, the Vangas, the Vatsas and the Mahiṣas, are best.

116-117 Of precious articles other than these, he should be conversant with the amount, price, characteristics, class and appearance, their storing, manufacture of new ones and repair of old ones, secret treatment, tools, their use according to place and time, and remedies against things destructive (to them).

mixed with cotton or silk.' vyāmiśra-, i.e., a mixture with cotton or silk or a mixture of colours (com.) The three expressions would seem to describe all three types of dukūla. 105 ekāmśukam, i.e., with a single yarn in the warp and the woof; adhyardhāmśukam with a single yarn in the warp and double in the woof; and so on. Cb refers to another explanation where amśu is understood as 'colour.'

107 patrorṇā, literally, 'wool in the leaf' refers to a kind of silk. Joges Chandra Ray (JBORS, III, 216) identifies it with the Eri or Mugā silk of Assam. Lassen mentions 12 kinds of worms native to India, the trees favoured by them being badarī, eraṇḍa and pippala (Meyer).

114 cīnabhūmijāh: Jayaswal (Hindu Polity, I, App. C, 212 n.) argues that Cīna refers not to China but to Shīna, the Gilgit tribe, which still carries on silk manufacture. Cīna, he says, are often mentioned with Darada and other Himalayan or North-western people (Manu, 10.44 etc.). 'Cīna alone cannot jump over thousands of miles away into China.'

115 mādhuram 'Madhurā is the capital of the Pāṇḍyas' (Cb); Cj refers to northern Madhurā as well as the southern. — māhiṣakam may refer to Māhiṣmatī on the Narmadā or to Mahiṣamaṇḍala. Cb reads māhiṣmakam.

117 karma guhyam, i.e., colouring, falsification of jewels etc. — deśakāla-parībhogam 'the proper time and place for manufacture, purchase etc. and the manner of their use '(Cb Cp); but 'use at the proper place and time 'would appear a better idea. Breloer (KSt, III, 293) thinks that as the verses deal with the guarding of goods while the chapter is concerned with their inspection, they are probably derived from a different source.

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CHAPTER TWELVE

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SECTION 30 STARTING OF MINES AND FACTORIES

- 1 The Director of Mines, being conversant with the science of (metal) veins in the earth and metallurgy, the art of smelting and the art of colouring gems, or having the assistance of experts in these, and fully equipped with workmen skilled in the work and with implements, should inspect an old mine by the marks of dross, crucibles, coal and ashes, or a new mine, where there are ores in the earth, in rocks or in liquid form, with excessive colour and heaviness and with a strong smell and taste.
- 2 (Those liquids) that flow inside a hole, a cave, a table-land at the foot, a rock-cut cave, or a secret dug-out in mountains whose regions are known (to contain gold-ore), that are of the colour of the jambū-, the mango- or the palm-fruit or of a cross-section of ripe turmeric or of jaggery or of orpiment or red arsenic or honey or vermilion or white lotus or of the feather of a parrot or a peacock, that have in their environs water and plants of the same colour, and that are viscous, clear and heavy, are gold-bearing liquids. 3 (If, when) thrown in water, they spread on the surface like oil and absorb mud and dirt, they are capable of transmuting copper and silver up to one hundred (times their own weight).
- 4 Exactly similar to that in appearance, (but) with a strong smell and taste, he should know to be bitumen.
- 5 Ores in earth or rocks, which are yellow or copper-coloured or reddish-yellow, which, when broken, show blue lines or are of the colour of the *mudga* or *māṣa* bean or *kṛṣara*, which are variegated with

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- 1 śulbaśāstra 'the science of metallic veins in the ground, or that of transmutation of copper into silver or gold '(Cb Cp). Cj has 'bhūmiparīkṣāśāstra.' Breloer (KSt, III, 410) understands 'geometry.' rasapāka 'alchemy and smelting '(Cb); it seems, however, that we have a single idea 'smelting of liquid ores.' Cf. suvarņapāka in 1.18.8 (where manirāga is also mentioned). bhūtapūrvam implies an abandoned mine. bhūmi, prastara and rasa are the three types of ore that may be found. Breloer (KSt, III, 309) refers atyantavarnagauravam to bhūmi- and prastara-dhātu only and ugragandharas amto rasadhātu only. That does not seem intended.
- 2 gūdhakhāta may be one made by robbers. guda found in Cb and a v. l. in M₂ seems genuine. savarnodaka- etc.: the liquids evidently affect the colour of water and plants nearby. 3 veddhārah: the root vyadh seems to have the technical sense of 'to transmute.' Cj has 'suvarnasya kartārah' as the paraphrase. In satād upari the idea apparently is that for each 100 units of copper or silver, one unit of this liquid would be sufficient. Meyer compares Ksemendra's Kalāvilāsa, 9.7-8.

spots or lumps as of curds, which are of the colour of turmeric or myrobalan or lotus-leaf or moss or liver or spleen or saffron, which, when broken, show lines, spots or *svastika*s of fine sand, which are possessed of pebbles and are lustrous, which, when heated, do not break and yield plenty of foam and smoke, are gold-ores, to be used for insertion, as transmuters of copper and silver.

- 6 (Ores) of the colour of a conch-shell or camphor or crystal or butter or a dove or a pigeon, or vimalaka (gem) or the peacock's neck, (or) of the colour of sasyaka (gem) or gomedaka (gem) or jaggery or unrefined sugar, (or) of the colour of the flower of kovidāra, or lotus or pāṭalī-flower or kalāya-flower or the flower of flax or of linseed, (and) containing lead, containing antimony, smelling like raw flesh, when broken (either) black with a white shimmer (or) white with a black shimmer, or all variegated with lines and spots, soft, (which) when being smelted do not split and yield plenty of foam and smoke, are silver-ores.
- 7 In the case of all ores, when there is increase in heaviness there is increase in metal-content.
- 8 Of these, those that are impure or dim in the interior flow in a pure form when infused in strong urine and caustic, when formed into lumps with (a paste of) the *rājavṛkṣa*, the banyan tree, the *pīlu*, cow's bile, pigment and the urine and dung of the buffalo, the donkey and the young camel, either mixed with this (during boiling) or smeared with this (paste).
- 9 The insertion (in the ore) of the bulbous roots of the $kadal\bar{\imath}$ and the vajra, along with the caustic (of the ashes) of barley, $m\bar{a}sabean$, sesamum, $pal\bar{a}sa$ and $p\bar{\imath}lu$ or along with the milk of the cow and the goat, is productive of softness.
 - 10 Honey and liquorice, goat's milk with sesamum-oil, mixed with ghee, jaggery and fermenting stuff, together with the
- 5 pratīvāpārthāh: according to the commentators, this ore in powder form is inserted in copper or silver while boiling.
- 6 For vimalaka and sasyaka, see 2.11.35, for gomedaka 2.11.30. vimalaka is white-red according to Cp here.
- 8 mūdhagarbhāḥ, i.e., when the metal content is not clear. mūtra of human beings or of the elephant, horse, bullock, donkey and goat (com.). kṣāra is derived from the ashes of kadalī, apāmārga etc. (Cb Cj). karabha 'a young camel' may also mean 'a young elephant.' Meyer understands an option between tīkṣṇa- etc. and rājavṛkṣa- etc. But the option appears to be only in the matter of pratīvāpa or avalepa.
- 9 yavamāṣa- etc.: barley-husks, bean-stalks, sesamum-stalks, and the wood of palāśa and pīlu trees are burnt to form the caustic. yavakṣāra is well-known as salt-petre.

- kandalī, with only three infusions in this, a (metal ore) that may have been broken even a hundred-thousand-fold becomes soft.
- 11 The insertion of (the powder of) the teeth and horns of the cow is the remover of softness (in metals).
- 12 Ore from rocks or a region of the earth, which is heavy, unctuous and soft (and which is) tawny, green, reddish or red (in colour) is copper-ore.
- 13 That which is crow-black or of the colour of the dove or yellow pigment or studded with white lines (and) smelling like raw flesh, is lead-ore.
- 14 That which is grey like saline earth or of the colour of a baked lump of earth is tin-ore.
- 15 That which is made up mostly of smooth stones, is whitish-red or of the colour of *sinduvāra*-flower is iron-ore.
- 16 That which is of the colour of $k\bar{a}k\bar{a}nda$ (' crow's egg ') or birchleaf is vaikrntaka-ore.
- 17 That which is clear, smooth, lustrous, possessed of sound, cold, hard and of a light colour is gem-ore.
- 18 What is produced from ores, he should put to use in factories for the respective metals. 19 He should establish trade in manufactured goods in a single place, and (lay down) a penalty for those who manufacture, purchase or sell elsewhere.
- 10 The stanza in the middle of the chapter is clearly a quotation from an earlier authority. kinva: its ingredients appear to be described in 2.25.33; cf. 2.25.26. Cb reads -gudacūrņa- in the sense of 'sandy jaggery.' vibhinnam conveys the idea of brittleness.
- 12 bhārikaḥ etc.: it may be that bhārika, snigdha and mṛdu are to be understood of all metal ores mentioned in ss. 12-16; they differ only as to colour.
- $15~\ khurumbah$ 'consisting mostly of smooth stones' (Cp) ; Cb reads surumbah in the same sense.
- 16 kākāṇḍa is 'a kind of tree 'identified with mahānimba in the Śabdakalpadruma.

 bhujapatra appears to be corrupted from bhūrjapatra. vā seems to show the option between kākāṇḍa and bhujapatra. vaikṛntaka: the exact identification of this metal is uncertain. Cj's not very clear words are 'vaikṛtadhātur acchalohasya dhātur ityarthaḥ; vaikṛtato hi vārakuśale cīnadeśe pāpam (vāyam?) utpadyate,' which seems to suggest that the name is derived from some locality, and may be some special kind of iron or steel.
- 17 Cb, reading sītatīvraḥ, explains 'becoming cool immediately on being taken) out of fire.'
- 19 atyayam: this is 25 paṇas as in s. 26 below, according to Cs. It may however be 600 paṇas as in s. 31 below and 2.25.2, as it involves a violation of state monopoly rights.

- 20 He should make a miner who robs pay eight-fold, except in the case of jewels. 21 The thief and the person who lives (by mining) without permission, he should bind and force to work (in the mines), also the person who offers personal labour in place of a fine.
 - 22 He should let for part-share or on lease a mine that is burdensome in point of expenses or working; a light one, he should work himself.
 - 23 The Director of Metals should establish factories for copper, lead, tin, *vaikṛntaka*, brass, steel, bronze, bell-metal and iron, also (establish) trade in metal-ware.
 - 24 The Mint Master should cause to be minted silver coins with one-fourth part copper (and) containing a hardening alloy one $m\bar{a}_{\bar{s}a}$ (in weight) of one of the following, (viz.) iron, tin, lead and antimony, (of the denominations of) one pana, a half pana, a quarter pana and a one-eighth pana; (further,) copper coins with one-quarter sustenance (of an alloy), (of the denominations of) one $m\bar{a}_{\bar{s}a}ka$, a half $m\bar{a}_{\bar{s}a}ka$, a $k\bar{a}kan\bar{i}$ and a half $k\bar{a}kan\bar{i}$.
 - 25 The Examiner of Coins should establish the currency of panas, for trade and for receipts in the treasury. 26 (He should also
 - 20 anyatra ratnebhyah: in this case the punishment is death as in 4.9.2. 21 dandopakāriņam: i.e., the person who, unable to pay the fine, offers personal labour instead, same as dandapratikartṛ (2.24.2) or dandapratikāriṇī (2.23.2); cf. 3.13.18.
 - 22 In bhāga a fixed share of the actual produce is received; in prakraya a fixed rental is received whatever the amount of produce.
 - 23 ārakūṭa, kamsa and tāla are alloys of copper with tin or zine in various proportions. loha seems to be used for 'iron' as well as metal in general.
 - 24 lakṣaṇādhyakṣaḥ: lakṣaṇa in this name apparently refers to the emblem of the king or state stamped on the coins as on the punch-marked coins. There was obviously no name or effigy of the ruler. Cf. Jayaswal, Hindu Polity, I, 42-43. - Though the actual weight of the coin is not stated, it is reasonable to suppose that it is the same as karşa or suvarna, i.e., 16 māṣakas (cf. 2.19.3). Thus a silver paṇa would have 4 māṣakas of copper, 1 māṣa (i.e., māṣaka) of bīja or hardening alloy and 11 maşakas of silver. In the lower denominations the same proportions hold good. But, as Meyer says, though this is the sense, the wording favours the idea that even in the lower denominations the alloy is to be 1 $m\tilde{a}$ saka in each. - pādājīvam, 'i.e., one-fourth silver, 11 parts copper and 1 māṣa alloy ' (com.). But the copper māṣa or māṣaka is lower in value than a quarter paṇa and seems to be 1/16th of a paṇa in value (cf. 4.9.4, 9). The weight of the copper māṣaka appears also to be 1 suvarna and not 1 māṣaka; for coins 1/8th of this in weight are mentioned. A māṣaka (coin) cannot be supposed to contain 4 māṣas of silver as against 1 3/8th māṣa in an aṣṭabhāga paṇa and 2 3/4th māṣa in a quarter paṇa. There is little doubt that there is no silver in the copper coin, only the ajīva or the hardening alloy. Perhaps the original reading was pādabījam.
 - 25 vyāvahārikīm kośapraveśyām ca: apparently two sets of currency, one for trade purposes and the other for payments to the treasury are thought of. Breloer

fix) a coining fee of eight per cent, a commission of five per cent, an inspection fee of one-eighth per cent, and a penalty of twenty-five paṇas for those who manufacture, purchase, sell and examine in other places.

27 The Superintendent of Mines should establish factories for (articles of) conch-shells, diamonds, gems, pearls, corals and caustics as well as commerce in them.

The Salt Commissioner should collect at the proper time the share of salt as released after crystallization as well as the lease-rent, also the price, the inspection fee and the surcharge from the sale. 29 Imported salt shall pay one-sixth part (as duty). 30 (Its) sale (shall be allowed) only after the share and the dues are paid (viz.,) five per cent surcharge, the inspection fee and the manufacturing fee. 31 The purchaser shall pay the duty and a protective duty corresponding to the loss sustained by the king's goods; one who purchases at another place (shall pay) a fine of six hundred panas in addition. 32 (A person selling) adulterated salt shall pay the highest fine (for violence), also the person living (by salt-manufacture) without permission, except forest-hermits. 33 Brahmins learned in the Vedas, ascetics, and labourers may take salt for their food (without payment). 34 All other varieties of salt and sugar shall pay (only) the duty.

thinks (KSt, III, 426) that copper coins were used for trade and silver coins alone came into the treasury. 26 $r\bar{u}pikam$ is manufacturing charges or coining fee, according to the commentators. Meyer understands a sort of commodity tax, on each object $(r\bar{u}pa)$ as such. — $vy\bar{a}j\bar{u}m$: see 2.6.10. — atyayam: according to Cs, the offence is the reduction of metal-content to the extent of 1/8th. There is nothing here to show this, and the fine would appear too small for such tampering with coins. anyatra seems to mean 'elsewhere', i.e., not in the royal mint, as in s. 19 above, though here kartr- etc. is used in the dative or ablative, not genitive. The 25 panas thus work out as a licensing fee for making coins elsewhere than in a royal mint. With anyatra in the sense of 'excepting' Cp understands the fine as 1,000 panas for kartr, etc., Cs 'according to offence.' Cb seems to explain 'servants are fined 25 panas for their offences, except in the case of those who do the things in the proper place.' The nature of the offence is not clear in this case.

27 $k s \bar{a} r a$: commentators understand alkalis or caustics, Meyer 'mica' or 'quartz.' In view of the mention of $k s \bar{a} r a$ with lavana in s. 34 and 2.15.14-15, sugar-cane products are not unlikely even here.

28 rūpam is the same as pārīkṣikam (com.). 30 dattabhāgavibhāgasya: vibhāga refers to vyājī, rūpa and rūpika (Breloer). It would have been better, in that case, if pañcakam...rūpikam ca were included in the preceding s. — rūpikam: if this is 'manufacturing charge', it could hardly apply to imported salt. Perhaps it became a regular impost whether the state manufactured the article or not. 31 kretā, i.e., the native trader who purchases from the foreign merchant. Cf. 2.21.7 ff. — anyatra, i.e., not at the toll gate. Breloer omits kretā, 'in the other case, 600 paṇas as an additional impost.' 34 lavanakṣāravargaḥ: see 2.15.14-15. — śulkam and not the other imposts as well.

35-36 Thus from the mines he should collect the price, the share, the surcharge, the monopoly tax, penalty, duty, compensation, fine, inspection fee, and manufacturing charges as well as the twelve kinds of metals and commodities (made from them). In this way he should fix the collection (of income) under various heads in the case of all commodities.

37 The treasury has its source in the mines; from the treasury the army comes into being. With the treasury and the army, the earth is obtained with the treasury as its ornament.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

SECTION 31 THE SUPERINTENDENT OF GOLD IN THE WORKSHOP

1 The Superintendent of Gold should cause to be built a workshop with a court-yard having four work-halls without inter-communication (and) with a single door, for the manufacture of gold and silver.

2 In the middle of the market highway he should establish the Goldsmith, skilled in his profession, of noble birth and trustworthy.

35-36 Cb's ca bhagam is certainly preferable to vibhagam. - parigham: see 2.6.10 above. The commentators here understand inspection fee, which is little likely. As monopoly tax, it would be something fixed on every article made by the state which no one else could make. - vaidharana, it would appear, operated when the state goods remained unsold because of competition, or when their prices went down. It was not a regular tax. - rūpam: Cb has 'silver and copper coins,' which seems hardly likely in view of s. 30 above; 'inspection fee' is better. dvādaśavidham: commentators supply samudayam as the substantive, looking on dhātu and panya as the 11th and 12th items of income. It is, however, better to understand it as an adjective to dhātum as in Meyer, who has gold, silver and the metals of s. 23 (lodhra of the mss. as loha plus another metal). The twelfth metal, however, might well be manidhātu of s. 17. — mukha- refers to āyamukha as in 2.6.10. — Breloer (KSt, III, 437) contends that the inclusion of these kārikās, which really belong to the province of the samāhartṛ, in the Chapter on the Mine-Superintendent shows that the office of the samāhartṛ (and also of the samnidhātr) was not differentiated, before Kautilya's time, from what was mainly the king's household economy. Kautilya may therefore represent, according to him, the attempt to stress the importance of political control. He admits, however, that the differentiation is very old and represents a natural and living division.

37 This stanza, says Breloer (KSt, III, 407), belongs to a simpler conception; kośa and danda are among the oldest political ideas. It seems that he finds traces of development where probably none exist.

2.13

The significance of the name $akşaśāl\bar{a}$ for the workshop where gold is purified, assayed etc. is not clear.

2 sauvarnikah: his duties are described in the next Chapter, 2.14.

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- 3 That from the Jambū river, that from (Mt.) Satakumbha, that from Hāṭaka, that from Venu, that produced in Sṛngaśukti, that found in a natural condition, that transmuted by means of liquids and that produced from mines, these are (types of) gold. 4 (Gold) of the colour of the lotus-filament, soft, smooth, not producing a sound, and lustrous is best, reddish-yellow is of a middling quality, red of the lowest quality.
- 5 Of the best (varieties), the pale-yellow and the white are impure. 6 He should cause that because of which it is impure to be removed by means of lead four times that quantity. 7 If it becomes brittle by the admixture of lead, he should cause it to be smelted with dried lumps of cow-dung. 8 If it is brittle because of (its own) roughness, he should cause it to be infused in sesamum-oil and cow-dung.
- 9 (Gold) produced from the mines, becoming brittle by the admixture of lead, he should turn into leaves by heating and cause them to be pounded on wooden anvils, or should cause it to be infused in the pulp of the bulbous roots of the *kadalī* and the *vajra* (plants).
- 10 That originating in Tuttha, that from Gauda, that from Kambu and that from Cakravāla, these are (types of) silver. 11 (Silver
- 3 jāmbūnada: 'from the Jambū river near Mt. Meru. This gold is used by gods alone and is of the colour of jambū-fruit.' (com.). • śātakumbha 'from Satakumbha mountain' (com.). Meyer thinks that Satakumbhā may be a river. This gold has the colour of a lotus-filament. hāṭaka contains a reference to the region; 'of the colour of kuraṇḍaka flower' (Cp), 'of the colour of pāṭhāṅkurī or kusumbha flower' (Cb). vaiṇavam 'from Mt. Veṇu' (com.), 'from river Venu' (Meyer); 'of the colour of karṇikāra flower' (com.). Śrṇgaśukti is Suvarṇabhūmi (com.); 'of the colour of manaḥśilā' (com.). jātarūpa apparently refers to its being found in a naturally pure form. rasavidāha by transmuting copper or silver with the kāūcanika rasa of 2.12.2-3. 4 anādi 'not producing a sound' is from Cb for anunādi 'resonant' of the mss.
- 5 śresthānām: Cb Cs read this at the end of s. 4 which makes three kinds of śrestha,—śresthānām śrestha, śresthānām madhyama, etc., which is not a happy idea. At the beginning of s. 5, it may refer to the śrestha of s. 4 except as regards colour. That also is not convincing. The word śresthānām does not appear to be original and perhaps it might be better to drop it. 6 yena aprāptakam etc. 'by lead four times the amount of impurity' (Cb); 'by lead four times the gold itself' (Meyer, who asks, how can the amount of impurity be calculated beforehand?). In the latter explanation, tat may be taken as referring to the impurity and as the object of śodhayet. 8 niṣccayet: 'the process of infusion is to be repeated a number of times' (com.). 9 'Gandih vṛkṣasya mūlācchākhāvadhibhāgaḥ' (Hemacandra).
- 10 Tuttha is a mountain of that name according to the commentators. The sense 'crucible' does not fit. This silver has the colour of jasmine-flower. gaudikam: 'Gauda is the Kāmarūpa region and silver has the colour of the tagaraflower' (com.). kāmbukam 'from Mt. Kambu, has the colour of the kunda-

which is) white, smooth and soft is best. 12 The opposite kind and that which tends to burst is bad. 13 He should purify that with one-fourth part of lead. 14 That in which a crest has appeared at the top, which is clear, lustrous and of the colour of curds is pure.

- 15 One suvarna of pure, turmeric-coloured (gold) is the standard. 16 Thence by the substitution of one kākaṇī copper onwards (in a suvarṇa of gold) up to the limit of four (māṣakas), sixteen standards (are obtained).
- 17 After first rubbing the gold (to be tested) on the touchstone, he should afterwards rub the standard gold (on it). 18 That with a streak of the same colour (as the standard) on places (on the stone) that are neither depressed nor elevated, he should know as properly tested; what is over-rubbed or lightly rubbed or powdered over with red chalk from underneath the finger-nail, he should know as deception. 19 Gold, touched with the forepart of the hand smeared with jātivermilion or sulphate of iron dissolved in cow's urine, becomes white. 20 The streak (of the gold) on the touchstone, that has filaments, is smooth, soft and lustrous is best.
- 21 Stone from the Kalingas or from the Tāpī, which is of the colour of the *mudga*-bean, is the best touchstone. 22 That which shows the exact colour is advantageous for either sale or purchase. 23 That which has the colour of an elephant, with a green tinge, is over-sensitive to colour (and) is advantageous for sale. 24 That which

flower' (com.). — $c\bar{a}krav\bar{a}likam$: 'from Mt. Cakravāla, has the colour of the kunda-flower' (com.). 12 sphotanam 'liable to burst' apparently in the process of smelting. 14 $udgatac\bar{u}likam$ ' with a bud-like form at the top (Cb).

15 suvarnah: this refers to the weight, equivalent to 16 māṣakas; cf. 2.19.3. — varṇakah: i.e., touch or fineness of gold. 16 kākaṇī and suvarṇa are nowhere in the text brought into relation with one another. A kākaṇī is a copper coin 1/4th of a māṣaka in value (2.12.24). It seems that here it is understood to be 1/4th of a māṣaka in weight, though the two māṣakas are different; so that a suvarṇa would be equal to 64 kākaṇīs. By substituting 1, 2, 3 etc. kākaṇīs of copper in place of gold in a suvarṇa, we get 16 touches with proportions of gold and copper ranging from 63:1 to 48:16 (the 16 kākaṇīs in the last make 4 māṣakas which in fact is here stated to be the limit, ā catuḥṣīmāntāt). Both māṣaka and kākaṇī appear to be names of weights as well as of coins which apparently are different in weight. That is confusing.

17 varņikām, i.e., one of the 17 standards mentioned above. 19 jātihinguluka 'a variety of vermilion called sasada (Cp) or hamsapāda (Cs).' — puṣpakāsīsa seems to be sulphate of iron or blue vitriol.

21 'River Tāpī in Mahārāṣṭra' (Cj) 'in Āraṭṭadeśa' (Cb). 22 samarāgī, i.e., showing the colour of gold as it really is. 'Of a uniform colour' is less likely. 23 pratirāgī, i.e., showing a higher touch than what the gold actually has. 24 apratirāgī, i.e., showing a lower touch.

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is firm, hard and of uneven colour, is not sensitive to colour (and) is advantageous for purchase.

- 25 The cut (of gold) that is sticky, of even colour, smooth, soft and lustrous is best. 26 The heating that is uniform outside and inside, (and) has the colour of the lotus-filament or of the colour of kurandaka-flower, is best. 27 That which is dark or blue shows impurity.
- 28 Weights and measures we shall explain in (the Section) 'the Superintendent of Standardisation.' 29 In accordance with those rules he should give and receive silver and gold.
- 30 An unauthorized person shall not approach the workshop. 31 One approaching is to be extirpated. 32 Even an officer, if carrying gold and silver (inside), shall be deprived of the same.
- 33 Artisans doing the work of setting in gold, bead-making, plating and gilding and ornamental gold, (and) blowers, servants and dust-washers, shall enter and leave after their garments, hands and private parts are searched. 34 And all their tools and uncompleted works shall remain just there. 35 He should hand over the gold received and the work being carried out into the office. 36 In the evening and in the morning, he should deposit (the gold and the articles) marked with the seals of the maker and the overseer.
- 37 Setting, stringing and minor work, these are ways of working (in gold). 38 Setting is the fixing of binding and so on. 39 String-
- 25 chedah, i.e., the section where it is cut. 26 tāpah: Cb Cs read tāpe, and that is preferred by Jolly-Schmidt. However, the nom. seems better corresponding to chedah above. With tāpe, we cannot think of a masculine substantive for śresthah etc. as suvarna is neuter.
 - 28 pautavādhyakṣc in 2.19 below.
- 31 ucchedyah: Cb Cs understand 'confiscation of entire property.' Cf., however, 1.15.6 above. 32 tenaiva jīyeta, i.e., what he has brought with him should be confiscated.
- 33 kāūcanakāru seems concerned with setting gems in gold and silver as described in ss. 41-43. The root appears to be kac, kaūc to bind. The Trikāṇḍaśeṣa has 'kācanaṃ patranibandhanam.' pṛṣatakāru seems concerned with the making of gold beads or globules, tvaṣṭrkāru is the gilder and plater as in ss. 44-46, and tapanīyakāru is the maker of ornamental gold as in ss. 47 ff. caraka seems to be an ordinary servant. If he has any special duty in the workshop like the others, its nature is not clear. 35 dhṛtam ca prayogam: Meyer proposes kṛtam as a contrast to aniṣṭhitāḥ. However, work held in hand, under production, is a better concept. Cb explains dhṛtam by 'weighed' and karaṇamadhye by 'in the presence of witnesses.' karaṇa as office appears, however, more likely. 36 sāyaṃ prātaś ca: strictly this would imply night shifts as well. Perhaps, however, seals were made in the evening and opened in the morning. kartṛ is the artisan and kārayitṛ is the supervisor or 'suvarṇādhyakṣa himself' (com.).

ing is weaving in threads and so on. 40 (Making) a solid article, a hollow article or one with beads and so on is minor work.

- 41 In the work of setting, he should use one-fifth part as fastening at base and one-tenth part as side-fastening. 42 Silver with a quarter part copper, or gold with a quarter part silver is artificial; against that he should guard. 43 In the work of fixing of beads, (there should be) three parts enclosing at the sides and two parts base, or four parts base and three parts enclosing at the sides.
- 44 In the work of the gold-plater, he should plate an article of copper with an equal amount of gold. 45 An article of silver, whether solid or hollow, he should cover with half the amount of gold. 46 Or, he should gild (the silver article) with one-fourth part gold by means of the liquid or powder of sand-vermilion.
- 47 Ornamental gold of the best kind, possessed of excellent colour, passed through an equal amount of lead, turned into leaves by
- 38 kācārpaṇa 'in which kāca, i.e., a gem, pearl, diamond or coral is fixed '(Cj). kāca would seem to refer rather to the gold in which the gem etc. is set. 39 sūtravāna: gold threads arranged in various patterns seem meant.
- 41 arpayet: this position of the verb is unusual. pañcabhāgam kāñcanam daśabhāgam kaṭumānam: Cb has 'one-fifth of the gem should be set in the base and one-tenth in leaves of gold.' Cj explains katumāna as 'the covering of wax or lac (madhūcchiṣṭasya lākṣāyā vā pracchādanam).' Cp, reading kaṭamānam, has one-fifth as base and one-tenth as binding at the side, the remaining 7/10th of gold remaining unconnected with the gem as in a ring. This is what seems intended. Meyer suggests katimānam as the reading 'side-binding.' G M read only mānam. 42 The point of the warning seems to be that artisans frequently use this alloy for setting and that fact cannot be very easily detected. 43 prsatakācakarmanah: the difference from pure kācakarman seems to be that we have gold beads set in this case, or gold beads and gems (Cs Meyer). paribhānda is probably the same as katumāna, and vāstuka the base. Cb, understanding gems only even in this case, explains paribhāṇḍa as ' the lotus-shaped or svastika-shaped fixing for the gem.' - hi in the s. does not seem to have any significance. - It is possible that the s. refers to the making of gold beads, vāstuka being the interior base, usually of lac and paribhanda the exterior covering of gold. For this preatakarmanah would be enough. Or, vāstuka may refer to the bead itself and paribhānda to the decorative extension at the sides.
- 44 samyūhayet: Meyer has suggested that this is a Prakritism for sam-vyūh. 45 susiram: the ghanasusiram of the mss. is obviously due to repetition from the preceding word. Cf. s. 40 above. 46 vālukāhingulukasya etc. 'with the powder of vermilion and sand' (Cb), 'gold, which is powdered and mixed with mercury, is mixed with the powder of sand-vermilion and melted on straw-fire' (Cp). It is difficult to see how mercury can be brought in unless rasena is read after cūrnena. And mercury does not seem necessary for the gilding described here. What exactly is meant by vālukāhinguluka is not clear. See 2.14.34 below. vāsayet from vas caus. 'to clothe' refers to gilding.

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heating (and) made bright with Indus-earth, becomes the base of blue, yellow, white, green and parrot-feather colours. 48 And iron of the colour of the peacock's neck, white at the cut, shimmering, (and) powdered after being heated, is for this (gold) a colouring matter one $k\bar{a}kan\bar{\imath}$ in measure for one suvarna (of gold).

49 Or, silver, purified, four times in a crucible of bones, four times in one with an equal amount of lead, four times in a dry crucible, three times in a pot-sherd (and) twice in cow-dung, thus passed through seventeen crucibles, (and) made bright with Indus-earth (is a base for colours). 50 From this one kākaṇī onwards up to two māṣas should be inserted in one suvarṇa; afterwards the adding of colouring matter (should follow); it becomes white silver.

47 tapanīyam seems to mean 'which is to be turned into ornaments' by heating, colouring etc. It is here an adjective to suvarnam. — saindhavikayā 'with earth from the Saurāṣṭra country' (com.); 'earth from Indus' seems more likely. — ujjvālitam probably by rubbing with it, hardly 'by heating along with it' (Meyer). — -\$ukapota- of the mss. is obviously corrupt for -\$ukapatra-; cf. s. 56 below. — Some of the colours mentioned here are not referred to in ss. 51-56, while others referred to there are not mentioned here. 48 asya... kākaņikah suvarnarāgah, i.e., one kākaņī of iron is the colouring for one suvarņa of gold (i.e., 1 in 64 as in s. 16 above) as described in s. 47. Meyer has 'a strong (tīkṣṇa) form of this gold etc.' It is not easy to see how this strong form is arrived at. — pūacūrnitam 'heated and powdered' (com.). pūla may also convey the idea of soaking in water, which may be done after heating. — It is not clear what colour is produced in gold by the insertion of this powder.

tāram upaśuddham vā: tāra is silver, particularly that used for ornaments; $upa\acute{s}uddha$ refers to the purification as presently described; $v\ddot{a}$ shows the option with suvarna above; i.e., this silver also can be a base for colours. Meyer has 'fine silver (tāra) or almost pure (upaśuddha) silver.' This appears little likely. asthitutthe etc.: Cb Cp understand these terms as descriptive of the crucibles -made of earth mixed with bone-powder, of earth mixed with an equal amount of lead, of earth mixed with sand (śuṣkatuttha, i.e., kaṭaśarkarāmūṣā), of earth alone and of earth mixed with cow-dung. It may be, however, that asthi etc. describe the substances along with which the silver is smelted, śuṣkatuttha referring to smelting without any mixture. Meyer understands tuttha as blue vitriol, a mixture of this with asthi and samasīsa, and śuska as dry blue vitriol; only kapāla, he says, he cannot understand. But even in his gomaya there is no blue vitriol. Altogether his explanation is not satisfactory. 50 kākanyuttaram etc.: from one kākani onwards up to two $m\bar{a}$ sas (i.e., $2\,m\bar{a}$ sakas) of this $t\bar{a}$ ra is to be inserted in one suvarna. This word therefore must be understood as the weight of that name and not as gold. Hence the metal in which the insertion is to be made would appear to be ordinary silver; this would give nine tints of silver. Thus in the main Cp. Cb, reading kākanyuttarāpasāritā understands the insertion to be made in gold. That would make gold śvetatāra. This is not very likely; it also would not fit in with the possibility of tapanīya and śvetatāra being mixed together (s. 51). Meyer understands the removal of 1 kākaņī etc. of silver and insertion of gold in its place. suvarņe deyam makes this hardly possible. - rāgayogah: this would appear to be the tiksna as described above.

51 Three parts of ornamental gold, strengthened with thirty-two parts of white silver, it becomes white-red. 52 It makes copper yellow. 53 Making the ornamental gold bright, he should give one-third part colouring; it becomes yellowish red. 54 (With) two parts of white silver, one part of ornamental gold produces the colour of the mudga-bean. 55 When smeared with half a part of black iron, it becomes black. 56 Ornamental gold twice smeared with an enveloping liquid gets the colour of the parrot's feather. 57 In undertaking that work, he should take a test regarding the various colours.

58 And he should be conversant with the treatment of iron and copper. 59 Therefore, (he should know) also loss in the case of articles made of diamonds, gems, pearls and corals and the amounts required for the making of gold and silver wares.

51 travo 'mśāh etc.: the grammatical difficulty is best removed by reading tat from Cb and retaining murcchitah of the mss. Cp has '3 parts of tapaniya are added to 32 less 3, i.e., 29 parts of ordinary gold and this mixture is smelted with 32 parts of śvetatāra.' It is difficult to see how the words can yield all this meaning. Cb has 'out of 32 parts 3 are tapaniya, the rest 29 silver.' Since, however, murch has the sense of 'to increase, augment,' the proportion of 3 to 32 would appear more likely. It is not altogether unlikely that dvātrimsadbhāga means 1/32nd part, so that the proportion might be 3 to 1/32 or 3 to 3/32. 52 tamram pitakam karoti: Cp has '32 parts gold (with 3 parts tapanīya as above) with 32 parts copper become yellow.' Cb has '3 parts tapaniya and 32 parts copper.' That seems to be meant. Meyer has '3 parts copper and 32 parts śvetatāra.' 53 rāgatribhāgam '1 kākanī in 3/4ths of a suvarna, i.e., in 12 māsakas of gold '(Cp), 'onethird purified gold in unpurified gold '(Cb), '1/3rd tapanīya is inserted in śvetatāra' (Meyer). What seems meant is that in 3 parts of tapaniya 1 part of raga of s. 48 is inserted. Cj seems to have read tāmratribhāgam. — pītarāgam 'yellowish red' as distinguished from pītaka above. 54 śvetatāra- etc.: according to Cp, rāgayoga is to be understood in addition; but śvetatāra already seems to have it. 55 kālāyasasya etc.: 'gold of the colour of mudga when mixed with half part (half of 1/3, i.e., 1/6) of colouring, becomes black '(Cb); evidently kālāuasa is identified with tīkṣṇa and ardha is related to tribhāga of s. 53. Meyer thinks that śvetatāra becomes black in this way, not tapaniya. Cb however seems right in understanding the mixture of s. 54. And as it has 3 parts and raga is half a part, the latter does amount to 1/6th of that mixture, though not in the way Cb understands it. 56 pratilepinā rasena: Cp has 'liquified iron mixed with mercury.' pratilepin, however, is an adjective 'smearing all round, enveloping' qualifying rasa, and the latter can hardly mean 'mixed with mercury.' rasa seems to be that of kālāyasa or tīkṣṇa; Meyer thinks of kāñcanika rasa of 2.12.2. 57 prativarṇikā seems to refer to the test on the touchstone to ascertain whether the desired colour is obtained or not.

58 tīkṣṇatāmra- etc.: the suvarṇādhyakṣa is to be conversant with this, though iron and copper articles are manufactured in separate factories, because these metals are used in the manufacture of gold and silver articles. 59 tasmāt: there is nothing in the text to explain this use of 'therefore.' Perhaps it owes its origin to 2.14.43. — apaneyimānam 'taking away, removal' is understood as 'substituuoṇof an inferior for a superior gem' (Cb). It may also mean 'reduction or loss'

THE ACTIVITY OF THE HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS [2.14.4

60-61 Of an even colour, symmetrical, with beads not sticking to each other, firm, well-burnished, not soaked (for a false glitter), divided (into suitable parts), pleasant to wear, not gaudy, full of lustre, with a charming shape, even, and pleasing to the mind and eye, — these are declared to be the excellent qualities of an ornament.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

SECTION 32 THE ACTIVITY OF THE GOLDSMITH IN THE MARKET-HIGHWAY

- 1 The Goldsmith should cause the gold and silver work of the citizens and the country people to be carried out by workshop artisans.
- 2 They should do the work with the time and the (nature of the) work stipulated, without stipulation as to time when there is the excuse of the (nature of the) work. 3 In case the work is done otherwise (than as ordered) (there shall be) loss of wage and a fine double that (amount). 4 In case the time-limit is exceeded, (he shall receive) a wage reduced by one-quarter and a fine double that (amount).

in the process of cutting, polishing etc. (Meyer). — budhyeta is to be supplied from the preceding s. — bandhapramāṇāni refers to '3 parts paribhāṇḍa etc.' (Cb), 'amount required for plating' (Cp), 'amount required for making the article' (Meyer).

60 samadvandvam 'having a similar pair,' i.e., symmetrical. — asampītam 'not gilded to increase its lustre artificially '(Cs); 'not fabricated '(Meyer). Cj (with asampihitam?) has 'the colour of which is not obscured by other articles of momentary charm.' — vibhaktam seems to refer to proper proportions in the various parts. 61 abhinītam 'not gaudy' (Cj), 'tasteful' (Meyer). It may also convey the idea of 'highly finished.' — samsthāna seems to mean 'shape or form.' svasthāna of M 'in its appropriate place (on the body)' is also not bad. — tapanīya here is clearly 'ornament', not merely gold. — The kārikās more properly belong to the sphere of the sauvarnika of the next Chapter than to that of the suvarnādhyakṣa.

2.14

The sauvarnika or goldsmith is clearly in state service. Apparently private goldsmiths are to work under his supervision.

- 1 rūpyasuvarnam stands for rūpyasuvarnabhāndam 'gold and silver articles.' There is no reference to gold coins here, as is sometimes supposed. āvešanibhih: these also appear to be in state service.
- 2 kāryāpadeśam, i.e., the nature of the work itself provides a valid excuse for delay. These ss. are repeated in 4.1.4-5, 7. In conformity with that, Cb Cs interchange ss. 3 and 4 here. 4 pādahīnam vetanam taddviguņas ca daṇḍaḥ: the fine would be 'double the 3/4th wage '(Cs) rather than 'double the full wage 'or 'double the 1/4th wage that is deducted.'

- 5 The (artisans) shall deliver in the same condition as to quality and quantity as they receive the entrusted metal. 6 And even after a lapse of time, (customers) shall receive it in the same condition, except what is lost (in manufacture) and worn away (by time).
- 7 The (Goldsmith) should be conversant with every detail in connection with the characteristics and the manufacture of gold and its articles by workshop artisans.
- 8 In the case of gold and silver (used in the manufacture of articles), a loss of one $k\bar{a}kani$ in a suvarna may be allowed. 9 One $k\bar{a}kan\bar{i}$ of iron twice that in the case of silver is the insertion for colour; one-sixth part of that is the loss (allowed).
- 10 In case of diminution of quality to the extent of one māṣa at least, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed); in case of diminution of quantity (to that extent), the middle (fine); in case of deceit in scales and weights, the highest (fine), also in case of fraud in an article manufactured.
- 11 For a (person) causing the manufacture (of an article) unseen by the Goldsmith or in some other place, the fine shall be twelve paṇas.
- 5 varna is clearly 'quality.' 6 kālāntarād api, i.e., 'when delay is caused by illness, disturbances, etc.' (Cb). Cs has 'even if the artisan has gone on a long journey or is dead, his sons must return it in the same condition.' anyatra kṣīnaparisīrnābhyām: Cb has 'when there is diminution or wearing away there is a fine.' But the fine is not stated. It seems that kṣīna refers to loss allowed in manufacture and parisīrna to wearing away by time; in either case there is no fine.
- 7 lakṣaṇa and prayoga are to be construed with suvarṇa and pudgala. In view of 2.13.35 and s. 11 below 'trade or practice of fraud' (Cs) is unlikely for prayoga.
- 8 tapta seems to be the same as tapanīya ornamental gold, and kaladhautaka ornamental silver. kākanīkah suvarne etc.: i.e., loss allowed in the process of manufacture is 1/64th or 1.56 per cent. 9 It seems best to regard rāpyadvigunah as a parenthetical clause as in Meyer. The insertion in the case of silver would be 2 kākanīs in 1 suvarna. Cb Cs, reading rāpyadvigunā, explain '1 kākanī of iron with 2 kākanīs of silver forms the colouring for gold.' Silver, however, is not mentioned as a colouring material in the last Chapter. It is true that the last Chapter does not also refer to 2 kākanīs as colouring material for silver. Nevertheless the former explanation appears preferable. ṣaḍbhāgah kṣayah: i.e., of 1 suvarna gold and 1 kākanī rāga (added to it) loss allowed is 1/64th of gold and 1/6th of rāga, leaving 63 5/6ths instead of 65 kākanīs; in silver, 64 2/3rds would remain out of 66 kākanīs.
- 10 māṣāvare, i.e., one māṣa of metal of higher quality (varṇa) is reduced to a lower quality (Cp). Meyer has 'when the loss suffered by the customer is of the value of 1 māṣa.' This ignores varṇa. pramāṇahīne: we have to understand māṣāvare with this. kṛtabhāṇḍopadhau seems to refer to fraud after the article is made (kṛita), i.e., during inspection as in s. 44 onwards, though the idea of 'during the making' is also not unlikely. māṣāvare need not be understood with this or the preceding case.

- 12 For the artisan, (the fine shall be) double, if there is a valid excuse.
 13 If there is no excuse, the (person) shall be taken to the magisterial court. 14 And for the artisan, (the punishment shall be) a fine of two hundred paṇas or the cutting off of the fingers of his hand.
- 15 They shall purchase the scales and weights from the Superintendent of Standardisation. 16 Otherwise, (there shall be) a fine of twelve panas.
- 17 Making solid objects, making hollow objects, plating, coating, fixing and gilding constitute an artisan's work.
- 18 Fraud in the balance, removal, tapping, boxing, and embedding are the means of pilfering (by artisans).
- 19 (Easily) bending, carved out, with split top, with a subsidiary (false) neck, with bad strings, with defective scales, given to swinging, and magnetic, these are false balances.
- 20 Two parts of silver and one part of copper constitute tripuṭaka. 21 By means of that, mineral gold is removed; that is 'removal by tripuṭaka.' 22 By (substitution of) copper, that is 'removal by copper,' by (substitution of) vellaka, that is 'removal by vellaka,' by (substitution of) gold containing half copper, that is 'removal by gold.'
- 23 A dummy crucible, foul dross, the 'crane's beak,' the blow-pipe, the pair of tongs, the water-vessel, borax, and that same gold, these
- 11 kārayataḥ seems to refer to the customer, who gets work done on the sly to escape the regular state charges for manufacture. 12 sāpasāraś cet is to be understood in s. 11 as well. 13 anapasāraḥ: This raises the possibility that the gold may be stolen property and hence the need for investigation by the prādeṣṭṛ as in Book 4. 14 paṇacchedanam 'cutting off the fingers of a hand.' cf. 4.10.1.
 - 15 'pautava stands for pautavādhyakṣa, 2.19.
- 17 ghanam suṣiram is read as in 2.13.40; see 2.13.45. samyūhya is thick plating, while avalepya is coating with thin plates; samghātya is fixing base metal in a precious metal, while vāsitaka is gilding.
- 19 samnāminī 'bending easily' because it is made of soft metal (Cb); Meyer thinks of a contrivance for bringing the scales down. utkīrņikā 'hollowed and filled with iron powder (Cj) or mercury (Cb) inside.' bhinnamastakā apparently allows one side to go down easily. upakanthī apparently has a centre where the scales balance unevenly; 'full of knots or accretions on one side only' (Cp). śikya refers to the strings with which the pans (kakṣya) are suspended from the beam. sakatu is uncertain; Cb comment shows only katu. āyaskāntā: the beam has a magnet on one side, so that the metal pan tends to rise towards it.
- 21 ākarodgatam: cf. 2.13.3. 22 vellaka 'an alloy of equal parts of silver and iron '(com.).
- 23 mūkamūṣū has a false bottom into which a part of the melting gold drips down. pūtikiṭṭaḥ 'the foul-smelling dross' in which gold may be concealed. Meyer proposes pratikiṭṭa 'apparent dross' which does not seem necessary. —

are the ways of removal. 24 Or, sand made into lumps and placed (there) beforehand, is taken out of the fire-place on the breaking of the crucible.

25 At the time of fixing together afterwards or at the time of testing the laid-on plating leaf, interchange (of a gold article) by a silver article is tapping, or (the interchange) of sand lumps (containing gold) by sand lumps containing iron.

26 A firm and a removable enclosing is made in cases of plating, coating and fixing. 27 A piece of lead covered with a leaf of gold, (with) the interior fixed with lac, is the firm enclosing. 28 The same, when there are casings of layers, is the removable (enclosing). 29 A leaf that is compact or a twin-leaf is made in cases of coating. 30 Copper or silver is made the interior of leaves in cases of fixing. 31 An article of copper, fixed with a leaf of gold (and) polished is supārśva ('with a well-made side'); the same, fixed with a twin-leaf (and) polished, and an article of copper and silver (similarly treated) are uttaravarnaka ('with quality outside').

karaţukamukham 'a crane's beak 'appears to be a kind of pincers with hollow ends for concealing gold. Cj mentions a view according to which it is the passage for wind at the end of the bellows. Cb, reading karaṭamukham 'a crow's beak', explains 'a vessel for receiving something.' — jonganī 'vessel for holding water' (Cb), 'lohakaṭikā (? iron vessel?)' (Cp); Cj's 'kañcikā vṛttam maryāriṣaṇāgrālohi' is unintelligible. The root jung means 'to set aside, exclude.' Can the word mean a sieve, a strainer? — suvarcikālavaṇam probably the same as sauvarcala 'borax' of 2.15.15. — tadeva suvarṇam: the idea seems to be, the presence of the gold itself and its handling create the opportunity for pilfering. 24 piṇḍavālukāḥ: these appear like gold particles and are picked up instead of gold, which is recovered later.

25 paścād bandhane: the loc. as in Cb is necessary, not nom. as in the mss. The reference is to joining parts that are first separately made. — ācitakapatra is the gold leaf used for plating. — visrāvaṇam seems to refer to substitution of one article or piece by another of a lower metal, while in apasāraṇa the gold-content is tampered with, not the entire article or piece. — pinḍavālukā here must be supposed to contain gold.

27 abhyantaram aṣṭakena baddham seems to be almost a parenthetical clause. 28 paṭalasampuṭeṣu appears to be used as a locative absolute, 'when there are casings of layers'; the idea seems to be that the lead inside is not fixed or soldered and can be removed. sampuṭa 'a fold,' a sort of box or casket, hollow inside. 29 paṭram āṣṭisṭam yamakapatram vā: 'i.e., on one side of the article or on both sides' (Cb). The insertion of lead between the gold-leaf and the article in one case and between the two leafs in the other is probably to be understood, though there is no direct reference to that. 31 Following Cb, supārṣva and uttaravarnaka are understood as two types of samghātya. In the uttaravarnaka, two items are included, a copper article covered with a double gold-leaf and a copper-silver article (either as alloy or in separate parts of the article) covered with gold-leaf. Cp Cs begin the s. with samghātyeṣu kriyate and understand two types up to pramṛṣṭam,

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- 32 He should find these two out by heating and testing on the touchstone or by failure of (right) sound and by scratching. 33 The removable (encasing) they set down in the acid of the badara-fruit or in salt-water. Thus the 'enclosing.'
- 34 In a solid or a hollow article, gold-mixed earth or the pulp of mālukā and vermilion, when heated, remains (embedded). 35 Or, in an article with a firm base, lac mixed with sand or the paste of red lead, when heated, remains (embedded). 36 Of these two, heating or breaking is the (test of) purity.
- 37 Or, in an article containing an encircling metal, salt heated by a fire-brand along with soft pebbles, remains (embedded). 38 Boiling is (the test of) its purity.
- 39 Or, a layer of mica is fixed in an article with a double base by means of lac. 40 Of that, in which the fixing has been covered, one part sinks down when it is placed in water, or it is pierced with a needle in the spaces between the layers.

explaining tāmratāra- etc. as 'copper or silver is used as a plating for ironware etc.' or 'a piece of copper is plated with silver.' Meyer seems to find three types of samghātya,—supārsva, pramṛṣṭa and tāmratārarūpa, 'samples for further work (of fraud)' being his explanation of uttaravarnakah. Many of the details in these ss. are far from clear.

- 32 tad ubhayam, i.e., the gāḍha and the abhyudāhārya peṭaka. niḥśabda 'absence of the right tone' (Meyer) seems preferable to 'cutting without a sound' (Cp). 33 sādayanti 'put it down'; Cb adds that the article then becomes red in colour.
- 34 The difference between petaka and pinka appears to be that in the former a different metal is inserted in the plating of gold, while in the latter a chemical or mineral substance is embedded in the article. vā supports the reading ghane susire from Cj. Cf. 2.13.40, 45 etc. mālukāhinguluka-: perhaps vālukāhinguluka- should be read as in 2.13.46. Cb comment seems to support it. Cp seems to understand 'pulp of hinguluka along with suvarnamrd and suvarnamālukā (these two being kinds of minerals).' This ignores the vā that follows. 35 drāhavāstuke: i.c., the embedding is done in the solid base. gāndhāra 'red lead' evidently named after the country of its origin.
- 37 kaṭuśarkarayā: 'soft stone or pebbles' (com.). Meyer wonders if it can mean 'hard sugar.' Some kind of sand seems to be intended. 38 kvāthanam is done in the badarāmla of s. 33 (com.).
- 39 dviguṇavāstuke: i.e., the base has two layers of gold plates, between which mica is fixed with lac. $v\bar{a}$ shows a new type of pinka; and it is not necessary, as Meyer thinks, to read ekavāstuke at the beginning to justify it. 40 $apihitak\bar{a}cakasya: k\bar{a}ca$ seems to mean 'embedding' here, same as pinka; it is covered with the outer layer of gold. udake, i.e., 'in $badar\bar{a}mla$ ' (com.). $patal\bar{a}ntaresu$ $v\bar{a}: v\bar{a}$ shows that this is another method of discovering the presence of mica inside. $patal\bar{a}ntara$ is therefore 'space between layers' rather than 'other layers, such as copper etc.' (Cp).

- 41 Gems, silver or gold form the embedding in solid or hollow articles. 42 Of that, heating or breaking is (the test of) purity. Thus the embedding.
- 43 Therefore, the (Goldsmith) should ascertain the class, appearance, quality, quantity, the ornament made and the characteristics of articles made of diamonds, gems, pearls and corals.
- 44 In the course of testing articles that are made or in the course of repairs to old articles, four ways of stealing (are practised): knocking off, cutting out, scratching out or rubbing off. 45 When under the pretext of (discovering) an 'enclosing,' they cut out a bead or a string or a casing, that is knocking off. 46 Or, when in an article with a double base, they insert an object of lead and cut the interior out, that is cutting out. 47 When from solid objects they scratch out with a sharp tool, that is scratching out. 48 When after coating a piece of cloth with the powder of one of the following, (viz.,) yellow orpiment, red arsenic or vermilion, or with the powder of kuruvinda (-stone), they rub the article with it, that is rubbing off. 49 By that articles of gold and silver lose in weight and yet no part of these (articles) gets bruised.
- 50 Of plated articles that are broken or cut or rubbed off, he should form an inference (as to loss) with the help of a similar article. 51 Of coated articles he should form an estimate by cutting out as much as has been cut out (by the artisan). 52 Or, of those that have changed their appearance, he should do heating and rubbing in (acid) water a number of times.
- 41 maṇayo rūpyam etc.: 'inferior gems are pinka, i.e., haraṇopāya (means of pilfering) for genuine gems, silver for gold, and impure gold for pure gold '(com.). It seems more likely, however, that an inferior or impure object of the same class constitutes the pinka or embedding in a superior or pure article of that class; in the case of maṇi, it amounts to nothing more than substitution. Meyer seems to understand maṇayaḥ etc. as stating the material out of which articles are made, adding 'in their case pasting is practised.' But these words are in the nom. and go with pinkaḥ.
 - 43 Cf. 2.13.59. pudgala 'the ornament made.'
- 45 piṭakā seems related to peṭaka and to be some sort of casing. 46 dvi-guṇavāstukānām is strange; we expect dviguṇavāstuke as in s. 39 above. sīsarūpam: this is coated with gold (com. as also Meyer). That may not appear quite necessary. It seems that in parikuṭṭana, some external part is cut out, while in avacchedana a part from the interior is cut out. 48 kuruvinda 'a kind of stone' (com.). Is the meaning 'black salt' given in the lexicons possible?
- 52 $vir\bar{u}p\bar{a}n\bar{a}m$ $v\bar{a}$: Cp renders $v\bar{a}$ by ca, perhaps rightly. Cs, reading a stop after $v\bar{a}$, construes this with the preceding, but instead of supplying $utp\bar{a}ty\bar{a}num\bar{a}nam$ as expected, it supplies $sadr\acute{s}en\bar{a}num\bar{a}nam$, which is little likely. $vir\bar{u}pa$, 'i.e., made inferior in touch by mixing with an alloy' (Cb).

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- 53 Sudden movement of the hand, the weights, the fire, the wooden anvil, the tool-box, the receptacle, the peacock's feather, the thread, garment, talk, the head, the lap, the fly, attention to one's person, the bellows-skin, the water-platter, and the fire-pan, these he should know as the means of pilfering.
- 54 Of silver articles he should know that as fraudulent which smells like raw flesh, easily catches dirt, is rough, very hard or changed in colour.
 - 55 In this manner he should test the new and the old as well as the article that has changed its appearance, and should impose penalties on the (artisans) as prescribed.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

SECTION 33 THE SUPERINTENDENT OF THE MAGAZINE

- 1 The Superintendent of the Magazine should know about agricultural produce, revenue from the country-side, purchase, barter, begging, borrowing, labour in place of taxes, income from other sources, return from expenditure and additional income.
- 2 The various kinds of grains brought in by the Director of Agriculture constitute agricultural produce.
- 53 avakṣepaḥ 'sleight of hand '(Cb Cs). Cj has 'lāghavena sancāraṇam, moving lightly or quickly.' 'Throwing out (in the rubbish),' to be recovered later, is also not unlikely. pratimānam 'substitution while weighing or adjusting weights '(Cb). bhaṇḍikā 'tool-box '(Meyer), 'vessel for collecting molten gold '(Cb). adhikaraṇī 'an iron vessel '(Cb). sūtram 'the thread for measuring or that in the balance, with wax applied over it '(Cb), 'coil of thread used in making the ornament '(Meyer). cellam bollanam: Cj has cellacollanam 'tying the knot with a piece of cloth, vastrakhaṇḍena nīvībandhanam.' Cb seems to have celam pollanam 'garment and talking.' Cp has celanam jo(co)lanam 'jerking of the balance.' Meyer prefers cellacollanam 'folding the garment.' Deśī words are evidently used here. śiraḥ and utsaṅgaḥ are used for concealing gold. kācam 'means of pilfering' seems a meaning developed from that of s. 40 above.
 - 54 prastīnam 'hard.' Cb reads prastītam in the same sense.
- 55 atyayam yathoddişiam: actually no penalties are prescribed in this or the preceding Chapter. Perhaps the fines of 4.1.26 ff, are to be thought of. Breloer (KSt, III, 439-440) thinks that the kārikā belongs to the duties of the suvarņādhyakṣa, not the sauvarņika. That seems to have been Meyer's view too. As it stands, however, the sauvarņika alone can be thought of in the stanza.

2.15

² sītā is produce from state or crown lands. Cf. 2.24 below.

- 3 The aggregate tax, the one-sixth share, provisions for the army, tribute, tax, the 'lap,' the 'side,' compensation for loss, presents, and income from stores constitute revenue from the country-side.
- 4 The price of grains, disposal of treasury and recovery of what is given at interest constitute purchase.
- 5 Exchange of different kinds of grains at a different price is barter.
- 6 Asking for grains from another source is begging. 7 The same, intended to be returned, is borrowing.
- 8 The work of pounding, splitting (pulses), frying, fermenting, and grinding from those who live by these, the pressing of oil from oilmen using the hand press and the round press, and the work of extracting and treating juice of sugar-canes, these constitute labour in place of taxes.
 - 9 What is lost, forgotten and so on is income from other sources.
- 3 pindakarah, i.e., received from the village as a whole, not from individual cultivators. Breloer (KSt, III, 319) thinks of fixed payments which are less than the regular share-tax, e.g., in amelioration contracts or from land given to officers etc. - senābhaktam 'for payment to mercenaries' (Cb); apparently this varied according to the strength of the army. - For bali and kara, see 2.6.3. utsangah 'presents on festive occasions like a prince's birth '(Cp), 'money given on interest' (Cb), 'maintenance of officers (āyuktavṛṭṭiḥ)' (Cj), 'super-tax' (Meyer). pārśvam: see 2.6.20. 'A levy as in 5.2 below' (Cp), 'a surcharge on what has been fixed '(Cb), 'bribe' (Cj), 'impost in case of deficit' (Breloer, III, 321). — pārihīnikam: see 2.6.20. Cj has here 'recovery of outstandings,' mentioning 'confiscation of the goods of those exiled or gone from the country' as the view of others. - kaustheyakam 'income from the stores,' is 'revenue from tanks, parks etc. made by the king' (Cs). Breloer (III, 321) seems to agree with 'receipts from tenants of crown lands' (Cb). - rāṣṭra here differs materially from rāṣṭra in 2.6.3. Breloer thinks of rulership as land-tax corresponding to sarkar amal of modern times (III, 319).
- 4 kośanirhārah 'paying out of the treasury for the purchase of grains '(com.). Meyer understands selling grains to fill the treasury with cash. The former idea seems better. 'The inclusion of recovery of loans under purchase is a bit strange.
- 5 arghāntarena 'at different prices'; the quantities would vary according to price in a fair exchange.
- 8 rocaka 'who separates the two halves of pulses' (com.) audracākrikeṣu is from Cj for aurabhra-. Cj explains 'those who press oil with a machine (audrā hi puṭikā yantreṇa pūḍayanti) and those who use the oil-press going round (cākrikās tu caturṣu pārśveṣu cālyamānena cakreṇa).' The latter is apparently the ghānī; the former was apparently worked by hand. Cb has no explanation of aurabhra-; Cs explains 'who do the work of slaughtering the sacrificial ram'; Meyer has 'shepherds'; Breloer has 'auṣṭrika oil-millers (and cākrika labourers)' (III, 327).— saṃhatikā: some sort of derivation is possible for this form and for saṃhanikā, hardly for siṃhatikā or siṃhanikā. The sense, of course, is technical.

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- 10 Balance due to (army-) disbandment and from undertakings (given up) in the middle because of sickness, is return from expenditure.
- 11 Difference in weights and measures, hand-filling, residue of the heap, surcharge, outstanding (revenue), and earned income, constitute additional income.
- 12 As regards grains, fats, sugars and salts, we shall state rules concerning grains in the (Section on the) Director of Agriculture.
 - 13 Butter, oil, suet and marrow are fats.
- 14 Treacle, jaggery, unrefined sugar and granulated sugar constitute the group of sugars.
- 15 Salt from the Indus-land, sea-salt, bida-salt, salt-petre, borax and salt from saline soil constitute the group of salts.
 - 16 That made by bees and the juice of grapes, are honey.
- 17 One of (the following, viz.,) sugar-cane juice, jaggery, honey, treacle, the juice of jambū-fruit and the juice of panasa-fruit, infused with a decoction of meṣaśṛṅgī and long pepper, kept for one month, six months or a year, (and then) mixed with cidbhita, urvāruka, sugarcane stalk, mango fruit and myrobalan, or unmixed (with these), constitute the group of fermented juices.
- 10 $vyayapraty\bar{a}ya\dot{p}$: see 2.6.21. Cj here gives the same explanation as Cb on that s.
- 11 tulāmānāntaram: there are varying sets of weights and measures for trade and for receipts in the treasury; see 2.19.22, 29. hastapūranam 'holding the hands above the measure so as to take in more grains when measuring out into the treasury' (Cb). It may possibly refer also to the throwing in of a handful or so over and above the grains measured out. utkarah 'what is left over of the heap of grains after the measuring is finished' (Cb). vyājī: cf. 2.6.10. paryuṣitam: cf. 2.6.19 above. prārjitam' gains made by trading' (Cb), 'flowers, betel-leaves etc. raised by the store-keeper himself' (Cs). Breloer understands paryuṣtam prārjitam as one 'reclaimed balances of income' (III, 329).
 - 12 sītādhyakṣe in 2.24 below.
- 14 Meyer understands khanda and śarkarā as two 'candy' and 'grain-sugar,' which also is possible.
- 15 bida 'muriate of soda with small quantities of muriate of lime, sulphur and oxide of iron '(Monier-Williams: Dictionary). udbhedaja 'derived from saline soil '(com.), 'from salt-springs or salt-wells '(Meyer), 'pit-salt '(Breloer, III, 306).
- 16 madhu need not be assumed to be fermented as Breloer (KSt, III, 306 n. 1) thinks.
- 17 cidbhita is a kind of melon. urvāruka is a variety of cucumber. avasuta evidently does not imply infusion over a length of time. śukta seems to be something like vinegar, of which six varieties are mentioned.

- 18 Tamarind, *karamarda*, mango, pomegranate, myrobalan, citron, *kola*, *badara*, *sauvīraka*, *parūṣaka* and others form the group of sour fruit-juices.
 - 19 Curds, sour gruel and others are the group of sour liquids.
- 20 Long pepper, black pepper, ginger, cumin-seed, the bitter kirāta, white mustard, coriander, coraka, damanaka, maruvaka, the stalk of śigru and others constitute the group of spices.
- 21 And dried fish and dried meat, bulbous roots, roots, fruits, vegetables and others constitute the group of vegetables.
- 22 From these he should set apart one half for times of distress for the country people, (and) use the (other) half. 23 And he should replace old (stock) with new.
- 24 He should personally observe the amount of increase or decrease in the grains when pounded, rubbed, ground or fried, and when they are moistened, dry or cooked.
- 25 Of kodrava and vrīhi-rice, one-half is the substance, of śāli-rice, one-half less (than that), of varaka, one-third less. 26 Of priyangu, one-half is the substance with an increase of one-ninth. 27 udāraka has the same mass, also barley and wheat when pounded, and sesame, barley, mudga and māṣa when rubbed. 28 Wheat increases by one-fifth, also fried barley. 29 kalāya-meal is less by one
- 18 kola, badara, $sauv\bar{\imath}rak\bar{a}$ and $par\bar{u}\bar{\imath}aka$ are different kinds of edible berries or jujubes.
 - 19 dhānyāmla sour gruel 'made from the fermentation of rice-water' (Dict.).
- 20 coraka appears to be anise-seed. Many of the names in these ss. including the unusual cidbhita, karamarda, kustumburu, damanaka, maruvaka, etc. have derivatives in Modern Indian Languages.
- 21 Dried fish and meat are included in $\delta \bar{a}ka$ which ordinarily refers to vegetables only. Anything with which broths are made is evidently included here.
 - 23 See 2.4.28 above.
 - 24 ghṛṣṭa 'rubbed 'or 'crushed 'refers to the splitting of pulses etc.
- 25 kodravavīhīṇām: we have to understand kṣuṇṇānām with this. Cj seems to have read this word. ardhabhāgonaḥ may mean one-half less than the ardha, i.e., 1/4th, or the same as ardha, 1/2. In s. 42 the best type of śāli for the king has 1/4th. Cb Cj read aṣṭabhāgonaḥ, one-eighth less than ardha, i.e., 3/8ths. tri-bhāgonaḥ may be 2/3rds (Cb) or 1/2 less 1/3, i.e., 1/6. The latter would be too little. kodrava and varaka are inferior kinds of grains. priyangu and udāraka seem to be varieties of millets. 26 navabhāgavṛddhiḥ: 1/2 plus 1/9, i.e., 11/18. 27 tulyaḥ 'having the same sāra as priyangu' (Cb). The idea rather seems to be that the mass remains the same as before pounding. As Breloer (KSt, III, 310) says, we have to think in terms of mass, not weight. Cb shows no explanation of yavā godhūmāś ca kṣuṇṇāḥ, and it is possible that these words are not original. 28 godhūmāḥ: we may understand ghṛṣṭaḥ with this. 29 kalāya refers to peas. camasī 'meal' (com.).

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- quarter. 30 (Meal) of mudga and māṣa is half a quarter less. 31 Of legumes, one-half is the substance, that of lentils, one-third less.
- 32 Ground flour, uncooked, and *kulmāṣa* become one and a half times (in volume). 33 Barley-meal becomes double, also *pulāka* and cooked flour.
- 34 Of kodrava, varaka, udāraka and priyangu, the cooked preparation is threefold, of vrīhi-rice fourfold, of śāli-rice fivefold.
- 35 Later grains, when moistened, become double, one half more, when sprouted.
- 36 (There is) an increase of one-fifth in the case of fried grains. 37 kalāya becomes double, also fried rice and barley.
- 38 One-sixth is the amount of oil from linseed. 39 From nimba, kuśa, mango, wood-apple and others, one-fifth part (is the amount of oil). 40 Oils from sesame, kusumbha, madhūka and ingudī amount to one-fourth.
 - 41 Of cotton and flax, five palas yield one pala yarn.
- 42 Twelve āḍhakas of rice-grains from five droṇas of śāli-rice are for the feeding of a young elephant, eleven for that of vicious elephants, ten for riding elephants, nine for war-elephants, eight for infantry-men, seven for chiefs, six for the queens and the princes, five for kings or one prastha of rice-grains, unbroken and cleansed.
- 32 pistam apparently refers to flour of wheat and saktu; yava-meal is mentioned separately in the next s. kulmāṣāḥ: 'mudga, māṣa etc.' (com.), 'grains, particularly rice, moistened and half-cooked' (Meyer), 'cooked rice' (Breloer). It may be a kind of grain. 33 yāvakaḥ 'barley-flour' (Cs), 'barley without husk pounded' (Cb), 'yavaudana, a barley and rice preparation(?)' (Cp). pulākaḥ 'put in water and cooked' (Cb); grains moistened and half-cooked are meant for animals; cf. s. 51 below and 2.29.43; 2.30.18.
- 35 timitam 'made wet.' aparānnam 'mudga and so on, because it is grown later' (Cj). Cp understands phalāḍhakī, caṇaka and so on. The reading avarānnam in the sense of 'lower kinds of grains' would probably refer to the same, mudga, māṣa etc. These are often kept in water for some time. When taken out of water, they sprout after a time (virūḍha) and then are used for making bro ths. Cb has 'the preparation of rice which has become moist in the fields (timitam) at the time of ripening and of unripened rice (aparānnam) becomes double.' This is doubtful.

 39 It is not clear if kuśa and āmra are to be understood separately or kušāmra
- as one; cf. 2.17.4.

 41 Breloer remarks (KSt, III, 311-2) that this s. may appear to be in the wrong place, but that cotton and flax are required for sacks useful for storing.
- 42 pañcadrone etc.: i.e., from 20 āḍhakas of paddy, we get 12 āḍhakas of rice, of the roughest quality. In the best or highly polished, the rice yield is only 1/4th of the paddy. Breloer remarks that the four, kalabha, vyāla etc. refer to classes of animals, not to elephants only, and that the next four refer to classes of men, commoners (patti), officers (mukhya), court (devīkumāra) and king (KSt, III, 313).

- 43 One prastha of rice-grains, one-fourth (of that) broth, a quantity of salt one-sixteenth of broth, (and) one-fourth part (of broth) butter or oil constitute one meal of an Ārya male. 44 One-sixth (of a prastha) broth, (and) half the quantity of fat is for the lower classes. 45 One-quarter less for women. 46 One half for children.
- 47 For twenty palas of meat, half a kuduba of fat, one pala of salt, one pala of sugar, two dharanas of spices and half a prastha of curds (should be used). 48 By that higher quantities are explained. 49 For vegetables, one and a half times as much, for dried (meat etc.) twice as much and the same ingredients.
- 50 We shall state the amount of food ration for elephants and horses in the (Sections on the) Superintendents of these.
- 51 For bullocks, one drona of māṣa or a pulāka of barley (shall be added), the rest as laid down for horses. 52 The special (ration for bullocks is) one tulā of oil-cake from the press or ten āḍhakas of broken grains and bran. 53 Twice that for buffaloes and camels. 54 Half a drona for donkeys, spotted deer and red deer. 55 One āḍhaka for eṇa- and kuraṅga-deer. 56 Half an āḍhaka for goats, rams and boars or double that broken grains and bran. 57 One prastha of boiled rice for dogs. 58 Half a prastha for swans, herons and peacocks. 59 For deer, beasts, birds and wild animals other than these, he should cause an estimate to be made from one meal (consumed by them).
- 60 He should cause charcoal and husks to be taken to metal workshops and for plastering walls. 61 He should give the broken
- akhanda-... prasthah: this prastha is not brought into relation with any amount of paddy as Breloer (III, 313) thinks.
- 43 It is proposed to add tandulānām prastham at the beginning. The words are necessary to show the amount of rice in the daily ration. They seem to have dropped out because they had occurred just before at the end of the last s. 44 ardhameni.i.e., half that allowed to an Ārya (1/16 prastha), i.e., 1/32 prastha. If we understand 1/2 of 1/6, i.e., 1/12 prastha (as in Cb Cs and Meyer), that would mean the lower classes are to get more fat than the Ārya, which is unlikely. 45 pādonam applies to all items of s. 43 and 44.
- 47 rimsatyā: the instrumental is unusual; perhaps the risarga after it got dropped out. 49 adhyardha- etc.: Meyer thinks that this applies to curds only or at most to fat and salt also, but not to kṣāra and kaṭuka, with which the word generally used is yoga; for we have yogaḥ separately mentioned here.
 - 50 tadadhyakse, i.e., in 2.31 and 2.30 respectively.
- 51 pulākaḥ: see s. 33 above. The amount of yaras for making it would also be 1 droṇa; cf. 2.29.43. 53 Repeated in 2.29.44. 54 ardhadroṇam: this refers to māṣa or pulāka, not to oil-cake and bran. 59 ataḥ to be construed with ścṣāṇām.— ckabhaktād 'by inspecting food eaten by them in one day ' (com.). It is possible that in s. 43 also cha bhakta refers to the day's ration, not a single meal.

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grains to slaves, labourers and broth-makers, (and) things other than these to dealers in cooked rice and in cakes.

- 62 Implements for weighing and measuring, grinding-stones, pestle and mortar, pounding and crushing machines, scatterer, winnowing basket, sieve, cane-basket, box and broom are the implements.
- 63 Sweeper, watchman, weigher, measurer, supervisor of measuring, giver, supervisor of delivery, receiver of tallies, and the group of slaves and labourers, these are the workmen.
 - 64 On high should be the storing place for grains; close-knit grass bags for sugar; earthen jars and wooden casks for fats; and the earth (should be the storing place) for salt.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

SECTION 34 THE DIRECTOR OF TRADE

- 1 The Director of Trade should be conversant with the differences in the prices of commodities of high value and of low value and the popularity or unpopularity of goods of various kinds, whether produced on land or in water (and) whether they have arrived along land-routes or water-routes, also (should know about) suitable times for resorting to dispersal or concentration, purchase or sale.
- 61 kanikāḥ would appear to be larger than kaṇa on which the animals are fed.

 ato nyad seems to refer to surplus food from the royal kitchen. It is not clear from prayacchet if it was sold.
- 62 rocanīdrsad 'the grinding stones,' for which rocanī alone is used in 3.8.11.

 kuṭṭakayantra 'pādakramanīyam uṣṭragrīvākāram' (Cj). rocakayantra 'a machine for crushing pulses etc.' (Cb) 'hastabhramanīyam' (Cj). patraka 'a wooden scatterer' (Cp), 'a wooden pounder' (Cb), 'fan' (Meyer).
- 63 dharaka 'holder' of scales, i.e., weigher. Meyer has 'keeper, preserver.' māpaka who supervises measuring. Cb has 'measurer of length.' śalākāpratigrāhaka the receiver of sticks or tallies for counting, an accountant (cf. salākāgāhaka of Pali texts). Cj renders by kalayitā 'counter.' Cb has 'who supervises grinding and pounding.' viṣṭiḥ: Breloer remarks (III, 304) that 'state worker' is a better rendering of viṣṭi.
- $64 \ m\bar{u}t\bar{a}h$: from mav 'to bind' is a woven basket or grass bag. The word is Vedic. Breloer (III, 304-5) says that the Chapter mentions other groups besides these four and hence the $k\bar{a}rik\bar{a}$ seems taken from elsewhere. The four, however, are the principal groups among edibles (cf. s. 12). The other groups (ss. 16-21) are secondary, and needed no special mention for this purpose.

2.16

1 sāraphalgvarghāntaram 'differences in the prices of sāra and phalgu goods' (com.) is better than 'what is sāra, what is phalgu and fluctuations in their prices' (Meyer). — vikṣepa is dispersal of goods in many places for sale, and saṅnkṣepa is concentration in one place only for sale, as described in this Chapter. — prayoga

- 2 And that commodity which may be plentiful, he should collect in one place and raise the price. 3 Or, when the price is reached, he should fix another price.
- 4 He should establish in one place trade in royal commodities that are produced in his own country; in many places, in those produced in foreign lands. 5 And he should cause both to be sold so as to favour the subjects. 6 And he should avoid even a big profit that would be injurious to the subjects. 7 He should not create a restriction as to time or the evil of a glut in the market in the case of commodities constantly in demand.
- 8 Or, traders should sell royal goods in many places with the price fixed. 9 And they should pay compensation in accordance with the loss (sustained).
- 10 One-sixteenth part is the surcharge in measure by capacity, one-twentieth part in measure by weighing, one-eleventh part of commodities sold by counting.
- 11 He should encourage the import of goods produced in foreign lands by (allowing) concessions. 12 And to those (who bring such goods) in ships or caravans, he should grant exemptions (from taxes) that would enable a profit (to be made by them). 13 And no law-
- 'use, employment.' Meyer's 'lending at interest' is little likely. Breloer (KSt, III, 332 n. 1) proposes -prayogakalpān 'the kind and manner (kalpa) of actions (prayoga) viz., distribution and collection, for purchase and sale.' That is not very happy.
- 3 prāpte 'rghe either because the commodity has ceased to be plentiful or the demand for it is greater. arghāntaram, i.e., a lower price.
- 4 ekamukham, i.e., concentrated in one place. Foreign goods are to be sold in many centres probably to make them easily available for the country people as well. 5 Cf. 4.2.27, 35. 6 In view of api, sūkṣmam would have been better than sthūlam. 7 ajasrapanya 'that are constantly in demand or always sold '(com.); 'which must be fresh' (Breloer, III, 340). Milk, vegetables, etc. are meant. samkula- 'crowding,' i.e., glutting the market.
- 9 cheda is the loss suffered by the state because it has not itself engaged in the trade and made the usual profit.
- 10 According to 'others' in Cb, $vy\bar{a}j\bar{\imath}$ goes to the customer. In the text, however, it is evidently a source of state income. Cj has 'sodaśaprasthā vikrīnānaḥ ekam nīvartayet, krīnānaḥ saptadaśakam adhikam gṛḥṇīyāt,' i.e., according to it the $vy\bar{a}j\bar{\imath}$ operates two ways between the trader and the customer. That is unlikely.
- 12 āyatikṣamam: āyati is 'income' (2.9.10,11, etc.) as well as 'future' (2.10.36, 48, etc.). So we may have 'capable of yielding an income, i.e., profit' or 'yielding profit in the future' (Cp). 13 anabhiyogam, i.e., the dispute is to be settled by the panyādhyakṣa himself. sabhyopakāribhyaḥ: i.e., when they are partners in a native corporation or its associates (or assistants), suits can be filed against them. Cb reads sahopakāribhyaḥ and explains 'if there is a quarrel between a foreign merchant and a native merchant, the king shall not show partiality (abhi-

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suit in money matters (should be allowed) against foreign traders, except such as are members (of native concerns) and (their) associates.

- 14 Officers in charge of (royal) goods shall deposit the price of goods (sold), in one place, in a wooden box having a lid with one opening. 15 And in the eighth part of the day, they should hand it over to the Director of Trade, declaring, 'This much is sold; this is left over.' 16 They should also hand over the implements of weighing and measuring.
- 17 Thus (the sale of goods) in one's own territory has been explained.
- 18 In foreign territory, however, he should ascertain the price and the value of the commodity (taken out) and the commodity (to be brought) in exchange and should calculate the profit after clearing expenses for duty, road-cess, escort-charges, picket- and ferry-dues, food and fodder and share. 19 Should there be no profit, he should see if there is any advantage in taking out goods or in bringing in goods in exchange for goods. 20 Then with a quarter of the goods of high value, he should set going trade by land along a safe route. 21 And he should establish contacts with forest chieftains, frontier officers, and chiefs in the city and the country-side, to secure their favour. 22 In case of a calamity, he should rescue the goods of high value or himself. 23 Or, if he has reached his destination, he should carry on

yoga); if, however, benefit has been conferred by him, partiality may be shown to him.' abhiyoga as 'partiality' is doubtful.

14 panyādhiṣṭhātāraḥ are clearly salesmen in state service. 15 ahnaś ca aṣṭame bhāge, i.e., the last part of the day. Cf. 1.19.6 ff.

18 panyapratipanyayoh: panya is the commodity taken out, and pratipanya the commodity brought in exchange for it. Breloer seems to understand the opposite 'the ware (asked for) and the counter-ware (offered in return) '(III, 345). argha seems to be the selling price, while mūlya is its cost price or value. Breloer understands argha of panya and mūlya of pratipanya. — ātivāhika 'escort charges; 'cf. 2.28.25 etc. Cb curiously has 'paid to those who go in the morning (?).' — gulma seems to be a sort of police or military picket, stationed in places of danger. Cb has 'paid (deya) to those who stay in the forest.' - bhāga 'share' claimed by the foreign state as, e.g., in the case of salt, 2.12.29 etc. - For the s., cf. 2.35.12 below. 19 bhāndanirvahanena: Cp reads bhāndānirvahanena by not taking out '; that is less likely. - lābham is some political or strategic advantage. 20 tatah, i.e., in either case, whether there is profit to be made or some advantage to be secured. — sārapādena, i.e., 1/4th of the total goods taken out are to be sāra, the rest phalgu. Cb has 'giving one-fourth of what is agreed upon as profit, i.e., at a cost of 1/4th of the calculated profit,' Meyer ' with strong beasts of burden,' Breloer 'one-fourth of the four types of goods (ratna, sāra, phalgu, kupya), viz., sāra.' These explanations appear doubtful. 21 Cf. 1.16.7. 22 āpadi, e.g., when the caravan is attacked by robbers. 23 ātmano vā bhumim aprāptah: ātmano bhūmim seems to refer to the foreign land that was the destination. The idea may the trade after paying all dues. 24 And on the water-route he should ascertain hire for boats, provisions on the journey, price and amount of (his) goods and of the goods in exchange, seasons suited for voyage, precautions against dangers and regulations at the ports.

25 And along river-routes, he should ascertain (conditions of) trade from the (port) regulations and should proceed to where there is profit and avoid absence of profit.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

SECTION 35 THE DIRECTOR OF FOREST PRODUCE

- 1 The Director of Forest Produce should cause forest produce to be brought in by guards in the produce forests. 2 And he should start factories for forest produce. 3 And he should fix dues from those cutting produce forests, also penalty, except in cases of distress.
 - 4 The group of forest produce (is as follows):

śāka, tiniśa, dhanvana, arjuna, madhūka, tilaka, sāla, śimśapā, arimeda, rājādana, śirīṣa, khadira, sarala, tāla, sarja, aśvakarṇa, somavalka, kuśa, āmra, priyaka, dhava and others (constituting) the group of (trees with) hard wood.

5 uṭaja, cimiya, cāpa, veṇu, vaṁśa, sātina, kaṇṭaka, bhāllūka and others (constituting) the group of reeds.

then be, if he fails to reach it and finds himself in some other land, he sould carry on the trade according to the laws of that land. This is not very satisfactory. Cs understands by ātmano bhūmi the native land of the panyādhyakṣa, i.e., when he has not come back and is still in the foreign land. vā has little significance here. Perhaps bhumim prāptah should be read 'reaching his destination,' vā showing the option to āpadī. It seems that Cp does read bhūmim prāptah and understand the destination intended. The translation is in accordance with this reading. 24 yānabhāgaka-: Cb's -bhāṭaka would appear more appropriate in the sense of 'hire.' Though the state owned boats and hired them out (2.28.3-5) private boats also are thought of, and in case of need could be hired by the state. — panyapattanacāritra: cf. 2.28.7 below.

27 nadipathe: apparently, the preceding s. primarily dealt with sea-voyage.

2.17

- 3 deyam: Cb Cs understand 'wages to be paid to those who cut the trees.' However, deya usually refers to what is due to the state (cf. 2.16.18, 23), and seems to refer here to fees charged for taking fuel or timber from state forests. atyayam is penalty for taking these things without paying the dues. anyatra āpadbhyah when no charges are recovered.
- 4 kuśāmra is read as in 2.15.39 and understood as two; otherwise the mango tree would find no mention at all.
- 5 The commentators thus differentiate: 'uṭaja with big holes, slender thorns and a rough surface, cimiya without holes and with a soft surface, cāpa with small

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- 6 vetra, śīkavallī, vāśī, śyāmalatā, nāgalatā and others (constituting) the group of creepers.
- 7 mālatī, mūrvā, arka, śaṇa, gavedhukā, atasī and others (constituting) the group of fibre-plants.
- 8 muñja, balbaja and others (constituting raw) material for ropes.
 - 9 The leaves of tālī, tāla and bhūrja.
 - 10 The flowers of kimśuka, kusumbha and kunkuma.
- 11 Bulbous roots, roots, fruits and others (constituting) the group of medicinal plant products.
- 12 kālakūṭa, vatsanābha, hālāhala, meṣaśṛṅga, mustā, kuṣṭha, mahāviṣa, vellitaka, gaurārdra, bālaka, mārkaṭa, haimavata, kā'iṅgaka, dāradaka, aṅkolasāra, auṣṭraka, and other poisons, serpents and insects, these same kept in jars, (all constituting) the group of poisons.
- 13 Skin, bones, bile, tendons, eyes, teeth, horns, hooves and tails of the lizard, *seraka*, leopard, bear, dolphin, lion, tiger, elephant, buffalo, *camara*, *sṛmara*, rhinoceros, bison and *gavaya*, and also of other deer, beasts, birds and wild animals.
- 14 Iron, copper, steel, bronze, lead, tin, vaikṛntaka and brass (constituting the group of) metals.
 - 15 Vessels made of split bamboo-cane and of clay.
- 16 Charcoal, husks and ashes; enclosures for deer, beasts, birds and wild animals and enclosures for fuel and grass.

holes and very rough, venu without thorns and fit for the bow, sātina with many projecting thorns, kaṇṭaka with wheat-like fruit, and bhāllūka with long joints.'

- 6 According to Cb, śīkavallī is also called hamsavallī and nāgalatā is also called nāgajihvā.
 - 11 auşadha is the product of a plant (oṣadhi) with a medicinal property.
- 12 Some of the poisons are well-known; the identification of others is uncertain. mārkata 'so called because the shape of its root is like the monkey's penis '(Cb Cs). haimavata, kālingaka and dāradaka are names derived from the regions of their origin, Darada being in North-west India. austraka 'shaped ilke a camel's penis' (Cb, which seems to have read austrika). kumbhagatāh, i.e., preserved for use against enemies.
- 13 seraka may be the same as sīraka 'porpoise.' It is 'the white-skinned $godh\bar{a}$ ' (Cs). rkṣa after dvīpi is from Cb; it seems genuine. sṛmara 'a kind of deer' (Dict.), 'same as śarabha' (Cs). asthi twice as in the mss. is clearly wrong; we have to read akṣi in one place. Eyes of animals are of use, as is shown by 14.3.1, 6.
- 14 The metals would come from mines, which are under the ākarādhyakṣa (2.12 above). The kupyādhyakṣa, in fact, appears to be stationed in the city in charge of the kupyagrha, though the cutting of trees etc. is evidently his concern.
 - 16 mṛgapaśu etc. are items of expenditure in 2.6.11.

17 Separate factories making all kinds of goods should be erected, outside as well as inside, by the Director of Forest Produce, for ensuring livelihood and protection of the city.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

SECTION 36 THE SUPERINTENDENT OF THE ARMOURY

- 1 The Superintendent of the Armoury should cause to be made machines for use in battles, for the defence of forts and for assault on the enemies' cities, also weapons, armours and accourrements by artisans and artists expert in those lines, producing goods with an agreement as to the amount of work, time allowed and wages, and should store them in places suitable for each. 2 He should frequently change their places and expose them to sun and wind. 3 He should store in a different way what is being damaged by heat, moisture or insects. 4 And he should know them by their class, appearance, characteristics, quantity, source, price and place of storing.
- 5 sarvatobhadra, jāmadagnya, bahumukha, viśvāsaghātin, samghātī, yānaka, parjanyaka, bāhū, ūrdhvabāhu, and ardhabāhu are fixed machines.
- 17 bahir antas ca: i.e., in the country and in the city respectively. Meyer has 'outside and inside the forests.' vibhaktāḥ, i.e., a separate factory for each class of manufacture. Breloer (III, 297 n. 1) has 'not close together' from the strategical point of view so that they do not fall in the enemy's hands all at the same time. ājīvapurarakṣārthāḥ, i.e., 'by providing ploughs, pestles etc. for ājīva and machines, weapons etc. for purarakṣā' (Cs). kupyopajīvin is the same as kupyādhyakṣa, as Cj shows.

2.18

- 1 ca yantram is proposed for cakrayantram of the mss. and yantram of Cb. ca is necessary; -kra- seems to have been added after it under the impression that all yantras are based on the wheel. tajjāta: cf. 2.5.8 etc. karmapramāna refers to the amount of work, while phalanispatti refers to the type of work to be done, according to Meyer. Cb explains 'who produce articles after an agreement is made that so much work is to be done in so much time for so much wage.' This appears better. 4 nikṣepa 'scabbards' (Cb) i.e., containers. It may also mean 'a place for storing' corresponding to nidhāna of 2.11.116.
- 5 sarvatobhadra ' of the size of a cart-wheel with a sharp rim, placed in the hands of a gandharva in a wall and sending stones all round when turned ' (com.). jāmadagnya ' a dhanuryantra, discharging big arrows through a hole in the centre ' (Cb), ' discharging weapons of all kinds in various ways ' (Cj). bahunukha ' a place for archers on the tower etc., with many holes for shooting from ' (Cj), ' a tower with 3 or 4 decks, with a leather-shield placed on wheels, from which arrows are shot ' (Cb). viśvāsaghātin ' a beam outside the city-wall placed crosswise and slaying when released by a mechanism ' (Cb). samghātī ' a fire machine, made of long beams, for setting fire to turrets ' (com.). yānaka ' one danda

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- 6 pāñcālika, devadaṇḍa, sūkarikā, musalayaṣṭi, hastivāraka, tālavṛnta, hammer, mace, spṛktalā, spade, āsphāṭima, utpāṭima, udghāṭima, śataghni, trident and discus are mobile machines.
- 7 śakti, prāsa, kunta, hāṭaka, bhindipāla, śūla, tomara, varāhakarṇa, kaṇaya, karpaṇa; trāsikā and others are (weapons) with piercing points.
- 8 Made from tāla, cāpa, wood and horn, (and known as) kārmuka, kodaņda and drūņa are the bows. 9 mūrvā, arka, śaṇa, gavedhu, veņu and sinews (of animals) are bow-strings. 10 veņu, śara, śalākā,

- 6 pāñcālika 'a wooden plank thickly studded with iron nails and placed in the moat to obstruct the enemy' (com.). - devadanda 'a big beam without nails placed on the wall '(Cp) apparently for hurling down like a bolt from the blue. Cj has 'a stick one aratni long discharged by a machine (yantrakṣepyo'ratnimātro lakutah).' - sūkarikā 'a leather bag stuffed with cotton, wool etc. for protecting turrets etc. from stones '(Cj), or, 'a pig-shaped cane-bag covered with leather to prevent storming of the wall ' (Cp). - musalayasti 'a pike made of the khadira wood.' - hastivāraka 'a bar for striking down elephants '(Cb) 'or, a pike with two or three points '(Cp). - tālavṛnta 'a vātacakra '(com.) apparently producing a strong wind and raising dust. - mudgara 'hammer' and gadā 'mace' are 'yantrakṣepye discharged from machines' (Cj). - spṛktalā a mace with sharp nails (Cp); Cj, which reads spṛktulā has 'aśmatulāntaragatāśāvataraṇāt bahir aśmano muñcati' which is far from clear. — āsphāṭima 'a sort of catapult with four leather-covered pillars' (com.). - utpāṭima 'a sort of wrench for pulling down pillars.' — udaghāṭima 'a mudgara-shaped machine.' Meyer remarks that -ima forms have a passive sense and hence we have to understand weapons that themselves burst or are uprooted or opened. - śalaghni (for the short -ghni, cf. 2.3.34) 'a big pillar studded with big and long nails with a cart-wheel at one end and placed on the wall' (com.), probably intended to be hurled down.
- 7 śakti '4 hastas long, all-metal, with the tip shaped like the karavīra-leaf and the head like a cow's nipple.' prāsa '24 angulas long, all-metal, with wood inside, having two backs.' kunta '7, 6 or 5 hastas long,' 'a weapon for horse-riders' (Cj). hāṭaka 'similar to kunta, but with a three-pointed tip' (Cj). bhindipāla 'same as kunta, but with a broad tip.' śūla 'with one point, length not fixed.' tomara '4, 4 1/2 or 5 hastas long, with an arrow-shaped tip.' varāhakarna 'same as prāsa (tomara, Cj) with tip shaped like a boar's ear.' kaṇaya '20, 22 or 24 aṅgulas long, (tomara, with tridents at each end and a grip in the middle.' karpaṇa (kampana all-metal, with tridents at each end and a grip in the middle.' karpaṇa (kampana Cj) 'an arrow of the size of tomara, 7, 8 or 9 karṣas in weight to be thrown by the hand.' trāsikā 'all-metal, of the size of prāsa, with a tuft at one end.' hula- 'spike' is more likely than hala- 'plough-share' of Cb Cs.
- 8 kārmuka- etc.: Meyer thinks that the names correspond to the four types of materials and hence would read -drūnaśārngāni or understand dhanus itself as the name of the horn-made bow. However, kārmuka seems to contain a reference to

daṇḍāsana and nārāca are arrows. 11 Their tips for cutting, piercing and striking are made of iron, bone or wood.

- 12 nistrimśa, mandalāgra and asiyaṣṭi are swords. 13 The horn of the rhinoceros and buffalo, the tusk of the elephant, wood and bamboo-root form the hilts.
- 14 paraśu, kuthāra, pattasa, khanitra, spade, saw, and kāndacc'edana are razor-type weapons.
- 15 Stones for use in machines, in slings and by hand, and mill-stones are stone-weapons.
- 16 A coat of mail of metal rings or metal plates, an armour of fabrics, and combinations of skin, hooves and horns of dolphin, rhinoceros, dhenuka, elephant and bull, are armours. 17 Helmet, neckguard, cuirass, robe, coat of mail, breast-plate and thigh-guard, box, leather shield, hastikarna, tālamūla, dhamanikā, kapāṭa, kiṭikā, apratihata and balāhakānta are shields.

karman 'action' and kodanda to its length 'almost a danda' and not to the material of which they are made. 10 \$alākā is 'made of wood,' dandāsana is 'ardhanārāca,' and nārāca is 'all-metal' (com.).

- 12 nistrimśa is 'short' (Cj), 'has a curved tip' (Cp). The name may contain a reference to length 'beyond thirty (angulas?).' mandalāgra 'straight with a round tip.' asiyaṣṭi 'thin and long.' 13 viṣāṇa 'horn' as well as 'tusk.'
- 14 paraśu 'all-metal, 24 angulas long.' paṭṭasa 'an axe with a trident at one end or both ends.' kāṇḍacchedana 'a big axe' (Cp), 'kāṇḍāsikā' (Cb).
- 15 goṣpaṇa: Cb reads gāvaṇa and explains gāvaṇapāṣāṇa by 'catapult.' cāśmāyudhāni from Cb is clearly preferable to cārāyudhāni 'awl-like weapons' of the mss.
- 16 Commentators read lohajālajālikā- etc. Cb explains 'helmet for the head (lohajāla), headless armour (jālikā), armour (paṭṭa) and armour with many flaps or folds (kavaca).' Similarly Cp, which construes loha with each term up to kavaca. It may be, however, that kavaca made either of lohajālikā or of lohapatta is alone to be understood. - sūtrakankaṭa evidently made of cotton cloth with stuffing inside; they are made by the sūtrādhyakṣa as 2.23.10 shows. - carmakhuraetc., i.e., the entire skin with hooves, horns etc. is used as an armour. 17 kūrpāsa 'with half-sleeves'; kañcuka 'up to the knees'; vāravāṇa 'up to the ankle' (see 2.11.99 above); paṭṭa ' without arms and not made of metal '; $n\bar{a}godarik\bar{a}$ ' a thighguard' (Cj). - peți 'a cover made of wood and creepers'; hastikarna 'a board used as a cover.' — tālamūla: cf. 2.3.7 above. — dhamanikā 'a cloth-bag into which wind is blown' (Cp); a leather-bellows may appear more likely. kapāṭa 'a door-fly.' — kiṭikā 'made of cane-work and leather.' Meyer has 'a light shield.' - apratihata, 'i.e., hastivāraka, warder off of elephants' (Cp), 'hastavāraka hand-guard (?)' (Cs). — balāhakānta 'same as apratihata with iron strips at the end.' Cb shows the form varāhakānta 'beloved of the boars.' - āvaraņāni: from śirastrāņa up to nāgodarikā we have coverings for the soldiers' persons, from petī onwards shields or covers as protection.

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- 18 Objects used in giving training to elephants, chariots and horses, objects used for their decoration and arrangements for their equipment are the accourrements.
 - 19 Illusion magic and secret practices are (secret) work.
 - 20 And concerning the factories,

the Master of the Armoury should know the desire (of the king), the carrying out of the undertaking, the manufacture, fraud (if practised), gain, loss and expenditure of (the various types of) forest produce.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

SECTION 37 STANDARDISATION OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

- 1 The Superintendent of Standardisation should cause factories to be established for the manufacture of standard weights and measures.
- 2 Ten māṣa-beans make one māṣaka of gold, or five guñjā-berries.
 3 Sixteen of these make one suvarṇa or karṣa. 4 A pala is equivalent to four karṣas.
- 5 Eighty-eight white mustard-seeds make one māṣaka of silver.
 6 Sixteen of these make one dharana, or twenty śimbā-beans.
 - 19 This karma or secret work is described in Books 13 and 14 below.
- 20 karmāntānām ca to be construed with the following stanza. Since the stanza refers to forest produce factories, Cp says that it applies to the preceding Chapter as well. Most of the weapons came from those factories and hence the Armoury Superintendent must be conversant with them. vyājam 'fraud' from Cb is preferable to vyājīm; the latter is out of place. uddayam 'gain, profit' (Cb Cs). Sorabji had proposed udgamam 'source, origin.' Meyer proposes vyājamudriyam or vyājamudritam 'fraud and stamping' or vyājamad dvayam 'deceitful duplicity' or vyājam adbhutam 'fraud and the wonderful.' None is an improvement. Cj seems to have read yogam vyājīm samudayam. Cb's explanation appears least unsatisfactory.

2.19

pautava is derived from potu going back to the root $p\bar{u}$ to purify, refine, rectify. It stands for standardisation of weights and measures.

- 2 māṣaka is the name of a weight (equal to 1/16 suvarņa and also referred to as māṣa) as well as of a copper coin (equivalent to 1/16th of a paṇa; 2.12.24). This has led to some confusion. A gunjā-seed is 2 or 1.80 grains (Fleet, JRAS, 1915, p. 228) or 1.8295 grains (A. S. Hemmy, JRAS, 1937, pp. 1-26). A karṣa, which is 80 times that comes to a little less than a modern tolā. A karṣa or suvarṇa is the weight of the paṇa as well as of the coin māṣaka (between which and the weight māṣaka there is no relation of identity). 'Karṣa is the name of a weight in ancient Iran as well. The weight in India was therefore an importation from Western Asia like the Vedic Manā or Minā.' (F. W. Thomas, JRAS, 1916, p. 366)
 - 5-6 If, as seems very likely, the pala of 10 dharanas (s. 20) is the same as the

- 7 A dharana of diamond weighs twenty rice-grains.
- 8 A half-māṣaka, a māṣaka, two, four, eight māṣakas, a suvarṇa, two, four, eight suvarṇas, also ten, twenty, thirty, forty (and) one hundred (suvarṇas), (are denominations of weights). 9 By that are explained (denominations of) dharaṇas.
- 10 Weights should be made of iron (or) of stone from the Magadhas or the Mekala hills or such as would not increase in weight by water and smearing or decrease in weight by heat.
- 11 Beginning with six angulas (in length) and rising successively by eight angulas, he should cause ten balance-beams to be made, one pala of metal onwards (in weight) increased successively by one pala, with scale-pans on the two sides of the fulcrum or a pan (on one side only).
- 12 He should cause the samavṛttā (balance) to be made of metal thirty-five palas (in weight) and seventy-two aṅgulas in length.

 13 Fixing a ball (of metal) five palas in weight (at one end), he should cause the level to be secured (for marking zero). 14 From that (point)

pala of 4 karşas (s. 4) 88 mustard-seeds would be equivalent to 2 $gu\tilde{n}j\bar{a}s$, so that the silver $m\tilde{a}saka$ would be 2/5ths of a gold $m\tilde{a}saka$. Manu, 8.134-135, has the same ratio between the gold $m\tilde{a}sa$ and the silver $m\tilde{a}saka$.

- 8 Weights of these denominations are meant to be manufactured. 9 For silver, dharana would appear in place of suvarna.
- 10 Maikala hills are in Madhya Pradesh. In view of -maya, -śilā- for -śaila- would have been better.
- 11 The lengths would be 6, 14, 22... 78 angulas and weights 1, 2, 3... 10 palas respectively. The beams would be very thin. yantram ubhayataḥśikyam vā: the translation follows the commentators. Cb has 'with pans on both sides of the fulcrum (yantra) or a pan on one side only,' understanding by the latter the steelyard type of balance described in the following ss. It is also possible that yantra as 'mechanism' refers to the steelyard type of balance and ubhayataḥśikya to the pair of scales. Meyer has 'on each of the two sides, there shall be a contrivance (yantra) or a scale-pan.' What contrivance is meant is not clear.
- 12 This beam would be thicker. samavṛttā 'even-rounded' is the name of the balance. 13 manḍalam etc.: it seems that the steelyard type is described here. According to Cb, a metal ball (manḍala) weighing five palas is to be tied at one end, while the thing to be weighed is to be suspended at the other end; then the beam is to be lifted with a string, the point at which equilibrium is secured showing the weight of the object in accordance with the markings. It seems that this type of balance is still used in Malabar, being called tulākkol. It does not seem possible to understand the fully developed steelyard, in which the beam is suspended from above at a fulcrum dividing it into two unequal arms, the object being at the shorter end and a poise being shifted along the markings on the longer arm to indicate the weight when equilibrium is found. manḍala can hardly refer to such a poise. samakaraṇam kārayet: this seems to refer to the marking of zero at the point where equilibrium is secured with the manḍala at one end and nothing at the other (perhaps only a light pan). 14 tatah, i.e., from the zero thus found and marked. The

onwards, he should cause markings to be made for one *karṣa*, increased by a *karṣa* up to one *pala*, then increased by a *pala* up to ten *palas*, then for twelve, fifteen and twenty *palas*. 15 Thereafter, he should cause markings to be made increased by ten up to one hundred *palas*. 16 In the 'fives' he should cause it to be covered with *nāndī* (the *svastīka* mark).

- 17 He should cause a balance (called) parimāṇī to be made with double this amount of metal and ninety-six angulas in length. 18 On that he should cause markings to be made beyond one hundred for twenty, fifty and (two) hundred (palas).
 - 19 A bhāra contains twenty tulā-weights.
- 20 A pala contains ten dharanas. 21 One hundred of these palas is the revenue measure. 22 Less by five palas (successively) are measures for trade, for payments and for measuring out to the

length between zero and the beam's end is to be divided for markings up to one hundred palas. — akṣṣu nāndīpinaddham: akṣa is a multiple of five, 5, 10, 15 etc. (com.). nāndī is 'svastika' (Cp), 'a mark of the crow's foot' (Cj), 'mark of the wedge' (Cb). pinaddha then would mean 'covered,' i.e., marked, perhaps even carved, engraved. The reading naddhrī would mean 'a strap,' pinaddha would then be possible in the sense of 'tied' and akṣa in the sense of 'the pivot.' But it is not easy to see pivots, straps etc. in the balance described here. For tulā, cf.: 'The balances with which the Hindus weigh things are charistiones, of which the weights are immovable, while the scales move on certain marks and lines. Therefore, the balance is called tulā. The first lines mean the units of the weight from 1 to 5 and further on to 10; the following lines mean the tens, 10, 20, 30 etc.' (Alberuni's India, tr. C. Sachau, I, 164-5).

20 Cp states that this pala is bigger than the other pala by 1 karşa, i.e., has 5 karşas in it instead of 4. How this relation is arrived at is not clear. However, tat in the next s. might suggest that a different pala is thought of here. Nevertheless, āyamānī is clearly the same as the samavrttā. 22 Thus the vyāvahārikī weighs up to 95 palas, each pala being $9\frac{1}{2}$ dharanas, beam-metal 33 palas and length 66 angulas. The values for the other two are 90, 9, 31, 60 and 85, 81, 29, 54 respectively. The three $tul\bar{a}s$ would actually weigh up to $902\frac{1}{2}$, 810 and $722\frac{1}{2}$ dharanas only instead of 1000 as in the ayamani. Meyer says 'the dharana of the trade is greater than that of the revenue measure by 1/20th, that for servants by 2/20th and that for harem by 3/20th; in 100 palas this gives 5, 10 and 15 palas more respectively. So that the difference is squared and what is differently weighed is in reality the same (just as in the different systems of Indian philosophy). Thus is reached the highest triumph of the Indian spirit: a refined system.' Where he gets different values for the dharana is not clear. And such classifications, with no practical effect whatsoever, cannot, in fairness, be attributed to the author of the present work. Meyer also gives 51, 49 and 47 as the weights of the beams. It is difficult to see how he arrives at these figures. 53 is nowhere mentioned as the weight of the ayamani beam; 35 is mentioned for the samavrtta. — antahpura $bh\bar{a}jan\bar{\imath}$: the smallest measure is for delivery to the palace, apparently because the king could then plead that if he paid to others by a measure smaller than the revenue measure, he himself received by a still smaller measure.

- palace. 23 Of these, the pala is (successively) less by half a dharana, the metal of the upper (beam, successively) less by two palas and the length (successively) less by six aṅgulas.
- 24 In the case of the former two, an excess (in weight) of five palas (is to be received) except in cases of meat, metals, salt and gems.
- 25 The balance made of wood (should be) eight hastas (long), provided with markings (or) with weights (and) supported by 'peacock's feet.'
- 26 Twenty-five palas of fire-wood are a means of cooking one prastha of rice. 27 This is an indication for more and for less.
 - 28 Thus weights and balances have been explained.
- 29 Now, two hundred palas of māṣa-beans make one droṇa for revenue measures, one hundred and eighty-seven and a half palas, (the droṇa) for trade, one hundred and seventy-five palas, for making payments, (and) one hundred sixty-two and a half palas, for measuring out to the palace.
- 30 Of these, $\bar{a}dhaka$, prastha and kuduba are smaller measures, being each one-fourth of the preceding. 31 Sixteen dronas make one $kh\bar{a}r\bar{\imath}$. 32 Twenty dronas make one kumbha. 33 Ten kumbhas make one vaha.
- 34 He should cause measures to be made of dry, hard wood, even, with one-fourth-as top-heap, or with the heap included inside.
 35 However, in the case of liquids, wine, flowers and fruits, husk
- 24 $p\bar{u}rvayoh$, 'i.e., of $samavrtt\bar{a}$ and $parim\bar{a}n\bar{i}$ ' (Cp). $pray\bar{a}mah$ 'extension,' i.e., an addition in weight. This seems to mean in effect that 5% and 2 1/2% respectively are received in addition in revenue receipts. Perhaps this is the same as $vy\bar{a}j\bar{i}$ mentioned elsewhere.
- 25 kāṣṭhatulā 'balance made of hard wood' (com.) rather than 'balance for weighing fuel' (Meyer). padavatī, i.e., of the steelyard type, while pratimānavatī implies two scale-pans; the two cannot go together. A vā seems necessary after the latter word. mayūrapada- refers to the frame-work supporting the balance-beam. Nārada, 2.273, describes the toraṇa, consisting of two posts 1 or 1½ hasta away from each other with a transverse beam on top from which the balance beam is suspended. This toraṇa does resemble a peacock's feet.
 - 26 As Cs says this really belongs to the province of the Stores Officer.
- 29 On the basis of 2 grains to a $gu\tilde{n}j\tilde{a}$, a drona would have 128,000 grains by weight, approximating a capacity of a little over 500 cubic inches or a little less than a quarter bushel or 2 gallons.
- 33 Meyer, calculating 37 1/2 bushels in a vaha, remarks that this amount of a cart-load implies that roads were in a very good condition.
- 34 caturbhāgaśikham, i.e., 3/4ths of the actual amount is inside the measure, 1/4th being the heap on the top; antaḥśikham where all four parts are inside the measure and there is no heaping on top. 35 rasasya tu: com. understand antaḥ-

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and charcoal, and lime, the measure of the top-heap is an increase that is double.

- 36 One paṇa and a quarter (should be) the price of a droṇa; three-quarters, of an āḍhaka; six māṣakas, of a prastha; one māṣaka, of a kuḍuba. 37 The price of the measures for liquids and others (should be) double. 38 (The price) of the weights (should be) twenty paṇas. 39 One-third that, the price of the balance.
- 40 He should cause a stamping (of the weights and measures) to be made every four months. 41 The penalty for unstamped (weights etc.) is twenty-seven paṇas and a quarter. 42 (Traders) shall pay a stamping fee amounting to one kākaṇī every day to the Superintendent of Standardisation.
- 43 One-thirty-second part is the surcharge for heating in the case of clarified butter, one-sixty-fourth part in the case of oil. 44 One-fiftieth part is the flow from the measure in the case of liquids.
- 45 He should cause measures of a half-kuduba, a quarter-kuduba and one-eighth kuduba to be made.

śikham with this and read a stop here. Perhaps, however, tu indicates an exception in the case of surā etc. among rasas (in whose case antaḥśikha is understood ipso facto). Of course, raseṣu would be better for this. — dviguṇottarā, 'i.e., double the 1/4th śikhā; thus in a prastha 3 kuḍubas inside and 2 in addition '(Cb). Cp understands all five in the prastha. For such an explanation, śikhāmānasya dviguṇā vṛddhiḥ would have been better. Cj seems to arrive at 75 for rasa, 100 for surā, 125 for puṣpa, 150 for tuṣāṅgāra and 175 for sudhā as the measure of the śikhā. Though this appears to do greater justice to the wording (uttarā), it seems highly unlikely that such additions are really intended in these cases.

37 rasādīnām: the higher price is due to the measure being larger to account for the greater śikhāmāna. 39 tribhāgaḥ, i.e., 1/3rd of 20 paṇas (Cp). Cb has 'one-third of a paṇa for the smallest of the ten tulās of s. 11, increased by 1/3 in each successive case.' On that basis of 1/3 paṇa for 1 pala metal, the samavrittā would cost 11 2/3 paṇas. It seems, however, that the price of the samavrittā alone is stated here as one-third of 20 paṇas.

- 40 prātivedhanikam, i.e., stamping as well as inspection regarding stamping. caturmāṣikam of the mss. is clearly wrong, because the fee is laid down, not here, but in s. 42. It comes to 30 māṣakas for the four-month period. 42 prātivedhanika is here the stamping fee.
- 43 taptavyājī seems to refer to the additional measure of ghee or oil to compensate for the loss suffered by these in the process of liquefaction. Ordinarily the customer would receive this; but Cb says the king received this as well as the mānasrāva. That is likely when these articles are delivered in the state stores. 44 mānasrava is a similar compensation for what sticks to the measure when liquids are measured out.
- 45 This s. should have come earlier, after s. 33. The prices of these should also have been stated.

46 Eighty-four *kuḍuba*s of clarified butter are known as a *vāraka*; but sixty-four (*kuḍuba*s make a *vāraka*) of oil; and one-quarter of these is known as a *ghaṭikā*.

CHAPTER TWENTY

SECTION 38 MEASURES OF SPACE AND TIME

- 1 The Superintendent of Measurements should be conversant with the measurements of space and time.
- 2 Eight atoms make one rathacakraviprus (chariot-wheel particle).
 3 Eight of them make one likṣā (nit). 4 Eight of them make one yūkā (louse). 5 Eight of them make one yavamadhya (barley-middle). 6 Eight yavamadhyas make one angula (finger). 7 Or, the maximum width of the middle (part) of the middle finger of a middling man is an angula.
- 8 Four angulas make a dhanurgraha. 9 Eight angulas make a dhanurmusti. 10 Twelve angulas make a vitasti (span) and the height of the shadow-gnomon. 11 Fourteen angulas make a sama. a sala, a pariraya and a pada (foot).
- 12 Two spans make an aratni (cubit), the hasta of Prajāpati.
 13 (A hasta) with a dhanurgraha is the measure (of a hasta) for weights and measures and for pastures. 14 (A hasta) with a dhanurmuṣṭi
- 46 caturāśītiķ of the mss. is metrically easy, but grammatically uncertain; caturaśītiķ (Cb) is hard on metre but grammatically impeccable.

2.20

- 1 mānādhyakṣaḥ 'same as pautavādhyakṣa' (Cp); Cp adds that he may be an independent officer appointed by the samāhartṛ. Measurements of space and time are his concern.
- 2 rathacakraviprus: 'this is perceptible to the eye' (com.). It may be the same as the trasarenu of the Naiyāyikas. 4 yūkā is from Cb. yūkāmadhyaḥ of the mss. seems influenced by yavamadhyaḥ. 5 yavamadhyaḥ, i.e., width in the middle, at its widest. (Cf. 'yavodarair angulam aṣṭasamkhyaiḥ' Bhāskarācārya). 7 madhyamapuruṣa as described by Cb is 'with a height of 100 of his own fingerwidths and a girth of 92 finger-widths.'
- 8 dhanurgraha 'a bow-grip' in the middle of the bow where the four fingers are clasped round it. 9 dhanurmuṣṭi apparently has reference to the fist with the thumb upraised when holding the bow for shooting. 10 chāyāpauruṣa, i.e., the height of the śaṅku on the sun-dial. A dvādaśāṅgulaśaṅku is mentioned in the Atharvaveda (S. B. Dikshit, Bhāratīya Jyotiṣaśāstra, p. 367). 11 śama appears related to śamyā 'yoke-pin,' śala to śalya 'dart' and pada to 'foot.' The significance of pariraya is not elear.
- 13 pautavavivītamānam: Meyer understands a single idea 'measuring pastureland by the weight-superintendent.' That is unlikely. What is meant is that in the work of the pautavādhyakṣa and the vivītādhyakṣa, a hasta of 14 aṅgulas is to be

makes a kisku or a kamsa. 15 Forty-two angulas make a carpenter's sawing-kisku, a measure for the camp, the fort and royal property. 16 Fifty-four angulas make a hasta for (measuring) forest produce.

- 17 Eighty-four angulas make a vyāma, a measure for ropes and a pauruṣa (man's height) for (measuring) moats (or diggings).
- 18 Four aratnis make a daṇḍa, a dhanus, a nālikā, and a pauruṣa for the householder. 19 One hundred and eight aṅgulas make a dhanus, measure for roads and city-walls and a pauruṣa for (measuring) the piling of fire-altars. 20 Six kaṁsas make a daṇḍa, a measure for gifts to Brahmins and to guests.
- 21 Ten daṇḍas make a rajju. 22 Two rajjus make a parideśa. 23 Three rajjus make a nivartana on one side. 24 A bāhu has two daṇḍas more.
- 25 Two thousand *dhanus*es make a *goruta*. 26 Four *gorutas* make a *yojana*. 27 Thus measurements of space (have been explained).
 - 28 Hereafter (are explained) measurements of time.
- used. 14 kişku seems to have a reference to the forearm. The significance of kamsa 'cup' is not clear. Meyer thinks of as much land as can be sown with a kamsa-ful of seeds. That is doubtful, as this is clearly a linear and not an area measure.
- 17 vyāma is the distance from tip to tip of outstretched hands. rajjumānam, i.e., a unit for measuring ropes. It may refer to the length of rope used for tying cattle, as Meyer thinks. khāta primarily a moat, also a well.
- 18 nālikā pauruṣam ca gārhapatyam: it is better to read gārhapatyam at the end of this s. as in Cb. It can hardly be construed with the following s. The significance of nālikā, about 6 feet long, is not clear. Is it possible that the primitive nālikā used for measuring time was really a hollow reed 6 feet long from which water flowed out through an aperture at one end during a period of 24 minutes?

 gārhapatya pauruṣa seems to refer to the average man's (householder's) height. Cb, which adds matam after gārhapatyam, explains 'the 4-aratni daṇḍa, dhanus, nālikā and pauruṣa are according to the opinion of Gṛhapati or Viśvakarman.' That is doubtful. 20 ṣaṭkamso daṇḍaḥ: Meyer thinks of an area measure.
- 21-24 Meyer thinks that rajju etc. are area measures and finds the mixing of area measures and linear measures confusing. But danda, rajju and bāhu are clearly only linear measures, so it appears parideśa 'pointing out.' nivartana, no doubt, is an area measure later (cf. JBORS, XII, 118 n. 3). But here only the length of one side of the area is mentioned, as shown by ekatah, i.e., again a linear measure of 30 dandas is mentioned. nivartana may primarily have reference to the turning back of the bullocks at the plough, a linear conception. bāhu may also refer to the length of one side of an area measure; but that is far from certain.
- 25 dvidhanussahasram: G₁'s reading dhanus- is faulty and Fleet's calculation, on its basis, of a yojana of 4.54 miles (JRAS, 1912, 234-6) is unacceptable. Fleet also identified his yojana with the Persian parasang of 4.76 miles (JRAS, 1912, 462-3). The yojana, however, is double that. The name yojana seems to have reference to the 'yoking' of bullocks, i.e., distance covered before the yoke is taken off.

- 29 tuṭa, lava, nimeṣa, kāṣṭhā, kalā, nālikā, muhūrta, forenoon and afternoon, day, night, fortnight, month, season, ayana, year and cycle (of years) are divisions of time. 30 Two tuṭas make a lava. 31 Two lavas make a nimeṣa. 32 Five nimeṣas make a kāṣṭhā. 33 Thirty kāṣṭhās make a kalā. 34 Forty kalās make a nālikā. 35 Or, a hole in a jar (with a dimension) of four māṣakas of gold made four aṅgulas in length, (with) an āḍhaka of water (running through it) measures one nālikā. 36 Two nālikās make a muhūrta.
- 37 A day of fifteen *muhūrtas* and a night (of the same length) occur in the months of Caitra and Āśvayuja. 38 After that, one of them (first) increases and (then) decreases by three *muhūrtas* during a period of six months (and vice versa the other).
- 39 When the shadow (of the gnomon) is eight pauruṣas, one-eighteenth part (of the day) is past, when six pauruṣas, one-fourteenth part (is past), when three pauruṣas one-eighth part, when two pauruṣas, one-sixth part, when one pauruṣa, one-fourth part, when eight aṅgulas, three-tenth part (is past), when four aṅgulas, three-eighth part, (and) when there is no shadow, it is midday. 40 When the day has turned, one should understand the remaining parts in like manner.
- 29 tuta is clearly a Prakritism. 31 nimeṣaḥ 'time taken to pronounce a short syllable' (Cj). 35 suvarṇamāṣakāḥ etc.: the idea is, gold 4 māṣakas in weight is made into a wire 4 aṅguṭas long, the wire's thickness representing the measure of the hole in the jar through which the water is to flow out. The wire itself is of no further use in the nātikā. Thus Cb. Cs thinks that the gold is to be turned into a hollow tube, apparently for fixing in the jar, through which the water is to flow out. But unless the thickness of the gold leaf out of which the tube is made is also stated, the diameter would vary from tube to tube. The Punjab reading is derived from Saṅnkarārya on Kāmandaka 5.42 and is clearly only a gloss. Fleet (JRAS, 1915, pp. 213-230) points out that the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa requires 61/64 of a droṇa of water to flow in 1 nāḍikā, that the Divyāvadāna has 1 droṇa for 1 nāḍikā, the hole however being 1 suvarṇa of gold 4 aṅguṭas long, and that the Vāyu, Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas agree in all details with the present passage. kumbha here is simply 'jar,' and is not the measure of that name (2.19.32) as H. Jacobi (ZDMG, 74, pp. 250-1) seems to have thought.
- 37 This means that the equinoctial days fall in the months of Caitra (vernal) and Āśvina (autumnal). 38 tribhir etc.: as the increase or decrease is from solstice to solstice, we have to understand that the day increases for three months from the vernal equinoctial day in Caitra and decreases for three months thereafter. The longest day at the summer solstice thus amounts to 14 hours 24 minutes. Jacobi (ZDMG, 74, p. 252) states that the longest day of 18 muhurtas is true of North Punjab and is mentioned in the Vedānga Jyotiṣa and the Sūryaprajñapti.
- 39 aṣṭapauruṣyām: the pauruṣa of s. 10 is to be understood. tripauruṣyām is proposed for catuṣpauruṣyām of the mss. in conformity with 1.19.7 and following a suggestion of Jacobi (ZDMG, 74, 253-254). Even tripauruṣī is slightly longer than the actual shadow after 1/8th of the day is past. acchāyo madhyāhnaḥ: this is true only of the summer solstice day in Āṣāḍha. Cf. s. 41. Jacobi (ZDMG,

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- 41 In the month of Āsādha, the midday loses shadow. 42 After that, in the six months beginning with Śrāvana, the shadow (at midday) increases by two angulas in each month and in the six months beginning with Māgha, it decreases by two angulas in each month.
- 43 Fifteen days and nights make a fortnight. 44 That in which the moon waxes is the bright (fortnight). 45 That in which the moon wanes is the dark.
- 46 Two fortnights make a month. 47 Thirty days and nights make a works month. 48 A half day more makes a solar month. 49 A half day less makes a lunar month. 50 Twenty-seven (days and nights) make a month of constellations. 51 Thirty-two make a month for the army. 52 Thirty-five, (a month) for maintenance of horses. 53 Forty, (a month) for maintenance of elephants.
- 54 Two months make a season. 55 Śrāvaṇa and Prauṣṭhapada are the rainy season. 56 Āśvayuja and Kārttika are autumn. 57 Mārgaśīrṣa and Pauṣa are winter. 58 Māgha and Phālguna are the season of frost. 59 Caitra and Vaiśākha are spring. 60 Jyeṣṭhāmūlīya and Āṣādha are summer.
- 74, pp. 253-4) states that in the first four cases, the actual parts of time at Pataliputra deviate more from those mentioned here than do those at Ujjayini.
- 41 Āṣāḍhe māsi etc.: this can happen only on the Tropic of Cancer, i.e., in Magadha or Bengal or Malwa. 42 dvyangulottarā, i.e., 2 angulas in Śrāvaṇa, 4 in Prauṣṭhapada and so on up to 12 in Pauṣa, decreasing thereafter to the same extent. In Pauṣa in the winter solstice the shadow thus equals the length of the gnomon, again showing a place on the Tropic of Cancer. Jacobi (ZDMG, 74, 255) states that on the Tropic of Cancer the actual length would be 13.08 angulas and adds that Kauṭilya's incorrect figures are given as those of the Vāsiṣṭha Siddhānta in the Pañcasiddhāntikā, 2.9. This text indeed appears derived from early sources.
- 47 karmamāsah is proposed for prakarma- of the mss. as suggested by karma for prakarma in 2.6.16 and by karmasamvatsarah of 2.7.6. Cb explains prakarmaas 'for calculating wages for labourers.' Cj seems to have read prakrama 'for superintendents to commence their work.' 48 sārdhaḥ: curiously Cj understands two and a half paksas, i.e., 37 1/2 days, which is quite unlikely; 30 plus half a day is meant. 49 ardhanyūnah: Cj again has 1 1/2 pakṣas, i.e., 22 1/2 days. — - balamāsah is from Cb Cj; 'for giving wages to the army that is dispersed (senāvikṣepabhaktadānārthaḥ) ' (Cj), ' for the maintenance of the army ' (Cb). valais corrupted from bala-; mala- seems to be an attempt to correct it. 52-53 aśvavāhāyāh...hastivāhāyāh 'months for calculating the wages of attendants of horses and elephants' (com.). The reason for such separate calculation is not clear. Fleet had 'for hiring horse-carriages and elephant-carriages.' Elephant-carriages are strange. Meyer in a footnote suggests vāhā as 'period of gestation,' i.e., 10 months of 35 days for mares and 10 months of 40 days for female elephants. He adds that actually 10 months of 60 days are required for elephants and ends by asserting that Indians knew little about the breeding of elephants whom they caught ready. All this seems wide of the mark. The fem. gender and the genitive case of the words are strange. aśvavāha 'a horse - attendant ' is referred to in 2.30.3.

- 61 The uttarāyana begins with the season of frost. 62 The dakṣināyana begins with the rainy season. 63 Two ayanas make a year. 64 Five years make one cycle.
 - 65 The sun takes one-six tieth part of a day; thus in one season he brings about the loss of one day, and so does the moon (cause loss of) one (day).
 - 66 Thus in every period of two years and a half the two beget an additional month, the first in summer and the second at the end of (the cycle of) five years.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

SECTION 39. THE COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS AND TOLLS

- 1 The Collector of Customs and Tolls should establish the customshouse and the flag facing the east or the north in the vicinity of the big gates (of the city).
- 2 The receivers of duty, four or five in number, should record in writing (details about) traders who have arrived in a caravan, who they are, from what place, with how much merchandise and where the identity-pass (was issued) or the stamping was made.
 - 3 For (goods) without the stamp, the penalty is double the dues.
- 4 For those with a forged stamp, the fine is eight times the duty.
- 5 For those with broken stamps, the penalty is distraint in the ware-
- 61 The ayanas apparently begin with the beginning of the season and hence of the month; they are not brought into relation with the sun's entry into a constellation.
- 65 haratyarkah sastibhāgam because the solar day is longer than the normal day by 1/60th. That is one kind of harana. The lunar day is shorter by the same amount; that is another kind of harana.
- 66 grīṣme...pūrvam: this implies that in Griṣma of the third year, half the year is over; in other words, the year began with Śiśira and Māgha. All these details about the five-year cycle and intercalary months agree with those in the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa, 32 (Cf. Fleet, JRAS, 1914, p. 998).

2.21

- 1 dhvaja would apparently bear the emblem of the king. mahādvāra-refers to the four main gates, as implied in 2.4.19.
- 2 abhijñānam mudrā vā is as proposed by Meyer. The two are different as shown by s. 26 below. The former seems to be a sort of pass for identification of the trader, the latter the stamp or seal made on the package of goods. Both are issued by the $antap\bar{a}la$ (s. 26). In 2.34.1-5, however, $mudr\bar{a}$ means the passport which a person must carry about with him.
- 3 amudrāṇām: supply paṇyānām rather than vaṇijām. deya, 'i.e., śulka' (Cp), 'vartanī, road cess' (Cb). The former is right. 5 bhinna- may

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- house. 6 In case of change of the royal stamp or of (change in) the name, he should make (the trader) pay a fine of one paṇa and a quarter per load.
- 7 Traders shall declare the quantity and price of the goods that have arrived at the foot of the flag, 'Who is willing to purchase these goods, so much in quantity, at this price?' 8 When it has been thrice proclaimed, he should give it to those who have sought it. 9 In case of competition among purchasers, the increase in price together with the duty shall go to the treasury.
- 10 If for fear of duty a (trader) declares the quantity of the goods or the price to be less (than it actually is), the king shall confiscate that excess. 11 Or, the (trader) shall pay eight times the duty. 12 He should impose the same-(penalty) in case of depreciation of price of a package containing goods by (showing) a sample of lower value and in case of concealment of goods of high value by goods of low value.
- 13 Or, if through fear of a rival purchaser a (trader) increases the price beyond the (due) price of a commodity, the king shall receive the increase in price, or make the amount of duty double. 14 The same (penalty) eightfold (shall be imposed) on the Superintendent concealing (the trader's offences).

refer to accidental breaking. Meyer understands deliberate tampering. — ghațikāsthāne sthānam: this seems to refer to distraint of goods in the ware-house; the distraint may be for one day (as in one of the explanations in Cp) or till corroboration comes from the frontier (Cj). Cb Cs read ghațikāh sthāne sthānam; the former has no explanation, the latter has 'distraint in the toll-house for three ghațikās, i.e., nālikās.' This is extremely doubtful. Meyer (understanding deliberate tampering) thinks of confiscation. 6 nāmakṛte: the name would appear to be that of the trader on the passport. — vahanam etc.: Meyer thinks that the carriage load is also confiscated. The words can hardly yield this sense. Breloer (III, 461) seems to understand 'make a load pay 1/4th pana fine for every paṇa.' It is difficult to see how this meaning is possible.

- 7 Imported goods were clearly sold at the gate. Meyer thinks that only confiscated goods were sold there. There is nothing to indicate this. 8 etat etc.: the sense requires etāvatpramānam anena arghena etc.
- 12 nivistapanyasya bhāndasya: bhānda seems to refer to the container in which the goods (panya) are packed (nivista). It contains goods more precious than the supposed sample (prativarnaka) carried outside the package. In the two cases of this s. the trader would stand to lose by sale at the gate unless he were in collusion with the purchaser. We may understand that not all imported goods are sold at the gates.
- 13 It is difficult to see any difference between 'competition among purchasers' (s. 9) and 'fear of a rival purchaser' (this s.). dvigunam vā śulkam: apparently this option operated when the mūlyavrddhi amounted to less than the śulka. 14 aṣṭaguṇam: eight times the mūlyavrddhi or the śulka, according to the two options.

- 15 Therefore, the sale of goods should be made by weighing, measuring or counting; an appraisal (of value should be made) of goods of small value and goods enjoying concessions.
- 16 And for goods that have passed beyond the foot of the flag without the duty being paid, the fine is eight times the duty.

 17 Secret agents operating on roads and in places without roads should find out such (evasion).
- 18 Goods intended for marriage, marriage-gifts accompanying the bride, goods intended as gifts, goods required on the occasion of a sacrifice or a ceremony or a birth and goods used in various rituals like worship of the gods, tonsure rite, initiation for Veda study, hair-cutting rite, consecration for a vow and so on, should go duty-free.

 19 For a (person) making a false declaration (in this respect) the punishment for theft (shall be imposed).
- 20 For the trader taking out a commodity for which duty has not been paid along with one for which duty has been paid, or carrying off a second (commodity) under one stamp after breaking open the package, forfeiture of the same and an equal amount as fine (shall be the punishment). 21 For the (trader) carrying off (goods of high value) from the customs house after securing acceptance of cowdung (cakes) or straw as the basis (for calculating duty), the highest fine for violence (shall be the punishment).
- 22 For the (trader) taking out any one of the unexportable articles, viz., weapons, armours, coats of mail, metals, chariots, jewels,
- 15 ānugrāhikāṇām: this conveys the sense of what the state has decided to confer anugraha on, i.e., to grant concessions to; cf. 2.22.8. The idea of 'what is beneficial' does not seem intended.
- 17 pathika, i.e., 'disguised as traders' (Cb), and utpathika, i.e., 'disguised as shepherds, wood-cutters etc.' (Cb). Cf. 2.36.13.
- 18 aupāyanikam: Meyer understands presents to the king only and compares 2.15.3. kṛtya is independent of yajña; cf. 3.8.8; 5.1.43.
- 20 nirvāhayato: this and the following two ss. seem to refer to export; cf. 2.16.19. dvitīyam etc.: 'bringing in another similar-looking package on the strength of a mudrā on one (dvitīyam ekamudrayā) and breaking open a package on which duty is paid and inserting in it goods on which duty is not paid (bhittvā puṭam apaharataḥ).' Thus the commentators, who understand imports as meant. But nirvāhayataḥ seems to refer to exports; cf. 2.16.19, also s. 22 below. And it appears that in this s. only a single idea is intended, 'breaking open a package and inserting other goods under the same mudrā.' It seems that apa-har in this s. and the next, has reference to 'taking out' of the country or the city. mudrā may be understood as made even on exported goods. 21 pramāṇam kṛtvā, i.e., making a declaration about the goods.
- 22 anyatamam anirvāhyam is proposed for -tamānirvāhyam of the mss. as being necessary. The prohibition of the export of these goods is obviously for

grains and cattle, there shall be a fine as proclaimed as well as loss of the goods. 23 In case any one of these is brought in, its sale (shall be effected) duty-free outside (the city-gate) itself.

- 24 The frontier officer should charge a road cess of one paṇa and a quarter for a cart-load of goods, of one paṇa for a one-hoofed animal, of half a paṇa for cattle, of a quarter paṇa for small animals, of one māṣaka for a shoulder-load. 25 And he shall make good what is lost or stolen (on the way). 26 He should send on to the Superintendent a caravan from a foreign land after making an investigation as to goods of high and low value and giving them an identity-pass and stamp (on the goods).
- 27 Or, a secret agent appearing as a trader should communicate to the king the size of the caravan. 28 In accordance with that information, the king should tell the Collector of Customs about the size of the caravan, in order to make his omniscience known. 29 Then the Collector, on meeting the caravan, should say, 'These are goods of high and low value belonging to such and such a merchant. It should not be concealed. This is the king's power.' 30 For one concealing goods of low value the fine shall be eight times the duty, (for concealing) goods of high value, confiscation of everything (shall be the punishment).
 - 31 He should cut out goods that are harmful to the country and that are worthless. He should make goods that are highly beneficial duty-free, also seeds that are rare.

military and economic reasons. — $n\bar{a}sa$ is to the owner, i.e., confiscation. 28 $\bar{a}nayana$ is import. — ucchulka 'duty-free,' 'because these confer benefit on the country' (Cb), 'because the king is the purchaser of these goods' (Cp).

24 vartanī is a cess on traders for the use of roads. This itself involves the liability to protect and indemnify the trader for loss suffered on the way; separate escort-charges are also thought of, called ātivāhika; cf. 2.16.18; 2.28.25 etc. 26 abhjāānam mudrām ca: see s. 2 above.

27 presayet should send word, inform; cf. 12.3.20, etc. 28 tena pradesena: cf. 5.2.33.

31 ucchindyat: this may imply prohibition of import or destruction when imported. — $mahopak\bar{a}ram$: this is regarded as an adjective to $b\bar{i}jam$ by com. Meyer regards it first as a separate item 'an object that is highly beneficial' and then also as adj. to $b\bar{i}jam$ 'seeds, even if highly beneficial, only if (tu) they are rare.' But ca of the mss. is preferable to tu of the editions, and two items appear intended.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

SECTION 39 (Continued)

The Tariff of Duties and Tolls

- 1 (Goods are) from the country-side, from the city and from foreign lands. 2 That on (goods) going out and that on (goods) coming in is duty.
 - 3 On goods coming in (the duty shall be) one-fifth of the price.
- 4 Of flowers, fruits, vegetables, roots, bulbous roots, fruits of creepers, seeds, dried fish and meat, he should take one-sixth part (as duty).
- 5 Of conch-shells, diamonds, gems, and necklaces of pearls and corals, he should make (a valuation) through men expert in the line, making an agreement with them as to the amount of work, time allowed and wages.

2.22

- 1 The mss. show the word śulkavyavahāraḥ 'the tariff of duty' at the beginning. It really belongs to the colophon of the Chapter and has no place in any s. It has clearly got in by error. bāhyam etc. 'produced in the country-side (bāhya), produced in the city (ābhyantara) and foreign (ātithya)' (com.). For this explanation, ca should have come after ātithyam. But though, as the text stands, we can understand ātithya as duty on internal trade (between city and country) and śulka as duty on foreign trade, it seems better to follow the commentators. 2 niṣkrāmyam praveśyam: Cb (reading nai- ... prā-) has 'goods going out of the city into the country and out of the country into foreign lands (naiṣkrāmya) and coming from foreign lands into the country and from the country into the city (prāveśya).' It is possible that foreign exports and imports are primarily meant.
- 3 mūlyapañcabhāgah: 'this implies that the duty on imports was received in cash' (Breloer, III, 451).
- 4 sadbhāgam gṛḥnīyāt: according to com. ss. 4-7 state exceptions to the 20% ad valorem duty of s. 3. But the exceptions would seem to cover the entire range of dutiable commodities. Breloer refers these to exports and says that this duty was received in kind (III, 450). That seems right, though internal movement of goods between city and country is also conceivable, in the case of certain commodities.
- 5 śankha- etc.: it seems that hāra is to be construed with muktā and pravāla only, śankha, vajra and mani being independent items. kārayet: supply mūlyam as the object (Cb). The valuation is necessary for charging duty, for 1/6th part of these things can hardly be fixed off-hand. It is in fact doubtful if duty on jewels etc. was received in kind. And if cash duty fixed after valuation is to be understood, it is possible to suppose that the s. belongs to imports and should be read immediately after s. 3. kṛtakarma- etc.: this is a standard formula for work given on a contract basis; see 2.18.1. Breloer (III, 451-8) says that śankha etc. come from the king's ground and hence are duty-free; only the cost of labour increases its value. He seems to understand 'special

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- 6 On kṣauma, dukūla, silk yarn, armours, yellow orpiment, red arsenic, antimony, vermilion, metals of various kinds and ores, on sandal-wood, aloe, spices, fermentation, and minor substances, on skins, ivory, bed-spreads, coverings and silk cloth, and on products of goats and rams, (the duty to be charged is) one-tenth part or one-fifteenth part.
- 7 On clothes, four-footed and two-footed creatures, yarn, cotton, perfumes, medicines, wood, bamboos, barks, leather goods and earthenware, and on grains, fats, sugars, salts, wine, cooked food and so on, (the duty is) one-twentieth part or one twenty-fifth part.
- 8 Duty to be received at the gate is one-fifth, or he should fix it with a concession in accordance with the benefit derived by the country.
- 9 And no sale of commodities (shall be allowed) in the places of their origin. 10 For taking metal goods from mines the penalty is six hundred (paṇas). 11 For taking flowers and fruits from flowergardens and fruit-orchards, the fine is fifty-four paṇas. 12 For taking vegatables, roots and bulbous roots from vegetable-gardens, the fine is fifty-one and three quarter paṇas. 13 For taking all kinds of

officers, to whom proceeds (nispatti) come from the result (phala) of the work done, amount, time and wage, see these goods through duty-free.' This appears very doubtful.

- 6 krimitāna seems to be silk yarn, while krimijāta appears to be silk cloth. Cf. 2.23.8. lohavarnadhātu 'minerals of the class of metals, such as red chalk' (Cs), 'metals and colouring material' (Meyer), 'base metals and minerals' (Breloer). For varna as kind or type, cf. 2.15.5. añjana in the compound is from Cb and appears genuine. kinvāvarānām is from Cb. āvarana 'covering' of the other reading would be in strange company, and the next clause has prāvarana which means the same thing. Cb's -avara may mean 'a minor substance,' though that too is not quite satisfactory. carmadantāstarana- is again from Cb, so is ājaidakasya. nikara in the other reading is understood as 'cloth' by Cj or 'cloth-sheets' by Breloer. The repetition of kṣauma and dukūla in it makes it suspicious.
- 7 carma-: to obviate the idea of repetition this should be construed with bhānda 'leather goods.'
- 8 dvārādeyam: this seems to refer to tolls received on goods coming into the city from the country-side. śulkam pañcabhāgam is emended from the masculines in Cp to make it conform with dvārādeyam. We may regard these as nom., or as accusatives, the object of sthāpayet. This would mean that town duty is the same as import duty (s. 3). ānugrāhikam: this involves an anugraha or concession by the state; cf. 2.21.15. It may be that this option applies not only to the town duty but to all import and export duties as well, as Cp understands it.
- 9 The purpose of this prohibition is, according to Breloer, to force all goods to the markets and allow the turn-over to be controlled (III, 453-4). In addition, tolls required to be recovered and prices to be regulated by the state. 10 satchatam: cf. 2.12.31 concerning salt, where also the king enjoys a monopoly.

crops from fields, (the fine is) fifty-three paṇas. 14 One paṇa and one paṇa and a half is the penalty in case of agricultural produce.

15 From this, he should fix the duties for new and old commodities in accordance with the customs of the country and the community, and penalty according to the offence.

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

SECTION 40 THE SUPERINTENDENT OF YARNS (AND TEXTILES)

- 1 The Superintendent of Yarns should cause trade to be carried out in yarns, armours, cloth and ropes through men expert in the work.
- 2 He should get yarn spun out of wool, bark-fibres, cotton, silk-cotton, hemp and flax, through widows, crippled women, maidens, women who have left their homes and women paying off their fine by personal labour, through mothers of courtesans, through old female slaves of the king and through female slaves of temples whose service of the gods has ceased.
- 14 pano'dhyardhapanas ca sītātyayah: 'the purchaser pays 1 paṇa and the vendor 1½ paṇa' (Cp Cs). Cp adds that this impost is to be paid on every sale whether an offence is committed or not, while according to Cs this is in addition to 53 paṇas when the offence is committed. Cb Cj seem to have read pano'rdhapanas ca. The former has '53 paṇas in the case of other grains, a paṇa or half a paṇa in the case of paddy.' Cj refers to another explanation 'half a paṇa fine for grains valued at 1 paṇa and so on.' It may be that sītā refers as usual to the produce of crown lands (2.15.2). If purchases are made from the field, the penalty is nominal in this case because state goods would be duty-free and sale in the fields would mean no loss of state dues. The two fines may be related to the purchaser and vendor as in Cp, the vendor in this case being a state officer. However, see 5.2.13 below.
- 15 deśajāticaritrataļi 'according to the customs of the region and the caste' (com.) appears preferable to 'place, class of goods and custom' (Meyer) or 'land, caste and occupation' (Breloer). Concerning stanzas at the end of 2.21 and 2.22 Breloer remarks that they do not show the prolixity of Kauţilya and are taken from predecessors who were much simpler in their treatment (III, 447). That they are derived from early sources is, of course, very likely; but they do not reveal simpler or more primitive ideas. They merely lay down guiding principles.

2.23

- 1 The form rajju may be adopted throughout as in 2.17.8 and 2.24.3. vyavahāra usually is 'trade'; but the Chapter refers only to manufacture. Actual trade would seem to be in the hands of the panyādhyakṣa.
- 2 pravrajitā is one who has left home for good and is living independently. 'Emancipated' is how Breloer (III, 474 and n. 4) renders the word. daṇḍa-pratikāriṇī: cf. 3.13.18. mātṛkā: see 2.27.5.

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- 3 He should fix the wage after ascertaining the fineness, coarseness or medium quality of the yarn, and the largeness or smallness of quantity. 4 After finding out the amount of yarn, he should favour them with oil and myrobalan unguents. 5 And on festive days, they should be made to work by honouring (them) and making gifts. 6 In case of diminution in yarn, (there shall be) a diminution in wage, according to the value of the stuff.
- 7 And he should cause work to be carried out by artisans producing goods with an agreement as to the amount of work, time and wage, and should maintain close contact with them. 8 And when starting mills for the weaving of (cloth from) kṣauma, dukūla, silk yarn, hair of the ranku deer, and cotton yarn, he should gratify the (workmen) by gifts of perfumes and flowers and by other means of showing goodwill. 9 He should bring about the production of varieties of cloth, bed-sheets and coverings. 10 And he should start factories for armours by artisans and craftsmen expert in the line.
- 11 And those women who do not stir out—those living separately, widows, crippled women or maidens,—who wish to earn their living, should be given work by sending his own female slaves to them with (a view to) support (them). 12 Or, if they come themselves to the yarn-house, he should cause an interchange of goods and wages to be made early at dawn. 13 The lamp (should be there) only for the inspection of the yarn. 14 For looking at the face of the woman or conversing with her on another matter, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed), for delay in the payment of wages, the middle fine, also for payment of wages for work not done.
- 15 If a (woman) after receiving the wage does not carry out the work, he should make her forfeit the tongs formed by the thumb (and
- 5 tithişu 'on festive days' (Cp). pratimānadānaiḥ, though not very satisfactory, is adopted from Cb for pratipādanamānaiḥ of the mss. Perhaps the original reading was pratidānamānaiḥ.
- 7 karmapramāna- etc. is a standing formula for piece-rate work; cf. 2.18.1; 2.22.5. pratisansargam amounts to control (Breloer) or a strict watch over them (Meyer).
- 8 Wool is not mentioned in this connection. Weavers appear to be treated with special favour. 10 kankata: this 'armour' made from fabrics may have been made of wool or other cloth filled with cotton or other stuffing.
- 11 Ss. 11-15 should preferably have come immediately after s. 6 above. proșitā vidhavā is emended from proșitavidhavā, and proșitā is understood in the same sense as pravrajitā in s. 2 above. Cb understands proșita (in proșitavidhavā) in the sense of proșitabhartṛkā. In any case, vidhavā must be understood independently; cf. s. 2 above. anusārya, i.e., sending these to their homes. sopagraham, i.e., by showing favour or by giving support.

the middle finger), also those who have misappropriated or stolen and then run away.

- 16 And in the matter of wages, (there shall be) a fine for workmen in accordance with their offence.
- 17 And he should himself keep in touch with rope-makers and makers of armours. 18 And he should cause articles, such as straps and others to be manufactured.
 - 19 He should cause ropes to be made of yarn and fibres, (and) thongs of canes and bamboos, as trappings for war and bindings for vehicles and draught-animals.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

SECTION 41 THE DIRECTOR OF AGRICULTURE

- 1 The Director of Agriculture, himself conversant with the practice of agriculture, water-divining and the science of rearing plants,
- 15 angusthasamdamśam 'the thumb and middle finger of the right hand '(Cb Cp). Cj seems to understand the two thumbs (angusthābhyām samdamśam). Cb states that the entire thumb and the tip of the middle finger are to be cut, but according to Cp the tip only even in the case of the thumb. bhakṣitāpaete.: the translation follows the commentators. Meyer objects that the participles cannot be understood in an active sense, as adjectives to strīnām. His rendering 'when anything is used up (bhakṣita) or stolen (apahṛta) or deliberately ruined (avaskandita) 'seems, however, hardly plausible.
 - 16 vetaneşu...dandah, i.e., the fine is to be recovered from the wages.
- 17 rajjuvartakaih: these may have formed a caste of their own. varmas kāraih is from Cp. carmakāraih of M Cb does not fit, because even the varatrāor thongs seem to be made not of leather, but of cane and bamboo (s. 19). pūrvākāraih of G makes little sense. Meyer suggests for it mūrvākāraih 'makers of bowstrings.' varma 'armour' may refer to accoutrements, including straps etc.
- 19 Breloer (III, 471-3) thinks that ss. 17-18 and this kārikā deal with the manufacture of war-material; the sātrādhyakṣa therefore may, originally, have been an assistant of the Superintendent of Arms and that his independent status here may be due to Kauṭilya himself. This sounds plausible.

2.24

Breloer (I, 74-89, also III, 485-502) is of the opinion that the sītādhyakṣa supervised the total cultivation of crops in the realm and that one of his duties was to see that no land remained uncultivated. The Chapter, however, produces the impression that he is concerned with the management of crown lands only. 5.2.8-11 show that it is the samāhartr and his men who are concerned with sowings by independent farmers. Moreover, the revenue brought in by the sītādhyakṣa is called sītā and is distinguished from bhāga or ṣadbhāga received from farmers (2.15.2-3; 2.6.3).

1 śulba ' for finding out if there is water underground ' (Cb Cj). This appears to be something like water-divining. — Parāśara or Vṛddha-Parāśara is

or assisted by experts in these, should collect, in the proper seasons, seeds of all kinds of grains, flowers, fruits, vegetables, bulbous roots, roots, creeper fruits, flax and cotton.

- 2 He should cause them to be sown in land, suitable for each, which has been ploughed many times, through serfs, labourers and persons paying off their fines by personal labour. 3 And he should cause no delay in (the work of) these on account of ploughing machines, implements and bullocks, and on account of (the work of) artisans, such as smiths, carpenters, basket-makers, rope-makers, snake-catchers and others. 4 In case of loss of fruit of a work (through their negligence), the fine (shall be equal to) the loss of that fruit.
- 5 Sixteen dronas is the amount of rain in dry lands, one and a half times (that) in wet lands, where sowings are in conformity with (the nature of) the region, thirteen dronas and a half in the Aśmakas, twenty-three in the Avantis, unlimited in the Aparantas and the snowy regions, and (unlimited) as to time, in lands where sowings are made with the help of canals.

eredited with the authorship of the Kṛṣitantrā and Agniveśa with that of Vṛkṣāyurveda. — Cb seems to have read samgṛhṇāyāt, which might appear better.

2 svabhūmau, i.e., on land suitable for the crop to be sown. According to Johnston (JRAS, 1929, 90-1), this means 'on crown lands.' That is also possible. — dandapratikartr: cf. 3.13.18. 3 karṣaṇayantra contains a single idea, not the two 'ploughing and machines' (as Meyer ultimately prefers in the Nachtrag). — medaka 'a maker of baskets' (Cb), 'digger' (Cs). Meyer relates it to Meda a mixed caste mentioned in Manu 10.48 and suggests 'catchers of wild and dangerous animals' as the meaning. 4 teṣām refers to dāṣa, karmakara etc., as well as to the craftsmen. — tatphalahānam: for the expression, cf. 2.29.33.

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5 On the basis of about 511 cubic inches in a drona and a cylindrical raingauge with a surface area of about 254.3 sq. inches (1 aratni about 18" diameter, 2.5.7), 16 dronas amount to about 32" of rain; if the gauge-mouth is understood to be square (18" by 18"), they would amount to about 25". - jāngala are dry tracts as opposed to anupa or wet lands. Manu 7.69 recommends jangala land for settlement - varsapramānam 'rain-fall necessary for good crops ' (com.). deśavāpānām: Cp Cs understand this as introducing what follows '(amount) required for sowing according to different countries (will now be explained).' deśavāpa, however, seems contrasted with kulyāvāpa, the former referring to sowing dependent on rain and the nature of the region (whether jangala or anupa), the latter to sowing in irrigated areas (which are not dependent on rain). ardhatrayodaśa is understood by all as 13½, not 12½. — Aśmaka, i.e., 'Mahārāṣṭra' (Cp), 'Āraṭṭa' (Cs). The capital of Aśmaka was Pratiṣṭhāna on the Godāvarī (V. S. Agrawala, India as Known to Pāṇini, p. 38). — haimanya ' in which there is plenty of snow which makes agriculture possible; this is near the Himālayas' (Cb). - kālataḥ: supply amitam with this, the idea being that agriculture is here independent of seasonal rain. Cf. Breloer (III, 493 n. 4). Pran Nath (IA, 60, 111-2) seems to understand varsa as share due to the king, making kulyāvāpa an adjective to haimanya 'winter crops.' This seems hardly likely.

- 6 One-third of the (annual) rainfall in the first and the last months (together), two-thirds in the intervening two months,—this is the form of excellence (of the season).
- 7 Its ascertainment (is made) from the position, motion and impregnation of Jupiter, from the rise, setting and movements of Venus and from modification in the natural appearance of the sun. 8 From the sun (is known) the successful sprouting of seeds, from Jupiter the formation of stalks in the crops, from Venus rain.
 - 9 Three clouds raining (continuously) for seven days (each), eighty (clouds) showering drops of rain (and) sixty clouds accompanied by sunshine, this rainfall is even and beneficial.
 - 10 Where it rains distributing wind and sunshine properly and creating three (periods for the drying of) cow-dung cakes, there the growth of crops is certain.
- 11 In conformity with that, he should cause crops to be sown, requiring plenty of water or little water. 12 śāli-rice, vrīhi-rice, kodrava, sesamum, priyangu, udāraka and varaka are the first sowings. 13 mudga, māṣa and śaimbya are the middle sowings. 14 Safflower, lentils, kulatha, barley, wheat, kalāya, linseed and mustard are the last sowings. 15 Or, the sowing of seeds (should be) in conformity with the season.
- 16 What is left over from sowing, farmers cultivating for half the produce should till, or those who live by personal labour (should
- 6 The four monsoon months are Śrāvaṇa to Kārttika according to the commentators. suṣamā 'paramā śobhā' (Amara, 1.3.17).
- 7 garbhādhāna, i.e., 'dew in Mārgaśīrṣa, snow in Pauṣa, wind in Māgha, clouds in Phālguna, wind and rain in Caitra and rain with wind and lightning in Vaiśākha, together with rain on the days of conception (viz., the first four days of the dark half of Vaiśākha) '(com. which quote mnemonic verses in support). The Bṛhatsamhitā, 21.7, refers to the impregnation of a cloud 195 days prior to its sending down that rain. cāra 'movement (of Venus) on the nine days from the 5th to the 13th of Āṣāḍha '(com.). prakṛtivaikṛtāt 'change in the natural condition '(com.), 'natural and unnatural appearance '(Meyer).
- 9 saptāhikā, i.e., sending down rain more or less continuously for seven days.

 ašītiḥ, i.e., eighty days of light and intermittent showers. ātapameghānām, i.e., rain alternating with sunshine. The total comes to 161 days. Contrast s. 6 above. karīṣān 'breaks in the rain long enough to allow the drying of cow-dung cakes' (Cb). Cs reads karṣakān, but it can hardly mean 'ploughing,' i.e., sowing. And three sowings do not seem intended here.
- 12 $p\bar{u}rvav\bar{a}p\bar{a}h$ etc.: in the alternative, this may imply sowings one after another in the same field; but that does not appear very likely. 15 $yathartuva\acute{s}ena$ $v\bar{a}$: seasons for the different crops are suggested by $p\bar{u}rvav\bar{a}pa$ etc. of the preceding ss. $v\bar{a}$ seems to have little significance.
 - 16 vāpātiriktam: this refers to land which the sītādhyakṣa has not managed

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work it) for a one-fourth or one-fifth share. 17 The (farmers) shall pay a share for uncultivated land as desired (by the king), except in times of distress.

18 The (farmers) shall pay a water-rate of one-fifth in the case of water set in motion by the hand from their own water-works, one-fourth when set in motion by shoulders and one-third when set flowing in channels by a mechanism, one-fourth when lifted from rivers, lakes, tanks and wells.

19 According to the amount of water (available) for the work, he should decide on wet crops, winter crops or summer crops. 20 śāli and others are the best (crops), vegetables middling, sugar-cane worst.

to get cultivated. That is to be leased to tenants on crop-share basis. Breloer understands vāpātirikta as 'fallow land.' Johnston (JRAS, 1929, 92) would insert a vā after vāpātiriktam and explain 'or, land should be let out to cultivators who pay half the produce as rent on the vāpātirikta system, under which an amount equal to the seed sown is deducted from the gross produce and handed over to the tenant, the rest being equally divided between the king and the tenant.' This appears too involved. — svavīryopajīvinah: Johnston (JRAS, 1929, 95) understands soldiers, policemen, etc. But vīrya here is only personal labour, not valour. - In this case, seeds, implements etc. are provided by the state. caturtha- etc.: Johnston understands 'paying 1/4th or 1/5th to the state.' That is hardly likely. Cf. Ghoshal, Rev. Sys., p. 30 n. 2. 17 anavasitabhāgam: this is share of the produce from land that has been reclaimed and brought under cultivation for the first time, as described in Chapter 2.1. For anavasita referring to sūnyaniveśa, see 7.11.1 ff. Cb has 'when half-sharers and others, after agreeing to till, do not do so, they hand over what the king desires, i.e., the entire produce to the state.' This is unlikely; so is Johnston's 'share other than those set out above (avasita as uparinirdista).' - yathestam, i.e., as desired by the king or sītādhyakṣa. This implies the idea of concessions to such new settlers. anyatra krechrebhyah: this may mean 'when the state is in distress, concessions may be withdrawn ' or ' when the farmers are in distress, they may be exempted from giving any share.' The former seems meant; cf. arthakrcchra in 5.2.1.

18 svasetubhyah: Johnston understands state irrigation works. But with dadyuh as the predicate sva can hardly refer to the king. According to the commentators, the king is entitled to a water-rate even when the works are made by the farmers themselves, because he is the owner of all water as well as land, a stanza being quoted to this effect. — udakabhāgam: this would naturally mean a share of the produce over and above the regular land-revenue. It is also possible to understand that the regular bhāga is 1/6th, when no irrigation facilities are available and that 1/5th, 1/4th etc. are charged instead when the farmers enjoy irrigation facilities (made by themselves), the rates varying according to the nature of the irrigation work. Meyer's idea of a share of the water itself supplied to crown lands from private irrigation works does not appear likely. — hastaprāvartīma, i.e., drawing water with the hands and carrying it to the fields in pitchers, etc. — skandhaare the shoulders or backs of bullocks. — srotoyantra- a mechanism for letting water in channels flowing into the fields. — -udghātam: com. understand the water-wheel for raising water from river, etc.

10 karmodaka-: Meyer's 'amount of labour and water available 'would require

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- 21 For, sugar-canes are fraught with many dangers and require (much) expenditure.
- 22 (A region) where the foam strikes (the banks) is (suited) for creeper fruits, (regions on) the outskirts of overflows, for long pepper, grapes and sugar-canes, (those on) the borders of wells, for vegetables and roots, (those on) the borders of moist beds of lakes, for green grasses, ridges for plants reaped by cutting, (such as) perfume-plants, medicinal herbs, uśīra-grass, hrībera, piṇḍāluka and others. 23 And on lands suitable for each, he should raise plants that grow on dry lands and that grow in wet lands.
- 24 Soaking in dew (by night) and drying in the heat (by day) for seven days and nights (is the treatment) in the case of seeds of grains, for three days and nights or five in the case of seeds of pulses, smearing at the cut with honey, ghee and pig's fat, mixed with cowdung in the case of stalks that serve as seeds, (smearing) with honey and ghee in the case of bulbous roots, smearing with cow-dung in the case of stone-like seeds, (and) in the case of trees, burning in the pit and fulfilment of the longing with cow-bones and cow-dung at the proper time. 25 And when they have sprouted, he should feed them with fresh acrid fish along with the milk of the *snuhi*-plant.
 - 26 He should collect (and burn) the seeds of cotton and the slough of a serpent. Serpents do not remain where there is this smoke.
- 27 However, at the first sowing of all kinds of seeds, he should sow the first handful (after it is) immersed in water containing gold

karmakara for karma. — kaidāram refers to wet crops. Johnston's proposed kedāre 'on wet land' (JRAS, 1929, 96) is hardly acceptable.

- 22 $phen\bar{a}gh\bar{a}tah$: supply pradeśah; 'where the foam strikes' are banks of rivers etc. $par\bar{v}aha$ 'overflow, flooding' is, according to Cb, 'another, i.e., a secondary canal.' $haran\bar{\imath}$ 'moist empty beds of lakes' (Cb Cp), 'canals, channels' (Cs). lava (from $l\bar{u}$ to cut) a plant which when cut continues to grow; gandha, bhaisajya etc. are illustrations.
- 24 košīdhānya 'grains in the pods,' i.e., pulses. kāndabīja 'whose seed is the stalk,' that grow from stalk, such as sugar-cane etc. gartadāhaḥ, i.e., burning grass, leaves etc. in the pit in which the seed is to be sown. Meyer construes go'sthiśakrdbhiḥ with -dāhaḥ and refers dauhrda to the longings of trees imagined by classical poets (pādāghāta for Aśoka etc.). That is very doubtful. 25 aśuska: Cb reads śuska 'dried' fish. The ca after -matsyān is strange. Meyer thinks that some word has dropped out. -kṣīreṇa: with pāyayet as the predicate, -kṣiram (with -matsyaiḥ) would have been better.
- $26\,$ -sāra 'essence,' i.e., seeds. Sorabji mentions a modern practice, burning old rags to keep off serpents.
- 27 The first line is hypermetric. Meyer proposes prajāpatye (for -pataye) which is not necessary. Ch's reading appears to be prajāpateh kāśyapāya devalāya namah

'Salutation to Kāśyapa, the Lord of Creation and to the god

(of rain) always. May the divine Sitā prosper in my seeds and my

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and should recite the following mantra:

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28 To watchmen in vegetable-gardens and in fruit and flower enclosures, to cowherds and serfs and labourers, he should supply food in accordance with persons dependent on them, and pay a wage of one pana and a quarter per month. 29 To artisans, (he should give) food and wages in conformity with their work.

grains.

30 And those learned in the Vedas and ascetics may take flowers and fruits that have fallen on the ground for worship of the gods, rice and barley for the agrayana sacrifice, (and) those who live by gleaning

(may take) what is left at the base of a heap (of grains).

31 And at the proper time he should bring in the crops and

other things as they are harvested. The wise man should not leave anything in the field, not even husk.

32 (He should make) high walls, or roofs of the same kind.

He should not make the tops compact nor very light.

33 He should make the heaps situated at the border of the

circle of the threshing-floor. At the threshing ground, workmen should carry no fire and should be provided with water.

sadā. It also reads madhyamā for rdhyatām. — dhanesu evidently refers to

grains, and seems to have been used instead of dhanyeşu for metrical reasons. 28 -pālaka is to be construed with each of sanda-, vāta- and go-. - purusa-

parivāpa refers usually to retinue or followers; cf. 1.16.5; 3.3.3. Here dependents are evidently to be understood. The state feeds not only the labourer but also his dependents, but he alone gets the cash wage of 1 1/4 pana a month. - sapāda-

panikam: Breloer (III, 505 and n. 3) has 'a monthly wage, receiving 5/4ths for every pana,' i.e., he gets 5/4 times the wage sanctioned for him, the actual amount of the wage not being stated. It is difficult to see how this meaning is possible.

For the monthly wage of 5/4 pana, see 2.27.9. āgrayaṇa is the offering of fresh grains at the end of the rains. - vrīhiya-

vam: praśirnam is to be understood also with this. 32 prākārāṇām is from Cb. It refers to the walls of the shed in which grains are stored. prakārānām of the mss. hardly suits, also prakarānām of Cp Cs. -

samucchrāyān: supply kurvīta from the second half. prākārān ucchritān kuryāt would have been better. - valabhīr 'the thatched roofs' of the shed (Cb). Cb adds that the roof should be made of iron or stones as that gives protection from piśācas. — tathāvidhāh: we have to understand by this samucchritāh. vā seems

to have the sense of ca. 33 prakarān: Cb reads prākārān here as well, but it is

threshing-floor ring. — Breloer (III, 484) remarks that the kārikās are not compressed in style as usual and seem to have had a different source.

hard on the metre. And walls of sheds would not be right on the borders of the

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

SECTION 42 THE CONTROLLER OF SPIRITUOUS LIQUORS

- 1 The Controller of Spirituous Liquors should cause trade in wines and ferments to be carried on in the fort, the country or the camp, through persons dealing in wines and ferments, being born to that work, either in one place or in many places or according to (convenience for) purchase and sale. 2 He should fix six hundred panas as the penalty for those who manufacture, purchase or sell in other places.
- 3 (He should enforce) prohibition of taking wine out of the village and its accumulation, because of the danger of remissness in duties by those appointed, because of the danger of transgression of the bounds of propriety by Āryas and because of the danger of rash acts by bravoes.

 4 Or, those of known integrity may carry out a small quantity, well marked, either one-fourth (of a kuḍuba), half a kuḍuba, a kuḍuba, half a prastha or a prastha. 5 Or, they should drink in the drinking-houses without moving about.
- 6 In order to find out things (that are) misappropriated after being received in trust or as a deposit or a pledge and (that are) acquired in undesirable ways, he should, on finding an article or money not belonging to a person, get the person offering it arrested in another place under some (other) pretext, also the person who spends lavishly and the person who spends without having a source of income.
- 7 And the (vintner) shall not sell liquor at a different price or on credit, except spoiled liquor. 8 He should get the latter sold in another

2.25

- 1 vyavahāra: here both manufacture and trade seem intended. ckamukham etc.: see 2.16.4 above. 2 anyatra kartṛ- etc.: cf. 2.12.19, 31.
- 3 anirnayanam: supply sthāpayet from the preceding. For sampāta 'accumulation' of goods, cf. 8.4.36; 13.4.38 etc. Cb Cs understand surā as 'a drunken man,' anirnayana as 'not going out' and asampāta as 'not allowing them to go in a crowd or from house to house.' This appears little likely. 4 lakṣitam 'marked' with a seal (Cs). vā: Meyer understands the option to be between lakṣitam and alpam; the option however seems to be between this s. and the preceding. 5 This s. in effect nullifies the concession of the preceding s. asamcārinah 'not moving about' when in a state of intoxication.
- 6 nikṣepopanidhiprayoga: nikṣepa is an article entrusted to an artisan for manufacture (3.12.33 ff.). prayoga is 'pledging an article' when taking a loan (Cb). Meyer's rendering 'if things are stolen in order to use them (prayoga 'use') as an open deposit (nikṣepa) or sealed deposit (upanidhi)' is quite unlikely. kupyam should be understood to mean some small article, rather than 'forest produce' as usual. nikṣeptāram refers to the customer who passes on the misappropriated article in payment of wine. anyatra vyapadeśena: this is in order that other criminals are not frightened away from the ale-house (Cs).

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place. 9 Or, he should pay it as wages for slaves and labourers. 10 Or, he should give it as a strong drink for draught animals or as nourishment for pigs.

- 11 He should cause ale-houses to be built with many rooms, (and) provided with separate beds and seats, (and) drinking bars provided with perfumes, flowers and water (and) pleasant in all seasons.
- 12 Secret agents, placed there, should ascertain the normal and occasional expenditure (of customers) and get information about strangers. 13 They should make a note of the ornaments, clothes and cash of customers who are intoxicated or sleeping. 14 In case of loss of these, the traders shall pay the same and a fine of equal amount. 15 Traders, on their part, should find out through their own female slaves of beautiful appearance, the intentions of strangers and natives, who have the (outward) appearance of Āryas, when they are intoxicated or asleep in secluded parts of the rooms.
- 16 Concerning the medaka, the prasannā, the āsava, the ariṣṭas, the maireya and madhu: 17 One droṇa of water, one-half āḍhaka of rice-grains and three prasthas of ferment form the mixture for the medaka. 18 Twelve āḍhakas of flour, five prasthas of ferment or the mixture of its class along with the bark and fruit of the kramuka, form the mixture for the prasannā. 19 One tulā of the wood-apple fruit, five tulās of treacle, and a prastha of honey form the mixture for the āsava. 20 One quarter more (of this mixture) is the best (āsava), one quarter less the lowest kind. 21 The ariṣṭas are as prescribed

7 anarghena, i.e., different from the price fixed by the state; if higher, the difference is likely to be pocketed by the vintner; if lower, there is scope for adulteration. — $k\bar{a}lik\bar{a}$ on credit'; cf. 12.4.8. Meyer's 'clearance sale within a limited time' seems less likely. 10 $v\bar{a}hanapratip\bar{a}nam$: cf. 2.29.43 etc. 'Wages for guarding cattle' (Cs) is little likely. Similarly $s\bar{u}karaposanam$ is hardly 'wages for swine-herds' (Cs).

- 11 -śayanāsana- suggests that these were also lodging houses.
- 14 vanijah: these are vintners licensed by the state. 15 $v\bar{a}stavy\bar{a}n\bar{a}m$ may be understood as an adjective to $\bar{a}gant\bar{u}n\bar{a}m$ or independently as 'residents,' i.e., natives. The latter is better in view of the ca.

17 medaka may suggest the fattening property of this liquor. — kiņva: see s. 26. 18 piṣṭa seems rice-flour, though barley-flour is also possible. Water eight times the amount of flour is to be understood as in the case of medaka (com.). — -kramuka- is from Cb for putraka. Cf. s. 29. — jātisambhāraḥ 'mixture belonging to its class, as described in s. 27' (com.). This is an option to the 5 prasthas of kiņva. Meyer has 'addition of nutmeg (jāti).' He does not understand this as an option, but renders vā by 'according to one's choice.' — The name prasannā may refer to the clearness of the liquor. 19 āsava is primarily 'infusion.' The amount of water would evidently be 8 tulās. 21 vikārāṇām 'maladies' (com.) rather than 'modification (in the ingredients)' (Meyer). The name ariṣṭa refers to absence of injury or harm. 22 The significance of the name

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by physicians for each separate malady. 22 The maireya is distilled from a decoction of the bark of the meṣaśṛṅgī with the addition of jaggery, having a mixture of long pepper and black pepper or mixed with the three fruits. 23 Or, there should be a mixture of the three fruits in all (liquors) mixed with jaggery. 24 The juice of grapes is madhu. 25 Its name derived from the place of origin is kāpišayana and hārahūraka.

- 26 One drona pulp of māṣa-beans, raw or cooked, with one-third part more rice-grains, mixed with a part weighing one karṣa (each) of moraṭā and others is the formation of ferment.
- 27 A mixture weighing five karṣas (each) of pāṭhā, lodhra, tejovatī, cardamum, vāluka, liquorice, madhurasā, priyaṅgu, dāruharidrā, black and long pepper is the addition for the medaka and the prasannā.
 28 And kaṭaśarkarā, mixed with a decoction of liquorice makes the colour clear.
- 29 The mixture for the āsava is one karṣa (each) of cinnamon bark, citraka, vilaṅga and gajapippalī and two kaṛṣas (each) of kramuka, liquorice, mustā and lodhra. 30 And one-tenth part of these is the formation of the essence.
- 31 The mixture for $prasann\bar{a}$ is that for white liquor. 32 Mango-liquor, with a higher proportion of juice or a higher proportion of

maireya is not clear. 23 triphalā may be three myrobalans, harītakī, bibhītaka and āmalaka, or 'nutmeg, areca-nut and clove' (Sorabji and Meyer). According to this s., wherever jaggery is used, triphalā should be added. 25 tasya svadešo vyākhyānam is an odd expression. vyākhyāna seems used in the sense of designation, name. In that case, we expect svadešāt. — Kapiša was an ancient capital in the region of the Kabul valley (cf. V. S. Agrawala, op. cit., p. 118 n. 1). Hārahūra is the name of a region or people beyond the North-West of India 'of Seythian or Turkish stock according to Kern' (Weber). Meyer thinks of Hara-Hūṇas. Jayaswal thinks of 'Arachosian wine' (JBORS, II, 79 n.).

- 26 kalanī apparently the same as kalka. moraṭādīnām: ādi refers to the ingredients mentioned in the first compound in s. 33 below. kārṣika-: 1 karṣa of each. -yuktam as going with dronam is preferable to -yuktah of the mss.
- 27 pañcakārṣikaḥ, i.e., 5 karṣas each. sambhārayoga is apparently to be used in place of the kinva. Cf. s. 18 above. 28 kaṭaśarkarā is evidently some plant. Its powder is mentioned in s. 33. Cb reads kanḍaśarkarā 'pieces of jaggery.' varnaprasādanī, i.e., the colour of medaka and prasannā becomes clear (Cb).
- 30 daśabhāgaś caiṣām bījabandhaḥ: the idea apparently is, 1/10th of this mixture is to be added as essence in preparing āsava as in s. 19. It amounts to 12/10ths of a karṣa, rather a small quantity. Cp reads ṣaṭkārṣikaḥ for kārṣikaḥ (in s. 29); that gives 32/10 karṣa. Meyer construes this s. with the following 'one-tenth of these as the basic deposit and the mixture as in the case of the prasannā yields white liquor.' For this, a ca is necessary after prasannāyogaḥ. Understanding prasannāyogaḥ as an adjective to bījabandhaḥ (Meyer, fn.) is no improvement.

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essence, is mahāsurā, or when it contains the mixture. 33 The powder of burnt kaṭaśarkarā, infused in a decoction of moraṭā, palāśa, pattūra, meṣaśṛṅgī, karañja and kṣīra-vṛkṣa, mixed with half (its quantity) of the pulp of lodhra, citraka, vilaṅga, pāṭhā, mustā, kaliṅga-yava, dāruharidrā, indīvara, śatapuṣpā, apāmārga, saptaparṇa, nimba and āsphota, — a handful (of this) with nails invisible, makes one kumbhī of those (liquors) clear, fit to be drunk by the king. 34 And jaggery, five palas in weight, should be added to it to increase the (sweet) juice.

- 35 Householders should be free to manufacture white liquor on festive occasions or an *ariṣṭa* for medicinal use, or other (spirituous preparations).
- 36 On the occasions of festivals, gatherings and fairs, permission to manufacture and sell liquor should be granted for four days. 37 On those days, he should charge a penalty per day from those not permitted, till the end of the festivity.
- 38 Women and children should make a search for (ingredients used in) liquors and ferments.
- 31 According to Cp śvetasurā differs from prasannā in that it has no sambhāra and has an equal amount of ferment. According to Cb there is neither sambhāra nor bijabandha. 32 Cp has four kinds, sahakārasurā (liquor mixed with mango oil), rasottarā (with jaggery added), mahāsurā (with a large amount of bīja) and sambhārikī (with a large amount of sambhāra). Cb has five, bījottarā being distinguished from mahāsurā, bīja being more in the former, mātrā(?) being more in the latter. Neither does justice to the two vā in the sentence. Meyer has mahāsurā as the name of rasottarā sahakārasurā and sambhārikī as the name of bījottarā sahakārasurā. It might appear better to think of mahāsurā alone as the name, with three alternatives rasottarā, bījottarā and sambhārikī, all understood as attributes of sahakārasurā, which may be liquor from mango juice, not made by mere addition of mango oil. 33 Cb again reads kandaśarkarā 'pieces of jaggery,' with which, however, dagdha hardly fits in. — kalingayava: Cp reads kālāguru. Meyer had proposed kalāya-yava for the faulty kalāgayava of the editions. — kalkārdhayuktam, i.e., the pulp is to be half the cūrņa in quantity. - antarnakho mustih, i.e., the fingers are so closed that the nails cannot be seen outside. The amount would be fairly small. - kumbhīm 'a pitcher' (Cb). Cs equates it with khārī, i.e., 16 dronas (2.19.31). Cp makes out catussastisahasrapalas (i.e., 1064?). 34 rasavrddhih, i.e., the strengthening of rasa as against bija or sambhāra. rasa may also suggest 'taste, flavour.'
- 36 saurikah: the commentators understand not only manufacture and drink, but also selling. 37 ananujñātānām: apparently permission could be refused to some persons. What they pay daily for manufacture and sale without permission amounts to a sort of license fee. Cb reads anyeşu ananujñātānām 'for drinking in places other than the place where the utsava etc. is being celebrated, the fine being in conformity with the loss suffered in work on account of the drink.'
- 38 vicayam 'search' for the various ingredients from plants, trees etc. It may also mean 'picking good from bad, selecting.' Com. understand it to mean 'roasting, drying etc.' of the materials.

- 39 Dealers in goods not manufactured by the state shall pay a duty of five per cent on surā, medaka, ariṣṭa, madhu, sour fruit juices, and sour liquors.
 - 40 And after ascertaining the day's sale and the surcharge on measures and on cash, he should fix the compensation accordingly and should keep going what is customary.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

SECTION 43 THE SUPERVISOR OF (ANIMAL-) SLAUGHTER

- I The Supervisor of Slaughter should impose the highest fine (for violence) for binding, killing or injuring deer, beasts, birds or fish for whom safety has been proclaimed and who are kept in reserved parks, the middle fine on house-holders (for these offences) in reserved park enclosures.
- 2 For binding, killing or injuring fish and birds whose slaughter is not current, he should impose a fine of twenty-six *panas* and three quarters, (for binding etc.) deer and beasts, double (that). 3 Of those whose slaughter is current (and) who are not protected in enclo-
- 39 surakā- etc. may be construed with the preceding (Cs) or with the stanza that follows (Meyer). The former seems slightly better in view of the ca after the first word in the stanza. The ca at the end here seems used in spite of the compound.
- 40 vyājīm mānahiranyayoh: the extra commission for māna is 6 1/4% or 5%, and for hiranya 5% (cf. 2.16.10 and 2.12.26 respectively). vaidharanam: the compensation is to be recovered because a state monopoly (manufacture and sale of liquor) has been allowed to be broken; cf. 2.12.31. The vyājī would be taken into consideration when fixing the vaidharana. The latter would be apparently reduced to that extent. ucitam 'customary,' rather than 'appropriate.'

2.26

The $s\bar{u}n\bar{a}dhyak sa$ is primarily concerned with the safety of game; he is to prevent the slaughter and ill-treatment of animals. He also strictly controls the sale of meat. There is no direct reference to slaughter-houses in the Chapter. ' $s\bar{u}n\bar{a}$ served to carry flesh, RV. 1.16.10, AV 5.17.14, and was probably a braided ($s\bar{v}v$) basket.' (H. Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 271).

- 1 pradiṣṭābhayānām: see 2.2.2 above. abhayavana may also refer to the parks of 2.2.4. vadha is 'killing' and himsā 'injury' (Meyer). parigraha 'enclosure'; cf. 2.6.6. A lesser fine is imposed on householders apparently because the meat would be for personal use, not for sale.
- 2 apravṛttavadha: the slaughter of certain animals may be disallowed by custom (on religious or other grounds) or by state. Meyer's 'who do not do any harm' seems hardly right. 3 aparigṛhīta 'not in the enclosures,' i.e., not protected. Meyer's 'who are not caught' is unlikely. If they are not caught, how is the state to receive the sixth part? daśabhāgam vādhikam: Meyer has 'one-tenth as fine for killing (vādhikam from vadha).' So Breloer has 'tax on slaughter'

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sures, he should receive one-sixth part, of fish and birds one-tenth part more, of deer and beasts, duty in addition.

- 4 He should release in sanctuary parks the live one-sixth part of birds and deer.
- 5 Sea-fish having the form of an elephant or a horse or a man or a bull or a donkey, or those from lakes, rivers, tanks or canals, curlew, osprey, gallinule, swan, ruddy goose, pheasant, *bhṛṅgarāja*, *cakora*, *mattakokila*, peacock, parrot and *madanaśārikā*, which are birds for sport and auspicious (birds), also other creatures (whether) birds or deer, should be protected from all dangers of injury. 6 For transgression of (this) protection, the first fine for violence (shall be imposed).
- 7 (Traders) shall sell meat without bones, of deer and beasts freshly killed. 8 For (meat) containing bones, they should give a compensation for loss. 9 For what is short in weight, (the fine shall be) eight times the short measure.
- 10 The calf, the bull and the milch-cow among these (animals) are not to be killed. 11 For one killing (them, there shall be) a fine of fifty panas, also for (one) torturing (them) to death.
- 12 They shall not sell (meat that is) swollen, without head, feet and bones, foul-smelling and (of a) naturally dead (animal). 13 Otherwise, there shall be a fine of twelve *panas*.
- (KSt, III, 534). But this sense is hardly possible with $v\bar{u}dhikam$ as adjective to sulkam. We have to understand 1/10 in addition to 1/6 in the case of fish and birds, and sulka in addition to 1/6 in the case of deer and beasts. 6 sulka would come to 1/20 or 1/25 as shown by 2.22.7. $v\bar{u}$ may be understood as ca. It is quite possible that the original reading was $c\bar{u}dhikam$.
- 4 pakṣimṛgāṇām: fish and beasts are omitted probably because they were intended to be consumed even when received alive.
- 5 It would be better to read sāmudrāḥ outside the compound. hastyaśvaetc.: some of the shapes are clearly imaginary. vihāra-pakṣiṇaḥ 'such as cocks, etc.' (Cs). maṅgalyāḥ 'śyāmabhāradvāja and others' (Cb). ābādha as 'danger' is common in this text. 6 rakṣātikrame: the fine is for the sūnā-dhyakṣa (Cs). His subordinates, keepers in the parks, would appear more likely.
- 7 vikrīnīran: the subject is butchers who have observed the rules laid down in s. 3 above. 8 pratipātam is from Cb. Cf. 5.2.12. It means compensation for loss, which apparently would be equal to the weight of the bones.
- 10 eṣām, i.e., mṛgapaśūnām. 11 ghnataḥ is from Cb and is necessary as corresponding to ghātayataḥ.
- 12 parisūnam is an emendation from Meyer for parisūnam. The former suggests the diseased condition of the meat. The latter as 'slaughtered or sold outside the slaughter-house' (com.) is doubtful, as there is no reference to slaughter-houses, or the obligation to slaughter or sell only there. And pari as 'outside' is also uncertain.

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14 Beasts, deer, wild animals and fish, belonging to sanctuaries, should, when harmful, be killed or bound in places other than the place of their protection.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN

SECTION 44 THE SUPERINTENDENT OF COURTESANS

- 1 The Superintendent of Courtesans should appoint as a courtesan, with one thousand paṇas, a (girl), from a courtesan's family or a family not of courtesans, who is richly endowed with beauty, youth and arts, (and) a deputy courtesan for half the family-establishment.
- 2 If a (courtesan has) run away or died, her daughter or sister shall run the family-establishment, or the mother shall provide a deputy courtesan. 3 In the absence of these, the king should take away (the establishment).
- 4 In conformity with superiority in point of beauty and ornaments, he should, with one thousand panas, assign the lowest, middle-most or highest turn (for attendance), in order to add distinction to (attendance with) the parasol, the water-jug, the fan, the palanquin, the seat and the chariot. 5 In case of loss of beauty, he should appoint her as the 'mother.'
- 14 guptisthānebhyaḥ: these are clearly the abhayavanas. The actual slaughter is to be done outside the sanctuaries.

2.27

- 1 agaṇikānvayām: apparently respectable girls could be recruited to the profession when they went astray. sahasreṇa, i.e., by giving 1000 paṇas to set up the establishment. The purchase of ornaments, dresses, furniture etc. seems meant. Meyer regards this as the annual salary. The annual salary, however, would seem to be referred to in s. 4 below. kuṭumbārdhena, i.e., with 500 paṇas.
- 2 kuṭumbaṁ bhareta: this clearly implies the continuation of the establishment. 3 Cp concludes from this that the son of a gaṇikā does not inherit from her.
- 4 Cb explains 'consistently with the increase in beauty and ornaments duties may be assigned, uttama, viz., at pratihāra, playing with dice, giving tāmbūla etc. for 1000 paṇas, madhyama, viz., holding fans, chowries etc., at 500 paṇas and kaniṣṭha, viz., carrying pīṭha, washing feet, etc. at 100 paṇas. In addition, he should give chatra and bhṛṅgāra for kaniṣṭha duty, fan and chowrie in addition for madhyama duty and these as well as pīṭha and ratha for uttama vāra.' Cs understands chatra and bhṛṅgāra as the kaniṣṭha vāra, vyajana and śibikā as madhyama and pīṭhikā and ratha as uttama, also 1000, 2000 and 3000 paṇas as the nazarana to be paid by the courtesans for the three types of duties respectively. It seems, however, that the amounts are payments made to the gaṇikā, not by her to the state. The amounts in Cs appear more likely than those in Cb. As a matter of fact, the text refers to one amount only, 1000 paṇas. The idea of the present of the various things to the

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- 6 The ransom price is twenty-four thousand panas for a courtesan, twelve thousand for a courtesan's son. 7 From the age of eight, the latter should do the work of the king's minstrel.
- 8 The female slave of a courtesan, whose professional career is over, should do work in the magazine or the kitchen. 9 One, not going (for such work), should, being kept under restraint, (be made to) pay the monthly wage of one pana and a quarter.
- 10 He should keep an account of the payment by visitors, gifts, income, expenditure and gains of a courtesan, and should prohibit an act of excessive expenditure.
- 11 For handing over her ornaments to the keeping of any one else but the mother, the fine shall be four paṇas and a quarter. 12 If she sells or pledges her belongings, the fine shall be fifty paṇas and a quarter, twenty-four paṇas in case of verbal injury, double that in case of physical injury, fifty paṇas and a quarter and one paṇa and half a paṇa for cutting off the ear.

three types of $ganik\bar{a}s$ (Cb) is also not suggested by the wording. — $vises\bar{a}rtham$: this may refer to the distinction made in the three types of work, or to the distinction, i.e., lustre added to the task. 5 $m\bar{a}t\gamma k\bar{a}$ a sort of mother superior of the establishment.

7 kuśīlava : cf. 1.12.9.

8 ganikādāsī: this should be read as a single word as in the commentators 'the female attendant of a courtesan.' Apparently such a dāsī carried on the profession of a prostitute. When she can no more do that work (bhagnabhogā), she is to be given work in the kitchen etc. Meyer (with ganikā and dāsī as separate words) thinks of the ganikā herself being bhagnabhogā and made to work as a dāsī in the kitchen etc. But the ganikā's own case seems to have been already considered in 9 avisantī, i.e., not going to the kitchen etc. for work. Meyer has ' who does not come to the king ', because she is avaruddhā ' the kept mistress ' of some one else. As the reference is to bhagnabhogā, this is an unlikely explanation. avaruddhā is understood as 'a kept mistress' even in Cp, but in the context, it can only mean 'kept under restraint' as in 1.10.11. — sapādapaņam māsavetanam: this is the monthly cash wage (beside boarding); cf. 2.24.28. She pays the wage to the person who does the work which she has refused to do. The commentators say 'the servant is to pay this amount to the ganikā, her former mistress.' vetana would hardly be used for such payment. Meyer's 'a month's wage and one and a quarter pana' is doubtful in the absence of ca.

10 dāya 'gifts by the king or other men '(Cb), rather than 'inheritance from the mother '(Cp Cs), as day to day or month to month accounts are thought of here.

— āyati seems to refer to some extra income; that is how Cp understands it. Cb does not seem to have read the word though its text shows it. Cs renders the word by 'prabhāva, power, capability.'

12 svāpateyam, i.e., her personal belongings. Cb reads svāpadeyam 'ornaments etc. given at the time of going to bed.' This is not very likely. — vākpāruṣye: the offence is by the courtesan against a visitor (com.). Meyer thinks that these are offences against the courtesan. However, the wording clearly favours the former

- 13 In case of violence against a maiden who is unwilling, the highest fine (shall be imposed), the lowest fine for violence, if she is willing. 14 If a (man) keeps under restraint a courtesan who is unwilling, or helps her to run away or spoils her beauty by cutting up a wound, the fine (shall be) one thousand paṇas. 15 Or, there shall be an increase in fine in accordance with the importance of her position, up to double the ransom amount. 16 If a (man) causes the death of a courtesan who has been appointed to the office, the fine (shall be) three times the ransom amount. 17 For killing a mother, a daughter or a female slave living by her beauty, the highest fine for violence (shall be imposed).
- 18 In all cases, the prescribed fine (shall be imposed) for the first offence, double that for the second (offence), threefold for the third (offence), in case of the fourth (repetition of the offence) he may do what he pleases.
- 19 A courtesan, not approaching a man at the command of the king, shall receive one thousand strokes with the whip, or a fine of five thousand panas.
- 20 If a (courtesan), after receiving payment, shows dislike, she shall be fined double the amount of payment. 21 In case she cheats in connection with attendance on visitors staying (overnight), she shall pay eight times the amount of payment, except in case of (her)
- view. paņo 'rdhapaṇaś ca: this goes to the gaṇikādhyakṣa, while 50 1/4 paṇas go to the state, according to Cp Cs. The total in Cb comes to 50 3/4 paṇas. It may be that 1 paṇa is the physician's fee and half a paṇa charges for medicaments. karṇacchedane: though this is more likely by an irate visitor, this offence against a visitor by a gaṇikā is not inconceivable.
- 13 kumāryāh: not necessarily a ganikākumārī; cf. 4.12.26. 15 sthāna, i.e., her position or status, utlamādivāraprādhānyena (Cp). It can hardly refer to 'the limb of the body where the wound is made '(Cs). ā niṣkrayadviguṇāt: Cb, reading ā niṣkrayād dviguṇāh has 'for kaniṣtha 24000 paṇas, for madhyama 48000 paṇas and for utlama 96000 paṇas.' This is little likely. Cb also understands 1000 for rundhatah, 2000 for niṣpātayatah and 3000 for rūpam ghnatah. paṇasahasram vā daṇḍaḥ read after this s. is omitted; Cp rightly ignores it. S. 14, to which s. 15 states an option, already mentions this same fine. 16 prāptādhikārām: i.e., appointed as a courtesan, not necessarily, however, for attendance on the king. 17 duhitṛkā is not yet appointed as a gaṇikā. rūpadāsī may be the same as or similar in status to the gaṇikādāsī of s. 8 above. Cp understands 'one who does work in connection with perfumes, flowers, etc.' ghāte: because of the lighter punishment, Cs thinks of 'beating' rather than 'killing.' But ghātayato of the last s. precludes that.
- 18 This rule seems applicable to all offences, not only to those concerning courtesans. $sy\bar{a}t$: the subject is $r\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ (Cb).
- 20 dviṣatyāḥ: in effect, 'refusing service.' 21 vasatibhoga 'payment for staying with the gaṇikā' (Cb), evidently for the night. It seems that in the ordinary

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illness or defects in the man. 22. If she kills a man, (the punishment shall be) burning on the funeral pyre or drowning in water.

- 23 If a (man) robs a courtesan of her ornaments, her goods or the payment due to her, he shall be fined eight times (the amount).
- 24 The courtesan shall communicate (to the Superintendent the payment, the gain and the (name of the) man.
- By this are explained (rules for) the women of actors, dancers, singers, musicians, story-tellers, bards, rope-dancers, showmen and wandering minstrels, who deal in women, and (women) who follow a secret profession. 26 Their musical instruments, when coming from foreign lands, shall be charged a fee per show of five panas.
- 27 (Prostitutes) who live by their beauty, shall pay per month (a tax) double the (normal) fee (charged by them).
- 28 He should provide maintenance from the king's exchequer to the (teacher) who imparts to courtesans and female slaves who live by the stage, the knowledge of the arts of singing, playing on musical instruments, reciting, dancing, acting, writing, painting, playing on the lute, the flute and the drum, reading the thoughts of others, preparing perfumes and garlands, entertaining in conversation, shampooing and the courtesan's art.

bhoga, the man does not stay overnight with the ganikā. It is possible also that bhoga is only attendance with singing, dancing etc. while vasatibhoga includes sexual enjoyment. In any case, Meyer's 'when the robbing of the payment is continuous (vasati in a locative absolute clause)' is quite unlikely.

24 Cf. s. 10 above.

25 saubhika 'a juggler or a shadow-player' (com.). He may be the saubhika of Patañjali who puts up a kind of dramatic show. Cf. Winternitz, ZDMG, 74 (1920), 118 ff. Cb Cs include strīvyavahāriṇām in the long compound that precedes and understand by it a separate class 'khanaripoṣaka (?)' (Cb), 'members of a prostitute's family' (Cs). It is better, however, to keep it outside the compound as descriptive of naṭa, nartaka, etc. — gūḍhājīvāḥ: cf. 4.4 below for the secret professions. 26 prekṣāvetanam is clearly a sort of license fee.

27 rūpājīvāh are not in state service. The ganikādhyakṣa is only concerned with collecting a tax from them. — bhogadvayagunam, i.e., twice her charge for a single visit. Meyer considers this too little and suggests 'double the monthly income per year,' amounting to the usual 1/6th. The words, however, can hardly yield this sense. For māsam 'per month,' cf. 2.24.28. Cp reads bhogadvayam only, which might appear better.

28 saṃyūhana in the sense of 'preparing' should be construed with gandha and mālya, saṃvādana being 'art of entertaining in conversation' (Cp). Cs, reading saṃpādana, has gandhasaṃyūhana and mālyasaṃpādana, which is a doubtful construction. — rājamaṇḍalāt: this has to be understood as 'from the king's purse.' The circle of kings can hardly be thought of as collaborating and contributing a share towards these expenses.

- 29 And the (teachers) should train the sons of courtesans to be the chiefs of those who live by the stage and also of all types of dancers.
 - 30 And their women, who are conversant with various kinds of signs and languages, should be employed, under the lead of their kinsmen, against the wicked, for spying, killing or making them blunder.

CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT

SECTION 45 THE CONTROLLER OF SHIPPING

- 1 The Controller of Shipping should look after activities concerning sea voyages and ferries at the mouths of rivers, as well as ferries over natural lakes, artificial lakes and rivers, in the *sthānīya* and other (towns).
 - 2 Villages on their shores and banks shall pay a fixed (tax).
- 3 Fishermen shall pay one-sixth (of their catch) as rent for the boats.
- 4 Traders shall pay a part (of the goods) as duty according as it may be current at the ports, those travelling by the king's ships (shall pay) hire for the voyage.
- 5 Those fishing for conch-shells and pearls shall pay a rent for the boats, or sail in their own boats. 6 And (the duty of) the Supervisor of these is explained by (that of) the Superintendent of Mines.
- 29 It is proposed to read -jīvinām ca (implied in Cb's explanation) for -jīvinās ca or -jīvinās ca of the mss. The ca is really misplaced; it should come after ganikā-putrān. Cp reads -tālāpacarāms ca and construes it with the following stanza; but the accusative can hardly be right, in view of teṣām and striyaḥ in that stanza.
- 30 cāraghātapramādārtham: three separate ideas seem better than two, the ghāta and pramāda of enemy's spies (Cs). anātmasu already mentions the persons against whom they are to be used. bandhuvāhanāḥ, i.e, under the lead or supervision of kinsmen. Cb has 'their kinsmen are to be given money and honour and then these are to be employed among dūṣyas.'

2.28

The nāvadhyakṣa is not a military officer. He is concerned with the control of shipping, management of ports and provision of ferries.

- 1 visaras is, according to Cs, a lake liable to dry up in summer.
- 2 klptam: a fixed tax. Cf. 2.6.10.
- 3 sadbhāgam: 1/6th part of their catch, as rent for use of state boats. When taken to the city for sale, 1/6th of the remainder as sulka would also be due.
- 4 sulkabhāgam, i.e, in accordance with 2.22.4-8. yātrāvetanam would seem to refer to the hire of the boat, including wages for the crew.
- 5 This implies that pearl-fisheries are not a state monopoly. 6 adhyakşaś caişām etc.: this is a reference to 2.12.27. The manufacture and sale of articles

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- 7 The Controller of Shipping shall observe the regulations in a port town as fixed by the Commissioner of Ports.
- 8 He should rescue boats that have gone out of their course or are tossed about by a gale, like a father. 9 He should make goods that have fallen in water either duty-free or pay half the duty. 10. And he should send these (boats) on, as commissioned, at times suitable for voyage from the port.
- 11 He should demand duty from ships sailing on sea when they come within the domain. 12 He should destroy (boats) that cause harm, also those coming over from the enemy's territory and those violating the regulations of the port.
- 13 And he should keep in use big boats in charge of a captain, a pilot, a manipulator of the cutter and ropes and a bailer of water, on big rivers that have to be ferried on (even) in winter and summer, small ones on small rivers flowing (only) in the rainy season. 14 And these should have their crossing-places fixed because of the danger of crossing by traitorous persons.
- 15 For one crossing out of time or elsewhere than at the crossing, (the punishment shall be) the lowest fine for violence. 16 For one who crosses without authority even at the proper time and at the crossing, the penalty for crossing is twenty-six panas and three quarters. 17 There shall be no penalty for fishermen, (carriers of) loads of wood

made of śańkha and muktā is the concern of the khanyadhyakṣa. The nāvadhyakṣa has nothing to do with that (as Cs thinks).

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- 8 It is proposed to read -hatā nāvaḥ for -hatām tām or -hatānām of the mss. The pronoun in the former of these is unlikely and the genitive in the latter cannot be properly construed. Meyer had proposed -hatatāntam (or -tāntāḥ) 'in distress (tānta from tam) being buffeted by strong (mūḍha) winds.' $m\bar{u}dha$, as adjective to $v\bar{a}ta$, is not a happy idea. 10 $yath\bar{a}nirdiṣṭ\bar{a}h$, i.e., to their destinations as originally directed.
- 11 kṣetra seems to refer to the domain of the state. śulkam yāceta: the point of this statement, according to Cs, is that higher rates of duty are not to be charged. The idea, however, seems to be that duty is to be demanded whether the ships discharge the goods in that port or not. These appear more as port dues than duty on goods. 12 himsrikāh, i.e., piratical ships; they may or may not belong to an enemy. amitraviṣayātigāh 'bound for enemy territory' (com.), 'coming over from the enemy's territory' (Meyer). The latter appears better.
- 13 niryāmaka is a steersman, a pilot. dātraraśmigrāhaka: this would appear to be a single person. Meyer's idea, however, 'the holder of the hook and the rope, i.e., the anchor-thrower' is not very convincing. N. N. Law has 'sailors with sickles and ropes' (IHQ, V, 1929, p. 615).
- 16 anisṛṣṭatāriṇaḥ: the sense of the causal does not seem intended in -tārin. tarātyayaḥ: the penalty is for violation of the state monopoly of ferrying. 17 sambhāvyadūtānupātinām: 'those in pursuit of suspicious characters such as thieves (sambhāvya) and those who follow royal messengers to supplement their work'

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and grass, attendants at flower-gardens, fruit-orchards and vegetable gardens and cowherds, also for those whose going after an envoy is conceivable, and for those carrying out activity in connection with goods for the army, when these cross in their own barges, as well as for those who ferry across seeds, food-stuffs and articles for household use in villages along the water-courses.

- 18 Brahmins, wandering monks, children, old persons, sick persons, carriers of royal edicts and pregnant women should cross with a sealed pass from the Controller of Shipping.
- 19 Persons from foreign lands may enter when permission to enter is granted or on the testimony of the caravan. 20 He should cause to be arrested a person carrying off the wife, the daughter or the property of another, a person who is frightened or agitated, a person hiding behind a heavy load, a person concealing (his face) by a load on the head containing heavy goods, a wandering monk who has just put on the marks or who is without the marks, a person whose illness cannot be seen, a person showing a changed appearance because of fear, a person secretly carrying goods of high value, letters, weapons or means of fire, a person with poison in hand, a person who has travelled a long distance and a person without a sealed pass.
- (Cp Cs). The meaning given to $sambh\bar{a}vya$ is doubtful. 'Those who pursue likely messengers' is possible, but makes little sense. 'Those who are the followers of a likely envoy' or 'those who can be thought of $(sambh\bar{a}vya)$ as an envoy's followers' may seem intended, more likely the latter. Apparently, an envoy's followers enjoyed certain privileges. The expression is, however, a bit awkward. $sen\bar{a}bh\bar{a}nda$ etc. is also an involved expression. Cb Cs read $-c\bar{a}ra$ for $-prac\bar{a}ra$ -. But the activity of secret agents is hardly likely to be known to the $n\bar{a}vadhyak$, a. $svataranais\ tarat\bar{a}m$: this is to be construed with the preceding two clauses. Meyer construes it also with what follows. bhaktadravya as a single idea seems better; otherwise, dravya remains unspecified. $t\bar{a}rayat\bar{a}m$ shows that the villagers get these-things without the help of the state ferry.
 - 18 This implies free use of the ferry.
- 19 kṛtapraveśāḥ: cf. 4.10.7. The expression is used predicatively. sārtha-pramāṇā vā: if vā were omitted as in most mss. the guarantee of the caravan would be the reason for granting permission to enter. But that would be applicable only to traders. It seems better to read vā. 20 udbhāṇḍīkṛta 'tottering under a heavy load' (Cp). Cb (on 2.36.13) explains 'hiding himself with a load on his head.' It seems that this latter explanation from some commentary (mahābhāṇḍena mūrdhni bhāreṇāvacchādayantam) has got into the text after udbhāṇḍīkṛtam. Else there is tautology. Meyer explains udbhāṇḍīkṛta as 'who is excessively stirred up' or 'who is deprived of his tools, vessels etc., helpless.' Neither is satisfactory. liṅga are marks of a monk, kaṣāyavastra, daṇḍa etc. alakṣyavyādhita may mean 'whose illness (pretended in order to escape the fare) cannot be seen '(com.), or 'who conceals his illness (either because of wounds or a secret or contagious disease).' The former seems meant. amudram: the mudrā may be that

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contace that 21 A small animal and a man with a load (in hand) shall pay one $m\bar{a}saka$, a load on the head, a load on the back, a cow and a horse (shall pay) two ($m\bar{a}saka$), a camel and a buffalo four, a small vehicle five, one driven by bullocks six, a cart seven, a load of commodities one quarter (of a paṇa). 22 By that is explained (fare for) a load of goods. 23 The fare for ferries on big rivers is double.

24 Villages on water-ways shall pay a fixed amount of food and wages (for the ferrymen).

25 At the frontiers, ferrymen should recover the duty, the escortcharges and the road cess, and should confiscate the goods of one going out without a seal, also (that) of a person crossing with a heavy load at an improper time and elsewhere than at the regular crossing.

26 When a boat, that is lacking in men or equipment or is unseaworthy, comes to grief, the Controller of Shipping shall make good what is lost or ruined.

27 Between the eighth day after the full moon day of Āṣāḍha and that of Kārttika, ferrying (shall be provided). The workman should give a surety and should bring in the regular daily earnings.

given by the mudrādhyakṣa (2.34.1-4), or by the nāvadhyakṣa (s. 18 above). — upagrāhayet: perhaps only grāhayet should be read.

21 golingam: supply yānam. — bhāra is the weight of 20 tulās (2.19.19). 22 bhāṇḍa, as distinguished from paṇya, refers to other than commercial goods. 'A vehicle drawn by buffaloes, camels etc.' (Cp) is an unusual sense for bhāṇḍa.

24 klptam: this being intended for the ferrymen is apparently different from the klpta of s. 2 above.

25 pratyanteşu, i.e., where the rivers form the boundaries; there is no antapāla there, only the ferry service. — nirgacchatah: the goods were being taken out to the foreign country. — amudradravyasya: for sealing of goods, cf. 2.21.2-5.

26 asamskṛtāyām, i.e., not properly built and not kept in good repair; hence 'unseaworthy' (Meyer). — abhyāvahet is from Cb and seems necessary for the sense 'to be responsible for, to be liable for 'as distinguished from abhyābhū 'to have the right to' (3.9.1).

27 saptāhavṛttām, i.e., when seven days have passed after the full moon days of the two months. — taraḥ: supply sthāpanīyaḥ. The commentators interpret tara as 'fare for the ferry' and supply grāhyaḥ. — Read kārmikaḥ pratyayam in the text. This is proposed for kārmikapratyayam of the mss. With the latter taram or ātaram can be understood as the substantive (Meyer Nachtrag), but the idea of the testimony (pratyaya) of workmen for the necessity of a ferry is not very happy. With the proposed emendation, kārmika would refer to the officer in charge of the service, who gives a surety (pratyaya) to testify to his integrity. For pratyaya, of the service, who gives a surety (pratyaya) to testify to his integrity. For pratyaya, of . 3.12.14; 3.14.34. The commentators have 'the (ferryman) should give information (pratyaya) about working days (kārmika) to the nāvadhyakṣa,' which is mation (pratyaya) about working days (kārmika) to the nāvadhyakṣa. — nityam, i.e., probably as fixed by the rules in ss. 21-23. — āvahet 'should bring in 'and hand over to the nāvadhyakṣa.

CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE

SECTION 46 THE SUPERINTENDENT OF CATTLE

- 1 The Superintendent of Cattle should know about (cattle) looked after in return for a wage, tended with a tax and a fixed return, become useless and cast off, entered (in the state herds) by payment of a share, the total number of (cattle in) herds, (cattle) that are lost or have perished, and the total produce of milk and ghee.
- 2 The cowherd, the buffalo-herdsman, the milker, the churner and the hunter should look after one hundred milch-cows, receiving a wage in cash. 3 For, if given a wage in milk and ghee, they might do harm to the calves. These are (cattle) looked after for a wage.
- 4 One person should look after one hundred animals containing an equal number of aged cows, milch-cows, cows with young, cows with calf for the first time and heifers. 5 He should give eight *vārakas* of ghee, one *paṇa* per animal (and) the hide with the mark, every year. This is tending with a tax and a fixed return.

2.29

The cattle in charge of this Superintendent clearly belong to the state.

- 1 upalabheta, i.e., should have a record of.
- 2 pindāraka is the original of the modern Pindari and is a Deshi word from peddā in the sense of mahiṣī (J. Charpentier, IA, 59, 149-51). lubdhaka serves to guard cattle from wild animals. 3 vetanopagrāhikam: the upagraha may refer to the care bestowed on cattle or the favour of wage received.
- 4 pasthauhī: the form goes back to the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, 1.7.3.2 and the Śatapatha, 4.6.1.11. In the latter place it is paraphrased by prathamagarbhā 'with calf for the first time.' Cf. A. Hillebrandt, Vedische Mythologie, III, p. 93 n. 8. The commentators here explain 'who has reached an age when she longs to be covered by a bull.' The word has a Prakrit appearance (from the feminine of prasthavāh). — samavibhāgam: according to Cb, this means 100 of each kind, jaradgu etc. That appears doubtful. - ekah: this is a sort of a contractor, who makes his own arrangements for tending the cattle. 5 astau vārakān: on the basis of a vāraka as 84/64th of a drona (2.19.46 above), eight vārakas amount to about 19.2 gallons; this much ghee would require 16 times milk (s. 35 below) or about 307.2 gallons of milk. As there are only 20 milch-cows (dhenu) in the herd, each cow's contribution would be about 15.4 gallons. This may be supposed to be 2 or 3 weeks' yield of milk in the case of good cows. The rest of the milk would obviously be used by the contractor as payment for his services. Meyer, thinking that 8 vārakas (72 litres) is too little for the entire herd, understands 800 vārakas. He also assumes that there are 50 milk-yielding cows in the herd and arrives at 10 litres of milk per day per cow. It is not easy to follow his reasoning and his figures. And his explanation seems to leave little for the herdsman. panikam puccham, i.e., 100 panas are paid by him per year as tax in addition. Breloer (III, 519 n. 1) understanding paņa as 'stipulation' has '8 vārakas of ghee as stipulated per tail.' This also would leave little for the herdsman. And for 'stipulated' panitam would seem necessary. - ankacarma: this would apply

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6 Herdsmen looking after one hundred animals divided into an equal number of cows that are diseased, that are crippled, that do not allow another person to milk them, that are difficult to milk and that kill their calves, should give a share appropriate to that class. These are (cattle) become useless and cast off.

7 Of cattle that have entered (the king's herds) through fear of an enemy invasion or forest-tribes, the (owners) should give one-tenth part according to the law of protection. These are (cattle) entered by payment of a share.

8 Calves, weaned calves, young bulls being broken in, draught-bullocks, and stud-bulls are male cattle; (buffaloes) drawing a yoked vehicle or a cart, stud-buffaloes, slaughter-buffaloes and those carrying (loads) on their backs and shoulders are male buffaloes; the heifer, the weaned heifer, the cow with calf for the first time, the cow with young, the milch-cow, the cow that has not borne a calf and the sterile cow, are cows and she-buffaloes; those a month or two old, are their off-springs (as) calves and heifers. 9 He should mark those that are a month or two old. 10 He should mark an animal that has stayed (in the herd) for a month or two. 11 The (branded) mark, the (natural) mark, the colour, the peculiarity of the horns,—with these characteristics, he should record additions (to the herd). This is the total of (cattle in the) herds.

only when the animal dies. — karapratikarah: it seems that kara refers to the 8 vārakas of ghee and 100 paṇas that the herdsman pays to the state and pratikara to what he gets for himself out of the herd. It is also possible that kara refers to the paṇika puccha and pratikara to the 8 vārakas. The marked hide could hardly have been meant by pratikara, as Breloer thinks.

6 putraghnī: one that gives birth to a dead calf. — samavibhāgam: Cb again has 100 of each kind. — tajjātikam bhāgam '1/2 or 1/3 or 1/4 of the 8 vārakas, according to the trouble in tending them' (Cb). vyādhitā, nyangā might yield little or nothing. Breloer thinks of 1/10 as in 5.2.27. But that refers to a part of the cattle themselves and is hardly applicable here.

7 daśabhāgam, i.e., one-tenth of their produce (Meyer), hardly 1/10th of the cattle themselves. Cf. 3.13.28. The share is received by the state.

8 vṛṣā ukṣāṇaḥ: the commentators understand 'stud-bulls and aged bullocks.' Meyer understands a single idea 'stud-bulls' corresponding to vṛṣabhāsa ukṣāṇaḥ of the Rgveda. The latter seems intended; cf. 3.10.24 and 4.13.20. — śakala appears to be bigger than yugavāhana; cf. 2.28.21. — dhenuś cāprajātā: the ca is strange; so is the plural in vandhyāḥ. aprajātā, i.e., 'who has not borne a calf, but whose sterility is not yet certain' (Cb). — upajāḥ 'born near,' i.e., additions. 9 aṅkayet: the mark may be some number or svastika or sickle, spoon etc. (Meyer, who also refers to cutting or splitting the ears in various ways in Pāṇini 6.3.115). 10 paryuṣita, i.e., staying in the king's herds, unclaimed by the owner. 11 cihna, as distinguished from aṅka, seems to be some natural mark. — śṛṅgāntaram 'peculiarity of the horns' (Cb Cp). 'Distance' between the horns' is also possible, though in either sense śṛṅgāntara can be thought of only in connection with fully

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- 12 An (animal) that is stolen by thieves, has gone into another herd or has disappeared is lost. 13 An (animal) that has sunk in mud or has got in an inaccessible place, or is struck down by illness or old age or has suffered because of water or food, or is struck by a tree, a bank, wood or rock, or is struck by lightning or killed by a wild animal, a serpent, a crocodile or in a forest-conflagration, is destroyed. 14 They should make good (what is lost or destroyed) through negligence.
 - 15 Thus he should be cognisant of the number of animals.
- 16 He who himself kills (an animal) or incites another to kill or steals or incites another to steal shall be executed.
- 17 He who changes the cattle of another with the royal mark shall pay the lowest fine for violence per animal.
- 18 After recovering what is stolen by thieves from cattle belonging to his own country, a person shall receive the animal agreed upon.

 19 He who recovers cattle belonging to a foreign country shall receive half (the animals).
- 20 Cowherds shall (care for and) treat the young, the old and the diseased. 21 They shall graze (the cattle) in a forest from which the fear of danger from thieves, wild animals and enemies has been removed by fowlers and hunters and which is suitable in different seasons.

 22 And in order to frighten serpents and wild animals and to know

grown up cattle. — evam upajāh: Meyer, understanding a single expression, has 'born of such and such a cow and such and such a bull.' It is doubtful if records of pedigrees are meant here.

- 13 toyāhāra 'because of defects in water or food '(Cb). Cb Cs read vṛkṣātaṭa and Cs explains ataṭa as 'fall from a precipice.' In view of abhihata at the end, 'fall 'need not be understood. Breloer (III, 526) understands vṛkṣa with kāṣṭha and taṭa with śilā. 14 This applies to naṣṭa as well as vinaṣṭa, not to the latter alone as in Cs. For abhyāvah, see 2.28.26 above.
- 17 $parivartayit\bar{a}$: apparently the substitution of an inferior animal is thus thought of. $r\bar{u}pasya$, i.e., for each animal. It can hardly be construed with $parivartayit\bar{a}$ in the sense of 'appearance.' $r\bar{u}pa$ refers to 'animal' in this Chapter.
- 18 paṇitam rūpam, i.e., the animal that was promised as reward to any one who recovered the stolen cattle. This implies cattle-lifting on a large scale. Cb Cs read paṇikam rūpam and explain 'the rescuer should get one paṇa per animal'; Meyer agrees and adds that the go'dhyakṣa is to be thought of as the rescuer. Such extra remuneration to an officer would be unusual. 19 mokṣayitā is evidently the person who successfully lifts cattle from a neighbouring state, or traces such cattle lifted by robbers from that state. He must, of course, inform the state; then he keeps half the cattle, the other half going to the state. Cf. E. H. Johnston, JRAS, 1936, pp. 82-83. Breloer remarks (III, 528 n. 1) that this is according to the law concerning the finding of treasure-trove. mokṣayitā cannot be the 'owner of the cattle' (Cs) since these are paradeśīya, nor the go'dhyakṣa (Meyer).

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the movements in the pastures, they should tie a bell round the necks of timid animals. 23 They should take (cattle) down to water, to which the descent is even and broad, and which is free from mud and crocodiles, and should guard them (at the time). 24 They should report cattle seized by robbers, wild animals, serpents or crocodiles and cattle that have died because of disease or old age; otherwise, they shall be liable to pay the price of the animal.

- 25 Of (an animal) dying through a valid cause, they shall deliver the marked hide in the case of the cow and the buffalo, the mark on the ear in the case of the goat and the sheep, the tail and the marked skin in the case of the horse, the donkey and the camel, and the hair, skin, bladder, bile, tendons, teeth, hooves, horns and bones (in the case of all). 26 They may sell the flesh, either fresh or dried.
- 27 They should give the butter-milk to the dogs and pigs.
 28 They should bring in the solidified curds as food for the army.
 29 The whey is for moistening the oil-cake from the oil-press.
 - 30 The seller of cattle shall pay one quarter (of a pana) per animal.
- 31 In the rainy season, autumn and winter, they should milk (the cattle) both times, in the season of frost, spring and summer, once (only). 32 For one milking a second time (then), the cutting off of the thumb (shall be) the punishment. 33 For one allowing the milking time to pass, the fine (shall be equal to) the loss of that fruit.
- 22 gocarānupāta-: anupāta clearly means only 'movements.' Meyer, however, has 'pursuit (by wild animals).' That does not seem very likely. trasnūnām: this is 'in order to accustom the timid ones to sound' (Cs). More likely, it is because they would be the first to take fright and attract the herdsman's attention by the sound of the bells, if there is anything amiss.
- 25 kāraņamṛtasya, i.e., about the cause of whose death there is no suspicion. Meyer proposes to read kāraṇam mṛtasya 'as proof (kāraṇa), they should bring, of the dead, car-marks etc.' This seems hardly plausible.
- 28 kūrcikām is from Cb, explained as 'dried coagulated curds' or cheese. Cp seems to have read rucikām in the same sense. Cf. 'dadhnā saha ca yat pakvam kṣīram sā dadhikūrcīkā etc.' (Śabdakalpadruma).
- 30 paśuvikretā: this might refer to the sale of private cattle and one quarter of a paṇa per animal might appear to be a sort of sales tax. We can hardly think of the sale of royal cattle by the herdsman or the go'dhyakṣa (Meyer), for there seems to be no reason why these should pay such a tax. If we think of it as a fine for unauthorized sale of state cattle, it would appear to be extremely small for the offence. Breloer (III, 531) thinks of one-quarter of the animal itself (pādikain rūpam) as being given to the state. That can apply only to a dead animal. In that case māmsavikretā might appear a better reading and this s. may better be read immediately after s. 26, so that the rule would apply to the sale of meat.
- 32 ekakālam, i.e., in the evening (com., also Meyer). 33 tatphalahānam, i.e., equal to the value of the milk lost. Cf. 2.24.4. 34 etena, i.e., the danda is to

- 34 By this are explained (punishments for neglect of proper) times for putting the nose-string, for breaking in, for accustoming to the yoke and for (training in) going round.
- 35 From a drona of cows' milk, a prastha of ghee (is the normal yield), one-fifth more in the case of she-buffaloes, one-half more in the case of goats and sheep. 36 Or, (actual) churning shall decide the amount in the case of all. 37 For, in accordance with the excellence of the ground, the grass and water, there is an increase in (the yield of) milk and ghee.
- 38 For one causing a bull of the herd to be hurled down by another bull, the lowest fine for violence (shall be the punishment), for causing his death, the highest (fine).
- 39 By grouping according to class, groups of ten (cattle) should be guarded. 40 The arrangements at the place of stay (should be) according to the movements of the cattle or according to the strength of the cattle, and in conformity with the capability for guarding.
- 41 He should cause the wool of goats and sheep to be gathered every six months.
- 42 By that are explained (rules concerning) herds of horses, donkeys, camels and pigs.

correspond to the *phalahāna*, loss of work-days by bullocks due to delay in their training. — *yugapingana*: in *pingana* the root appears to be *piñj* 'to join.' — *vartana* 'going round' is necessary on the threshing floor and in the oil-press.

- 35 This means that 16 parts of milk yield 1 part ghee. pañcabhāgādhikam, i.e., 1 1/5 part ghee from 16 parts milk; so in the next clause. 37 kṣīraghṛtavṛddhiḥ 'increase in milk and ghee' includes the idea of increase in the proportion of the yield of ghee.
- 39 varṇāvarodhena: the commentators understand varṇa as 'colour,' i.e., cattle should be grouped according to colour for ease in watching. It seems, however, better to understand varṇa as 'class, type' such as jaradgu, dhenu, garbhiṇī, etc. 40 upaniveśa 'settlement' for the night (Cb). Stay for a long or short period may also be understood. gopracārāt, i.e., in accordance with ease of movement for the cattle. Cb, however, has 'according to colour, white in the east, black in the south, etc.' This is hardly likely. balānvayato, i.e., according to the strength of the herd. Cb has 'the division should be according to weakness and strength,' i.e., apparently weak on one side and strong on the other.
- 41 ajādīnām: it seems quite clear that ajāvīnām should rather be read. Sheep, the principal source of wool, would not just be left to be inferred from ādi. Cf. s.48 below.
- 42 aśva in herds are, it seems, the concern of the go'dhyakṣa, while those in stables are looked after by the aśvādhyakṣa (2.30).

THE ACTIVITY OF THE HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS [2, 29, 48

43 For bullocks, with nose-string and capable of driving at the speed of a gentle horse, (the ration shall consist of) half a bhāra of green fodder, grass double that, a tulā of oil-cake from the press, (or) ten āḍhakas of broken grains and bran, five palas of rock-salt. one kuduba of oil for the nose (and) one prastha as drink, a tulā of meat and an āḍhaka of curds, a droṇa of barley or of half-cooked māṣa-beans; a droṇa of milk or half an āḍhaka of liquor, a prastha of fat, ten palas of sugar and a pala of ginger (as) a strength-giving drink. 44 One quarter less (is the ration) for mules, cows and donkeys, double for buffaloes and camels. 45 For bullocks used for work and for milch-cows suckling their calves, the giving of rations (shall be) according to the time of work and the yield (of milk respectively). 46 For all, there shall be abundance of grass and water.

47 Thus is explained the care of hards of cattle.

48 He should provide a herd of one hundred donkeys and horses with five stallions, of (one hundred) goats and sheep with ten rams, and of cows, buffaloes and camels with four bulls.

43 nasya to be construed with $v\bar{a}hin$. — bhadra qualifies aśva rather than gati. — bhāra, i.e., 20 tulās. As this appears too much, Meyer proposes for bhāra the sense of what can be carried in the arms. The rations, however, throughout appear on a very liberal scale. — It appears that a $v\bar{a}$ has dropped out after daśāḍhakam, for 10 āḍhakas of bran etc. appear as an option to 1 tulā of oil-cake in 2.15.52, which is more reasonable. — mukhalavaṇa 'salt from the Indus land' (Cs), 'rock-salt' (Meyer). — māmsa as 'meat' being strange, Meyer understands 'pulp of fruit'; the Suśruta (1.324.15) does use māmsa in this sense (cūtaphale paripakve keśaramāmsāsthimajjānaḥ). — pratipānam is to whet the appetite (Cs). Cf. 2.25.10. 45 karmakālataḥ is to be understood of karmakarabalīvardas and phalataḥ of pāyanārtha dhenus. Cb reads pāyanārtham with a stop after it 'for the drinking of workmen's bullocks,' which makes little sense. Cs (reading karmakarabalīvardānām at the end of s.44) has pāyanārtham ca dhenūnām as a separate sentence 'the drink-ration and the food-ration (understood because of ca) are to be double for milch-cows.' This is very doubtful.

47 gomandalam clearly refers to herds of cattle. It is an item of expenditure in 2.6.11.

48 Breloer (III, 509) remarks 'the sections on cattle-rearing and agriculture are more interspersed with verses than the chapters on trade. The difference lies in the nature of things. The lists in the trade parts were probably not clothed in verse in the original books.' It must be pointed out that there is not a single verse in the body of this Chapter on cattle-rearing.

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CHAPTER THIRTY

SECTION 47 THE SUPERINTENDENT OF HORSES

- 1 The Superintendent of Horses should cause to be registered the total number of horses, received as gift, acquired by purchase, obtained in war, bred (in the stables), received in return for help, stipulated in a treaty or temporarily borrowed, according to their pedigree, age, colour, marks, class and source. 2 And he should report such as are not good or are crippled or diseased.
- 3 The horse-attendant shall receive from the treasury and the magazine a month's allowance (for the horse) and carefully look after it.
- 4 He should cause stables to be constructed, in length according to the number of horses, in width double a horse's length, with four doors and a rolling ground in the centre, with an entrance-hall, provided with boards for sitting at the main gate, (and) crowded with monkeys, peacocks, spotted deer, ichneumons, cakoras, parrots and śārikās.

 5 He should cause a stall for each horse to be built, square with the length of a horse, with a flooring of smooth planks, with a receptacle for fodder, with outlets for urine and dung, (and) facing the east or the north. 6 Or, he should arrange the direction according to the (nature of the) stables. 7 For mares, stallions and foals (the stalls shall be) at separate ends.

2.30

The horses under the care of the aśvādhyakṣa are those useful in war.

- 1 panyāgārika should be understood as 'received as a gift' in conformity with the sense of panyāgāra in 7.15.20; 9.6.28,20. The Glossary (in Part I) should be corrected accordingly. 'For sale in the market' does not quite suit. sāhāyyāgatakam' received in return for help rendered' (Cb). 'Received for rendering help' is possible; but these may be supposed to be included in yāvatkālika. panasthitam, i.e., received as a condition in a treaty. Cb has 'kept as a hostage,' Cs 'kept as a pledge.' varga 'breed, such as Pārasīka etc.' (Cs). It might refer to uttama, madhyama and avara classes.
- 3 māsalābham: this month is one of thirty-five days as in 2.20.52, according to Cp.
- 4 aśvāyāmadviguņavistārām: as each stall is in length equal to a horse's length (s. 5) and the śālā has a width double that, half of the latter would be a sort of corridor behind the row of stalls situated along the four walls. upāvartana may be 'rolling' on the ground, (cf. luthito'sva upāvrttah Vaijayantī), or 'going round' in a ring while in training. pragrīva: cf. 2.5.3. pradvārāsanaphalaka- 'a wooden seat with a back-rest on both sides of the door for watchmen' (Cb). For pradvāra 'main gate,' cf. 2.36.21. vānara- etc.: some of the creatures are for detection of poison, others for averting the evil eye. 5 prāmukham udanmukham vā: with the present day method of tying horses, this would imply that there are to be stalls only on the western and southern sides.

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8 For a mare that has borne a foal, a drink of a prastha of ghee (shall be provided) for three nights. 9 After that, a prastha of barleymeal and an invigorating drink of fat and medicines (shall be given) for ten nights. 10 Thereafter, half-cooked barley or beans, green fodder and a diet according to the season (shall be given).

11 After ten nights (from birth) a foal should have a diet of one kuduba of barley-meal, ghee one-quarter and a prastha of milk, till it is six months old. 12 After that, (it should be given) a prastha of barley, increased by half (a prastha) every month, till it is three years old, (then) a drona (of barley) till it is four years old. 13 After that, when four year old or five year old, it is fit for work, being fully developed.

14 The face of the best (type of) horse is thirty-two angulas, its length five times the face, its shank twenty angulas (and) height four times the shank. 15 Three angulas less (successively, are the measurements) for the middling and lowest types. 16 One hundred angulas is the girth (of the best type). 17 One-fifth part less (that) of the middling and lowest types (successively).

18 For the best (type of) horse (the ration is) two dronas of śālirice, vrīhi-rice, barley or priyangu, either half-dry or half-cooked, or a half-cooked meal of mudga or māṣa and a prastha of fat, five palas of salt, fifty palas of meat, an ādhaka of juice or double that curds for moistening the lumps (of dry food), a prastha of liquor with five palas of sugar or double that quantity of milk as an invigorating drink.

19 And for whetting the appetite of those fatigued by a long journey or a heavy load, a prastha of fat (should be given) as a clyster, one kuduba (of fat) for the nose, half a bhāra of green fodder, grass double that or a collection of bundles of grass six aratnis in circumference.

20 This, less by one quarter (successively), is for the middling and lowest types.

11 The *iti* at the end of this s. and the next which is found in the mss. is not necessary. It is proposed to drop it. 12 At the end of the third year, the increase does amount to 16 prasthas or a dropa.

14 The length of the horse comes to about 10 feet and the height 5 feet.

15 tryangulāvaram: Cb Cs read dvyangulāvaram. 17 pañcabhāgāvarah: as parināhah is to be understood, this is proposed for -varam of the mss. One-fifth less comes to 80 and 60 angulas respectively. Cb has 80 and 64 (1/5th of 80). Cp Cs have 95 and 90 angulas, which seems hardly possible. — The smallest size appears to be more or less that of a pony.

18 māmsam: see 2.29.43 above. — rasa seems to be sugar-cane juice. — kledanārtham from Cb is necessary as going with ādhakam and dvigunam; cf. 2.31.13 below. 19 khādanārtham 'to make them eat,' i.e., to whet their appetite. — anuvāsanam 'washing the lower intestines by an enema' (com.).

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- 21 Equal to the best type (in point of ration) is the chariot-horse and the stallion of the middling type. 22 Equal to the middling (are those of) the lowest type. 23 One quarter less (is the ration) for mares and mules. 4 And half of this (is) for foals. 25 These are rules for rations (of horses).
- 26 Those who cook the food (for horses), who hold the reins and who treat them should taste the food beforehand.
- 27 (Horses) incapacitated for work by war, disease, or old age should receive food for maintenance. 28 (Horses) unfit for use in war should be used, as stallions, (to breed) on mares in the interests of the citizens and the country people.
- 29 Of those fit for use, the best come from Kāmboja, Sindhu, Āratṭa and Vanāyu, the middling from Bāhlīka, Pāpeya, Sauvīra and Titala, the rest are inferior. 30 In accordance with their fiery, gentle or dull mettle, he should assign to them work connected with war or riding.
 - 31 The all-sided work of a horse is (work) connected with war.
- 32 Moving at a gallop, moving at a canter, leaping, moving at a trot, and responding to signals are (movements of) riding-horses.
- 21 rathyo vṛṣaś ca madhyamaḥ: Meyer construes madhyama with vṛṣa alone. It could also be understood of rathya. 23 pādahīnam, i.e., 1/4th less that for the male in each class. 24 ato rdham, i.e., half that of the female in each class.
- 26 sūtragrāhaka 'the rein-holder,' i.e., 'the groom' (com.). pratisvāda: cf. 1.21.10 and 5.1.31. Cp Cs, however, have '(shares in) the ration,' i.e., their food should be prepared along with that of the horses.
 - 27 pindagocarikāh, i.e., receiving food only for their maintenance.
- 29 Kāmboja was an ancient kingdom to the north of Gandhāra. The saṅgha type of rule prevailing there is mentioned in 11.1.4 below. Āraṭṭa is a part of the Punjab (Meyer, who compares Mahābhārata, 8.44.31-3). Vanāyu' 'Arabia' (the Vācaspatya, N. N. Law and K. Nag), 'Persia' (Mallinātha on Raghu 5.73, Halāyudha and Meyer). Cf. Johnston, JRAS, 1939, 232. Bāhlīka 'from Bactria.' The origin of pāpeyaka is uncertain. taitala 'from Titala' in Orissa (Agrawala, op. cit., p. 61). Mahābhārata, 6.90.5, mentions tittiraja horses (Meyer, who asks if taitala refers to these). The Sauvīras are along the Indus to the north of the Sindhus.
- 30 aupavāhyaka refers to riding. Carrying of loads on back seems hardly intended. prayojayet, i.e., train them to that type of work.
- 31 caturaśram 'four-sided,' i.e., of all types. A horse's work in warfare is referred to in 10.4.13 and 10.5.53. sāmnāhyam is predicative, not caturaśram (as in Meyer).
- 32 aupavāhyāḥ: the substantive is aśvāḥ. Consequently, valgana etc. are adjectives descriptive of a horse. mārgāḥ 'gaits' is possible as the substantive, but seems less likely. 'Meyer suggests nārāṣṭra for nāroṣṭra 'with a goad (aṣṭrā) in the form of a man (nāra).' That is possible, but not certain.

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- 33 Among them, aupaveņuka, vardhamānaka, yamaka, ālīḍhapluta, pṛthuga and trikacālī are (varieties of) gallop.
- 34 The same, with head and ears unaffected, is canter, or it has sixteen (types of) paces. 35 prakīrņaka, prakīrņottara, niṣaṇṇa, pārśvānuvṛtta, ūrmimārga, śarabhakrīḍita, śarabhapluta, tritāla, bāhyānuvṛtta, pañcapāṇi, simhāyata, svādhūta, kliṣṭa, ślingita, bṛmhita and puṣpābhikīrṇa are the paces in canter.
- 36 Monkey leap, frog leap, antelope leap, one-foot leap, cuckoo move, breast-movement and crane move are (types of) leap.
- 37 Heron gait, heron-on-water gait, peacock gait, half-peacock gait, ichneumon gait, half-ichneumon gait, boar gait, half-boar gait are (varieties of) trot.
- 33 The exact nature of the various types of a horse's gaits, sometimes even their names, are uncertain. Cb is lacking from s. 21 onwards. Cp is far from clear and does not always appear right. aupavenuka 'with a circle (mandala) of only one hasta' (Cp); this is hardly helpful. vardhamānaka 'jumping in a series of circles of one hasta each' (Cp). yamaka 'galloping in two circles simultaneously' (Cp). ālīḍhapluta 'jumping with one leg contracted and the other stretched forward' (Cp). ālīḍha is a posture in archery. pṛthugaḥ is in accordance with a suggestion by Meyer for the unlikely form pṛthagaḥ of the mss. Cp reads vṛthādyaḥ 'jumping with the fore-part of the body.' Cs (with Cb) reads pūrvagaḥ in this sense. trikacālī 'jumping with the hind-part of the body' (Cp, the exact reading in it being uncertain).
- 34 sa eva, i.e., the same as valgana. śirahkarnaviśuddhah: this apparently means that the head and ears are steady, not moving. - sodaśamārgo vā: 'vā in the sense of ca' (com.). It is possible, however, that this is an alternative view about nīcairgata, viz., that it is unrelated to valgana and has 16 types. 35 prakīrņaka 'containing a mixture of all gaits '(Cp). — prakīrņottara 'mixed, with one gait prominent' (Cp). - nisanna 'in which the back is motionless' (Cp). (visannah in our text is a misprint.) — pārśvānuvrtta 'a sideways gait ' (Cp). - ūrmimārga ' heaving the body up and down ' (Cp). Referring to Mallinātha on Śiśupālavadha, 5.4, Meyer (in the Nachtrag) suggests that some of these gaits are not those of a single horse, but rather movements of a cavalry-formation. Thus prakīrnaka 'spread out,' ūrmimārga 'wave-like formation' are formations by a number of horses, not the gait of one. This appears plausible. - tritāla 'moving with three legs' (Cp). - bāhyānuvrtta 'prancing to the left and the right' (Cp). Meyer proposes bāhvanuvrtta harmonious in the fore-legs.' bāhu is not very likely for the fore-legs of a horse. - pañcapāni ' placing three legs on the ground and striking the ground twice with the fourth '(Cp). Meyer has 'spreading out in five columns.' - simhāyata 'long like a lion's gait.' svādhūta: Cp seems to have read vyādhūta 'with very long strides.' - klista 'laboured' is 'vivahanavisrabdhagatih with a steady gait in carrying(?)' (Cp). ślingita 'moving with a bent fore-part' (Cp). - brmhita 'with the fore-part raised '(Cp). - puspābhikīrņa 'with a zigzag motion' (Cp). The expression seems to suggest taking steps very lightly.
- 36 The expressions are adjectives to aśvāḥ. ekapādaplutaḥ 'contracting three legs and jumping with the fourth '(Cp). urasya 'contracting all four legs and jumping with the breast alone '(Cp).

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- 38 Acting in accordance with signals is signal-responding.
- 39 Six, nine and twelve yojanas is the road (covered in a day) for chariot-horses, five yojanas, seven and a half, and ten, the road for riding (and pack-) horses.
- 40 The stride, the (gait) with gentle breath and the load-carrying are the gaits.
 - 41 Striding, galloping, leaping, near-fast and fast are the speeds.
- 42 Teachers of training should give directions concerning straps and implements for them, and charioteers concerning accourtements of chariot-horses necessary in war. 43 Physicians of horses (should prescribe) remedies against decrease or increase in (the weight of) the body, and diet varying according to season.
- 44 The holder of reins, the binder of horses, the fodder-giver, the food-cook, the stall-guard, the hair-trimmer and the specialist in poison-cure, should wait upon horses with their respective duties.
 45 And in case of transgression of duties by them, he should cut down their day's wage. 46 For one riding a horse kept apart for the rite of lustration or kept apart (for treatment) by a physician, the fine shall be twelve paṇas. 47 In case of a worsening of the disease because of withholding treatment or medicine, the fine shall be double the (cost of) cure. 48 In case of an untoward happening through their fault, the fine shall be the price of the animal.
- 49 By that are explained (rules for attendance on) herds of cattle, donkeys, camels and buffaloes and goats and sheep.
- 37 vārikānka: Cb Cs read vārikānkşa 'with the gait of a swan,' Meyer proposes vāridhvānkşa 'water-crow.' The gait of a heron on water may well have been intended.
- 39 According to Cs, 6, 9 and 12 are for the best, middling and lowest respectively. The reverse might appear more likely.
- 40 vikramaḥ 'taking a stride.' bhadrāśvāsaḥ 'breathing gently,' i.e., not over-exerted. bhāravāhya 'load-bearing,' i.e., with a laboured gait.
- 41 vikrama is the slowest among speeds (Cs). upakantham, literally, 'near the throat' seems to refer to a leaping run, when the fore-legs come near the throat. dhārā is pace in running or speed.
- 42 For bandhana and upakaraṇa, cf. 2.32.12-13 below. Meyer distinguishes sāmgrāmika alamkāra from rathāśvālamkāra. That seems hardly intended.
- 44 sūtragrāhaka: see s. 26 above. aśvabandhaka who yokes the horse to the chariot or ties it to the post.
- 46 $n\bar{i}r\bar{a}jan\bar{a}$ is a purification-rite, performed over arms, horses, elephants etc., with recitation of mantras, offering of oblations and waving of lights before them. Cf. s. 51 below. Br. Sam., ch. 44, describes the $n\bar{i}r\bar{a}jana\ vidhi$.
 - 47 sanga 'attachment,' i.e., not rendering them in time, withholding them.
 - 48 vailomya is, in effect, death. patra 'vehicle,' i.e., the horse.

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- 50 He should cause a bath to be given to horses twice a day, also perfumes and garlands. On the junctures of the dark halves of months, offerings to spirits (should be made) and on those of the bright halves, reciting of blessings (by Brahmins).
- 51 He should cause the lustration rite to be performed on the ninth day in Aśvayuja, at the beginning or the end of an expedition or in case of illness, being intent on a pacificatory rite.

CHAPTER THIRTY-ONE

SECTION 48 THE SUPERINTENDENT OF ELEPHANTS

- 1 The Superintendent of Elephants should carry out the guarding of elephant-forests, (and look after) the stables, stalls, places for lying down and the amount of work, food and fodder for male and female elephants and cubs, that are being trained or are competent for work, the assignment of tasks to them, the straps and implements and the accoutrements of war, and physicians, trainers and group of attendants.
- 2 He should cause a stable to be constructed double an elephant's length in height, breadth and length, with additional stalls for female elephants, with an entrance-hall, with a collection of beams, (and) facing the east or the north. 3 He should cause a stall (for each elephant) to be built, square in conformity with an elephant's length,
 - 49 tena, i.e., the rules in ss. 45 ff. apply, with suitable modifications.
- 50 dvir ahnah: this 'only in summer and autumn' (Cs). kṛṣṇasamdhi, i.e., the new moon day and śuklasamdhi, i.e., the full moon day. 51 The ninth day in Āśvayuja does not exactly correspond to the Dasara day, which falls on the tenth of the bright half of that month, on which, however, horses are still worshipped in many parts of India.

2.81

- 1 hastivanarakṣām: apparently the nāgavanādhyakṣa and his subordinates (of 2.2.7 ff.) worked under the hastyadhyaksa. - karmaksanta is one who has completed his training for some particular type of work. Cb has 'who needs rest after training.' — śayyā: this is described in s. 4 below. — The form aupasthāyika is favoured by Cb Cp. M has upasthāyuka here, but upasthāyika in 5.3.17.
- 2 -viṣkambhāyāmām: that the length of the śālā is to be only double an elephant's length (i.e., about 18 aratnis) is surprising. We expect it to be in conformity with the number of elephants, as in 2.30.4 above. Perhaps double the length of the number of elephants is to be understood. - hastinisthanadhikam, i.e., with additional, i.e., separate stalls for females. Cb Cs, however, have 'more by six aratnis, the stall for a female, i.e., 24 hastas long.' How this meaning is arrived at it is difficult to see. - kumārīsamgrahām 'with a beam placed on the tying post for ease in tying ' (com.). As Meyer remarks this should have come in the description of the stall, not of the śālā. He has 'a scaffold or framework of beams.' 3 In conformity with 2.30.5 -starakam is proposed for -ntarakam, and -tsargam

with a smooth tying-post and plank-flooring, (and) with outlets for urine and dung. 4 (There should be) a place for lying down equal (in size) to the stall (and) half in height, in the fort, for elephants used in war and used for riding, outside (the fort) for those under training and rogue-elephants.

- 5 The first and seventh of the one-eighth parts of the day are times for bath, after that for feeding. 6 In the forenoon is the time for exercise, the afternoon is the time for invigorating drink. 7 Two parts of the night are the time for sleep, one-third part for lying down and getting up.
- 8 The time for catching (elephants) is in summer. 9 A twenty year old should be caught. 10 A cub, an elephant with small tusks, one without tusks, one diseased, a female elephant with young and a suckling female elephant are not to be caught.
- 11 A forty year old (elephant) with measurements of seven aratnis as height, nine as length and ten as girth is best, a thirty year old one is middling, a twenty-five year old one lowest. 12 For those two, the ration is less by a quarter (than that for the preceding type).
- 13 For each aratni (of height), (the ration is) a drona of rice-grains, half an āḍhaka of oil, three prasthas of melted butter, ten palas of salt, fifty palas of meat, an āḍhaka of juice or double that quantity

sthānam for -tsargasthānam, as suggested by Meyer. 4 śayyām: this seems to refer to temporary sheds, to be used when the number of elephants exceeds the accommodation in the śālā. — ardhāpāśrayām: this may be understood as 'having half the height (of a sthāna)' and probably without a roof. Cb has 'with a ceiling 5 hastas above the height of the elephant'; Cp 'half, i.e., 4 1/2 hastas in height on the side; 'Meyer' with a railing or banister half as high as the elephant.'

- 6 pratipānakālaḥ: Thinking that the whole afternoon is unlikely for drink, Meyer proposes pratipādanakālaḥ 'time for exhibition of what is learnt or for recoupment or restoration to normal,' This reading is actually found in the mss., but it does not seem to be original. For pratipāna for elephants, see s. 13 below.
- 10 vikka 'a cub that still sucks '(com.). modha 'with tusks like those of a female elephant '(com.). makkana 'a tuskless elephant.' All these are apparently Deshi words.
- 11 pramāṇataḥ etc.: this seems to mean that the uttama attains these dimensions at 40; at 30 he is in size like the madhyama and at 25 like the avara, whose heights at 40 are 6 and 5 aratnis respectively. This last is implied in s. 15 below, and this is how Cp understands it; Mānasollāsa, 2.222-4, supports the idea. 12 pādāvaraḥ, i.e., 3/4ths and 1/2 of the uttama respectively. Cb has 3/4ths of the madhyama for the avara.
- 13 aratnau: this means that for a seven-aratni elephant, each item is to be seven-fold. Meyer thinks this too much and proposes to read saptāratnau. But in that case, the genitive case would be expected. Cf. also yathāhastam, s. 15 below. It is possible that these are a month's rations; cf. 2.30.3 above. kaḍaṅkara branches, leaves etc. of the sallakī and other plants' (com.). 14 Cb reads hastya-

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of curds for moistening dry lumps, an ādhaka of liquor with ten palas of sugar or double that quantity of milk as an invigorating drink, a prastha of oil for smearing the limbs, an eighth part (of a prastha of oil) for the head and for the lamp, two bhāras and a quarter of green fodder and two bhāras and a half of dry grass; of leaves of plants etc., there is to be no limit. 14 Equal in the matter of food to the sevenaratni elephant is the eight-aratni one when beyond rutting. 15 According to the (size in) hastas, the rest, (viz.,) the six-aratni and the five-aratni ones.

- 16 A cub, fed on milk and green fodder may be caught for play.
- 17 With redness formed, covered, with smoothened sides, with an even girth, with flesh spread evenly, level with the back-bone, and with a trough formed, these are appearances (of an elephant).
 - 18 In conformity with the appearance, he should give exercise to the gentle and the dull (elephant) and to the animal with mixed characteristics, in various types of work, or in accordance with the season.

rālah for atya-rālah, and that seems supported by the Mānasollāsa, 2.222-4, where an arāla is 8 aratnis tall and atyarāla 9 aratnis. However, an arāla is an elephant in rut and would normally require larger quantities of food; only an atyarāla 'beyond the stage of rutting' would have smaller rations.

- 16 This s. should preferably have come after s. 10.
- 17 According to Cs śobhās are stages in the appearance of an elephant as he grows up, samjātalohitā being the appearance on the first few days after birth, which is reddish, and so on. Meyer thinks that these are appearances of different types of elephants, true of them throughout life. Cb's explanations seem to show these as stages in the recovery of an elephant after a serious illness. — samjātalohitā ' who, being emaciated, with bones and skin alone left, has started gaining strength on beginning to take food '(Cb). - praticchannā 'covered' apparently with some flesh; 'who has gained strength' (Cb). - samliptapakṣā with sides wellsmeared ' is ' with a smooth skin and flesh filling up ' (Cb). — samakakṣyā: kakṣyā seems to refer to 'girth.' Cb has 'with full flesh.' — vyatikīrṇamāmsā: Cb has 'with uneven flesh.' Perhaps we should understand avyatikirna- 'not scattered,' i.e., evenly spread. - samatalpatalā ' with flesh on a level with the back-bone '(Cb). Perhaps the original reading was -talpala, for talpala means the backbone of an elephant; cf. Śiśupālavadha, 18.6. — jātadronikā ' with a dronalike trough formed,' evidently because of old age. Cb has ' so stout that the vamsa or spine is covered.' The first and the last expressions seem to support Cs. However, Cb may be right.

18 vyāyāmam: training or exercise. — mṛgam samkīrnalingam is proposed as suggested by Meyer. This seems necessary whether we understand mṛga as the third and samkīrnalinga as the fourth type, as in the commentators, or samkīrnalingam as only a description of mṛga, the third type. This latter idea is better. — vyāla is not mentioned here, as he is not amenable to vyāyāma.

2.32.1]

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CHAPTER THIRTY-TWO

SECTION 48 (Continued)

The Activity of Elephants

- 1 Classes (of elephants) corresponding to work are four: one in training, one used in war, one for riding and the rogue-elephant.
- 2 Among them one under training is of five kinds: getting used to (a man on) the shoulder, getting used to the (tying) post, getting used to the place for catching elephants, getting used to the trap, and getting used to a herd. 3 The accompanying treatment for him is the work of (bringing up) a cub.
- 4 The war elephant has seven ways of doing work: standing in attendance, going round, marching together, killing and trampling, fighting with elephants, assaulting towns, and fighting in battles.
 5 The accompanying treatment for him is the work of (putting on) the girth, the work of (putting on) the neck-chain, and the work of (moving in) a herd.

2.32

- 1 karmaskandhāh, i.e., groups or classes based on the kind of work they do. Cp has 'groups of works;' but the words that follow are attributes of elephants, not of karma.
- 2 skandhagata, i.e., allowing a man to sit on his shoulders. vārigata: according to com. vāri is the place where elephants are captured; hence vārigata is 'trained to catch other elephants.' Meyer has 'trained to go through and in water' or 'accustomed to the tying rope' (fn.). Neither is satisfactory. avapāta 'pit used as a trap for catching elephants' (com.). Meyer has 'getting used to a precipice.' yūthagata 'getting used to the company of trained female elephants' (com.). It may also mean 'getting used to a strange herd and the company of unknown elephants.' 3 upavicārah, i.e., the treatment to be given during the period of this training. vikkakarma 'i.e., he should be given food (milk, green fodder etc.) fit for a cub' (Cb).
- 4 upasthānam 'standing in attendance' is 'raising and lowering fore- and hind-parts and jumping over fire-brands, bamboos, ropes, etc.' (com.). Meyer has 'standing still (even when there is a loud noise).' samvartanam 'going round' is 'lying down, sitting, leaping over pits etc. on the ground' (com.). Cb reads vartanam. samyānam 'marching together' is 'various gaits, straight, transverse, zigzag, circular, etc.' (com.). vadhāvadhah 'destruction or capture of horses, men or chariots by means of trunk, tusks etc.' (com.). Meyer understands āvadha as the second word, which could be rendered by 'trampling.' hastiyuddham is fight between two elephants in an arena. nāgarāyaṇam is breaking down the defences of fortified towns. sāmgrāmikam, i.e., as in 10.4.14 and 10.5.54. 5 kakṣyākarma seems to refer to everything connected with saddling, while graiveyakarma refers to ornamental chains etc. yūthakarma, i.e., working jointly with other elephants. Com. have 'giving him work according to the type of herd (river, mountain, etc.) from which he came.'

THE ACTIVITY OF THE HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS [2, 32, 11

- 6. The riding elephant is of eight kinds: one who is led, one ridden with (the help of another) elephant, one trotting, one trained in (various) gaits, one ridden with a stick, one ridden with a goad, one ridden without any help, and one used for hunting. 7 The accompanying treatment for him is the work of keeping fit, the work of recouping what is lacking and the work of responding to signals.
- 8 The rogue-elephant has one way of activity: (he is) frightened, restrained, abnormal, in rut, with rut fixed and with a fixed cause of intoxication. 9 The accompanying treatment for him is the work of guarding in solitary confinement. 10 One who is lost for all activity is a rogue-elephant, pure, firmly resolved, vehement and spoiled by all defects.
 - 11 The tying equipment and implements for them should be in
- 6 ācaraṇa 'lowering the fore-part or the hind-part and so on' (Cb), apparently to allow a rider to get on the back. Meyer has 'going rightly or straight.' In the context, 'being led' seems also quite likely. kuñjaraupavāhya 'doing sāṇnāhya or aupavāhya work with another elephant '(Cb), 'with a man on back, but led with another elephant at the time' (Cs), which seems more likely. Meyer has 'allowing himself to be ridden in the manner of an elephant.' dhoraṇa 'doing all work with one side only' (com.). It might mean 'trotting' as in 2.30.32, 37. ādhānagatika 'endowed with two or three types of gaits or capable of imitating the gaits of other elephants' (Cb). Meyer has 'who goes forward in all circumstances.' 7 śāradakarma: 'śārada is fourfold, fat, lean, suffering from indigestion and normal; its karma is making the fat lean, the lean fat, stimulating digestion and maintaining normalcy' (Cb). Cf. N. N. Law, Studies etc., p. 64 n. The general sense seems to be maintaining fitness. hīnakarma 'giving exercise to one who is without it' (com.). Cj seems to read kṣīnakarma 'nourishment etc. of the weak.' nāroṣṭra: see 2.30.38.
- 8 A re-arrangement of the words is proposed, śankitah . . . -viniścayaśca being read immediately after -kriyāpathah, and tasyopa- ... -rakṣākarma treated as an independent s. Thus we get an upavicāra with karma at the end as usual. śańkita etc. describe the various reasons why an elephant becomes $vy\bar{a}la$; his behaviour is always the same, he is ekakriyāpatha. Com. and Meyer understand karmaśankita etc. as characteristics of one and the same animal, which is not convincing. Cb has 'karmaśańkita, i.e., not obeying orders at the time of training, avaruddha, i.e., disregarded as unfit for work, visama, i.e., whimsical in behaviour, prabhinna, i.e., who has become a vyāla because of madadosa, prabhinnaviniścaya, i.e., in distress because of defects in drink etc. and rut, and madahetuviniścaya, i.e., the cause of whose intoxication is known.' Cb quotes a verse wherein five causes of mada are enumerated 'samtāpo 'bhijano vyādhiķ pariņāmas tathauşadhiķ.' 9 āyamyaikarakşā ' guarding alone after being put under restraint.' Cb has ' making him work and thus bringing him under control.' 10 kriyāvipanna is another kind of vyāla, for whom there is no upavicāra. It may mean 'on whom training is lost' or 'unfit for any activity; ' ' harmful in his actions' (Cb). - śuddha has 18 defects, according to the commentators. -- suvrata: Cb reads suvrtta and explains 'causes the rider's fall and has 15 defects.' - visama 'causes the fall of the rider and kills him in addition; 'it has 33 defects. — sarvadoşapraduşta has 52 defects in all (com.).

accordance with the instructions of trainers. 12 The tying post, the neck-chain, the girth, the stirrup-rope, the foot-chain, the upper chain and so on constitute the tying equipment. 13 The goad, the bamboo, the machine and so on are implements. 14 The vaijayantī-garland, the ksurapra-necklace, the covering, the carpet and so on are ornaments. 15 The armour, lance, quiver, machines and so on are accourtements for war.

- 16 The physician, the trainer, the rider, the driver, the guard, the decorator, the cook, the fodder-giver, the foot-chainer, the stall-guard, the night-attendant and so on form the group of attendants. 17 The physician, the stall-guard and the cook should receive a prastha of boiled rice, a prasti of fat and two palas of sugar and salt, also ten palas of meat, excepting the physicians. 18 Physicians shall treat (elephants) afflicted by long journey, illness, work, rut or old age.
- 19 Uncleanliness of the stall, non-receipt of fodder, making (elephants) sleep on bare ground, striking them at an improper place, mounting by another person, riding at an improper time, (or) on unsuitable land, leading down (to water) where there is no crossing, and a thicket of trees are occasions for penalty. 20 He should take that from their food and wages.
 - 21 Three lustration rites should be performed in the fourmonthly junctures of seasons, offerings on the junctures of dark halves (should be made) to spirits and on the junctures of the bright halves to Senānī.
- 12 pārāyana 'a rope for support when mounting an elephant '(Cb). utlara 'a second girth-band, a second neck-chain '(Cb). Meyer has 'smaller, inferior or secondary fetters.' A chain for the upper part of the body may also have been meant. 13 yantra 'for cutting tusks' (Cp). 14 kṣurapramālā: com. call it nakṣatramālā; it may have 27 pieces in it. These, according to Meyer, may be semi-circular metal dises.
- 16 'ārohāka is the mahāmātra of elephants who knows the śāstra; ādhoraṇa has not studied the śāstra, but knows by practice; hastipāka is an attendant, mahout '(Cb). aupacārika 'who decorates the elephant' (com.). 17 prasṛti 'a handful' is about two palas. This measure is not mentioned is 2.19. anyatra cikitsākebhyaḥ: apparently the physicians came from vegetarian classes.
- 19 yavasasya agrahanam refers to the attendant's failure to receive the quota from the stores. abhūmau: Cp supplies yānam after it; Cs construes it with the preceding yānam; a vā should be understood after the word. taruṣanḍa is nominative (Meyer) rather than locative (Cs).
- 21 cāturmāsyartusamdhişu: Cs reads -syrtu- and explains 'on the full moon nights coming every four months (cāturmāsī), which stand at the juncture of seasons.' This seems forced; 'junctures of seasons coming everý four months' is sufficient. These are the full moons of Kārttika, Phālguna and Āṣādha (Cb Cs) at the end of rains, the season of frost and summer. senānyaḥ, i.e., of Skanda or Kārttikeya.

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22 Leaving (a length) double the circumference at the root of the tusks, he should cut (these), every two years and a half-in the case of those from river-banks, every five years in the case of those from mountainous regions.

CHAPTER THIRTY-THREE

SECTION 49 THE SUPERINTENDENT OF CHARIOTS
SECTION 50 THE SUPERINTENDENT OF FOOT SOLDIERS

SECTION 51 THE ACTIVITY OF THE COMMANDANT OF THE ARMY

1 The (duty of the) Superintendent of Chariots is explained by (that of) the Superintendent of Horses. 2 He should establish factories for (the manufacture of) chariots.

3 One with ten purusas (of height) and twelve (purusas) interior is (the biggest) chariot. 4 Less than that by one (purusa) interior space successively up to six (purusas) interior space (are smaller ones); thus there are seven (sizes of) chariots.

5 He should cause to be made chariots, (such as) temple chariot, festive chariot, war chariot, travelling carriage, chariot for marching against an enemy's city and chariot for training.

6 He should be conversant with arrangements concerning bows, striking weapons, armours and accountrements, and the employment

22 The Brhat Samhitā, 79.20, has a close parallel 'dantasya mūlaparidhim dvirāyatām projjhya kalpayeccheṣam, adhikam anūpacarāṇām nyūnam giricārinām kimcit.' Its source may partly be the present passage.

2.33

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The three sections cover ss. 1-6, 7-8 and 9-11 respectively.

1 The only similarity between the duties of the two adhyakṣas seems to be in the matter of equipping their charges for war.

**3 daśapuruṣo dvādaśāntaro '10 vitastis in height and 12 vitastis in length (antara-śabdena āyāmābhidhānāt)' (Cj). The width would not vary to any great extent in the case of the different rathas. puruṣa seems used in the sense of pauruṣa of 2.20.10, which is the same as vitasti. Cp Cs paraphrase antara by vistāra, which may mean 'length' or 'width.' Meyer, regarding a 9-foot width as strange, proposes 'for ten men, with accommodation for twelve (in case of necessity.)' This is extremely unlikely. 4 ekāntarāvarāh, i.e., 11 puruṣas, 10, 9 and so on up to 6. This states the length. Cs understands a corresponding diminution in height as well. Meyer's '(with normal accommodation for 9, 8, ...4 but) with accommodation for 11, 10, ...6 (in case of necessity)' shows the forced character of his explanation.

5 pusyaratha 'for coronation, marriage etc.' (Cb). Meyer compares Pali phu-

6 işvastra 'quiver of arrows (işu) and missiles including the bow (astra)' (com.). The word often conveys the single idea of 'a bow.' — $abhrt\bar{a}n\bar{a}m$: this may refer

of charioteers, chariot-attendants and chariot-horses in (various) works, also (look after) food and wages till the conclusion of the works of servants hired and not hired, giving practice to and protecting them, as well as making gifts and showing honour to them.

- 7 By this is explained the (duty of the) Superintendent of Foot Soldiers. 8 He should be conversant with the strength or weakness of hereditary, hired, banded, allied, alien and forest troops, with military operations in water or on high ground, with open or tactical fighting, in trenches or in the open, by day or by night, and with the employment or absence of employment (of the foot soldiers) in (different types of) work.
- 9 The Commandant of the Army, trained in the science of all (kinds of) fights and weapons, (and) renowned for riding on elephants, horses or in chariots, should be conversant with the same, (and) with the direction of the work carried out by the four-fold troops. 10 He should look out for suitable ground for one's side, (suitable) season for fighting, arraying a force against (enemy arrays), breaking unbroken ranks, re-forming broken ranks, breaking compact ranks, destroying broken ranks, destroying the fort and the season for an expedition.
 - 11 Being devoted to the training of the troops, he should arrange signals for the arrays by means of musical instruments, banners and flags, when halting, marching or attacking.

to dāsa, bondmen, daņdapratikārin etc. It may also imply temporary and work-charged servants. — yogyārakṣā: Cs has 'protection against enemy's wiles of efficient (yogya) officers.' This is hardly likely. yogyā is practice, drill, training etc.; cf. 2.30.42.

- 7 ctena, i.e., as in s. 6. The pattyadhyakşa seems concerned with training and care of troops. 8 maulabhṛta- etc.: see 9.2.1 ff. nimnasthala- etc.: cf. 7.10.34-7; 10.4.2; for nimna 'water,' cf. 2.3.1. vidyāt after -vyāyāmam ca is unnecessary and is dropped. ayogam 'absence of employment.' karmasu: for padātikarma, see 10.4.16 and for pattiyuddha, 10.5.56.
- 9 tadeva: Cb reads tathaiva, which might appear slightly better.—saṃghuṣṭaḥ is from Cb and is understood in the sense of 'renowned, well-known.' saṃpuṣṭaḥ is the reading of the mss., which is not a happy expression.—anuṣṭhānādhiṣṭhānam: Cb has 'his work during fights and disposition of troops in battle;' Meyer 'the function of the troops and the function of directing.' 'Supervision over the work being done,' may be the meaning intended. 10 pratyanīkam apparently refers to arranging one's troops according to the array of the enemy troops. Cs has 'enemy's army,' which can hardly be the object of senāpatiḥ paśyet.
- 11 sthāne etc. to be construed with vyūhasamjñāh prakalpayet, not with vinaye ataļ.

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CHAPTER THIRTY-FOUR

SECTION 52 THE SUPERINTENDENT OF PASSPORTS SECTION 53 THE SUPERINTENDENT OF PASTURE LANDS

- 1 The Superintendent of Passports should issue a sealed pass for one māsaka.
- 2 (Only) a person with a sealed pass shall be entitled to enter or leave the countryside. 3 A native of the land, without a sealed pass, shall pay twelve panas. 4 In case of a forged pass, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed), the highest for one not belonging to the country.
- 5 The Superintendent of Pasture Lands should ask for the sealed pass.
- 6 And he should establish pasture land in regions between villages. 7 He should clear low lands and forests of the danger of robbers and wild animals.
- 8 In waterless regions, he should establish wells, water-works and springs, also flower- and fruit-enclosures.
- 9 Fowlers and hunters should go round in the forests. 10 At the approach of robbers or enemies, they should produce a sound with conch-shells or drums, not allowing themselves to be caught, (either) climbing mountains or trees, or riding swift vehicles.
- 11 And he should convey to the king movements of enemies and forest-tribes by means of domesticated pigeons carrying sealed letters or by a series of smoke and fires.
 - 12 He should ensure the livelihood of those in produce forests and elephant forests and (secure) the road cess, protection against robbers, escort of caravans, protection of cattle and trade.

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The two prakaranas are found in ss. 1-4 and 5-12 respectively.

- 2 janapadam: even in cities, passes were issued; cf. 2.36.38. 4 tirojanapadasya 'for a foreigner.' The fine is for forging; there is no mention of a fine for a foreigner without a pass. Perhaps double the 12 panas is to be understood.
- 6 grāmāntareşu is proposed as in 4.13.9 for bhayāntareşu of the mss. With the latter, Cb has 'in places of danger he should employ servants or soldiers to remove it.' Cp Cs have 'in regions within the range of robbers, enemy-spies etc.' Neither explanation is satisfactory. Breloer remarks 'the power of the vivītādhyakṣa ends in village territories and before the gates of cities and forts '(III, 512).
- 9 lubdhakaśvaganinah: cf. 2.29.21 above. 10 -vṛkṣādhirūdhāḥ from Cb is necessary for the sense.
- 11 $mudr\bar{a}$: here it is a sealed communication, tied round their necks. $dh\bar{u}m\bar{u}gni$ 'smoke by day and fire by night' (Cs).

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CHAPTER THIRTY-FIVE

SECTION 54 THE ACTIVITY OF THE ADMINISTRATOR
SECTION 55 SECRET AGENTS IN THE DISGUISE OF HOUSEHOLDERS,
TRADERS AND ASCETICS

- 1 Dividing the countryside into four divisions, the Administrator should cause to be entered in a register the number of villages, classifying them as best, middling and lowest, (recording) this is exempt from taxes, this provides soldiers, this much is (the revenue in) grains, cattle, cash, forest produce, labour and produce in place of tax. 2 Under his direction, the revenue officer should look after a group of five villages or ten villages.
- 3 He should record the number of villages by fixing their boundaries, the number of fields by an enumeration of ploughed and unploughed (fields), dry and wet fields, parks, vegetable gardens, (flower and fruit) enclosures, forests, structures, sanctuaries, temples, water-works,
- 12 dravyahastivanājīvam: Cp has 'should receive (kārayet, i.e., upādadīta) income from produce forests and elephant forests.' Meyer regards this not as an item of revenue received by the vivītādhyakṣa, but only as a duty to be carried out by him 'maintenance of labourers in the two forests.' That appears better.— vartanīm: this is usually received by the antapāla (2.21.24).— corarakṣaṇam is more likely a duty laid down than 'a fee for protection from robbers' (Cp). In 4.13.9 the vivītādhyakṣa is made responsible for theft committed between villages.— sārthātivāhyam: Cp has 'charges for escorting.'— gorakṣyam 'a fee for protection of cattle' (Cp).— vyavahāram refers to trade in the region. Breloer, however, understands judicial functions (III, 514). That is far from certain. Some of these items appear as duties laid down for the vivītādhyakṣa and can hardly be looked upon as sources of revenue. That may be true of all, as Meyer understands it.

2.35

The two prakaranas are found in ss. 1-7 and 8-15 respectively.

- 1 caturdhā etc.: Breloer (III, 105-6) remarks, 'janapada was the territory of a people or tribe, then the kingdoms of Pañcāla, Matsya etc. Pāṇini refers to divisions, two-fold or four-fold of these, Pūrvapañcāla, Aparapañcāla etc. (7.3.12-3; 4.2.125; 4.3.7; 6.2.103) with rules for the formation of a name for a resident of such divisions. This shows that the division in four provinces is very old.'—äyudhīya 'supplying soldiers.' Exemption from land-revenue may seem implied. Cf. Ghoshal, Rev. Sys., etc., p. 43. Breloer (III, 117-118) seems to understand 'village, the revenue of which is set apart for provisions of the army,' corresponding to provision for sibandī among the Marathas. pratikara: 'a fixed tax' (com.). It may also mean 'produce (or work) in place of a tax.' gopah: the name suggests a pastoral economy. In the agricultural economy, he has become a revenue official, concerned with the keeping of records.
- 3 sīmāvarodhena: cf. 4.13.11. sīmnām kṣetrāṇām ca: these words are difficult to construe with maryādāraṇya-. Meyer regards them as a marginal gloss that has got into the text. That seems possible. gṛhāṇām ca: supply niban-

cremation grounds, rest-houses, sheds for drinking water, holy places, pasture lands and roads, (and) in conformity with that he should keep records of the size of boundaries, forests and roads, and of grants, sales, favours and exemptions, concerning village-boundaries and fields, and (keep records) of houses by an enumeration of tax-payers and non-tax-payers. 4 And in them, (he should record) so many are persons belonging to the four varnas, so many are farmers, cowherds, traders, artisans, labourers and slaves, so many are two-footed and four-footed creatures, and so much money, labour, duty and fines arise from them. 5 And of males and females in the families, he should know the number of children and old persons, their work, customs and the amount of their income and expenditure.

- 6 And in the same manner, the divisional officer should look after a fourth part of the countryside.
- 7 In the head-quarters of the revenue and divisional officers, magistrates should carry out their duties and secure the recovery of dues.
- . 8 And agents in the guise of householders, directed by the Administrator, should find out the number of fields, houses and families in those villages in which they are stationed,—fields with respect
- dhān kārayet. 4 karṣaka- etc. is classification according to occupation over and above that according to varṇa. idam caiṣu is from Cp and is quite necessary. Cb Cs drop eṣu. daṇḍa 'fine ' rather than 'army '(Cs); the other items are revenue items. 5 karma is 'occupation,' while ājīva here seems to refer to income. Breloer (III, 138-140) understands karma as arthamānakarma 'honour and gifts' by the state to the subjects (as in 5.3.30), caritra as 'private incomes' and ājīvavyaya (as a single idea) 'payments by the state to those whom it is its duty to maintain (in accordance with 2.1.26).' The meaning given to caritra is doubtful, also that given to karma, in view of the latter's use in s. 8 below.
- 6 Breloer (III, 123) insists that the *gopa* receives his instructions and authority from the *samāhartṛ*, and not from the *sthānika*. But the latter cannot do his work without the registers prepared by the *gopas*, who must be supposed to pass them on to the *sthānika* and not to the *samāhartṛ* directly.
- 7 pradeṣtāraḥ: see Book 4. balipragraham 'recovery of dues' (one explanation in Cp, Meyer); 'suppression of the powerful' (another explanation in Cp). Cb has '1/20th of what is due to him and moreover what is taken from robbers etc.' It seems that dues were ordinarily brought to the treasury by the assessees themselves, but the recalcitrant were dealt with by the pradeṣṭṛ, who saw to the recovery of the dues. Apparently the gopa and the sthānika had no executive authority.
- 8 This is a check on the gopa's registers. grhapatikavyañjanāh: cf. 1.11.910. Breloer (III, 145 n. 1) maintains that these are not spies, that vyañjana is not disguise, and that the activity of these persons was known and honoured. vyañjana, he says, shows an individual of a class, like -viśeṣa, -bheda, etc. However, 1.11 above leaves little room for doubt that these are secret agents. Breloer's view that 'grhapati appears more and more like a zamindar' (III, 152 n. 1) is hardly acceptable. pranihitāh, i.e., appointed for duty. samjāta: Cb reads sanijāta, but

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to their size and total produce, houses with respect to taxes and exemptions and families with respect to their varna and occupation. 9 And they should find out the number of individuals in them and their income and expenditure. 10 And they should find out the reason for departure and stay of those who have gone on a journey and those who have arrived (respectively), as also of men and women who are harmful, and (find out) the activity of spies.

- 11 In the same manner, spies in the guise of traders should find out the quantity and price of the king's goods produced in his own country, obtained from mines, water-works, forests, factories and fields.

 12 And in activities concerning goods of high and low value produced in foreign lands (and) imported along a water-route or a land-route, they should find out the amount of duty, road cess, escort charges, dues at the police station and the ferry, share, food and gifts.
- 13 In the same manner, agents in the guise of ascetics, directed by the Administrator, should ascertain the honesty or dishonesty of farmers, cowherds and traders and of the departmental heads.
- 14 And assistants disguised as old thieves should find out the reasons for entry, stay and departure of thieves and brave men of the enemy, in sanctuaries, cross-roads, deserted places, wells, rivers, pools, river crossings, temple compounds, hermitages, jungles, mountains, forests and thickets.

explains it as 'yield.' — bhoga 'tax' (Cb Cs). The usual sense of 'use,' i.e., possession, is possible; but the commentators seem right. bhoga and parihāra correspond to karada and akarada in s. 3; cf. Ghoshal, Rev. Sys., etc., p. 51. 9 janghāgra: cf. 2.36.3. 10 prasthitāgatānām: Cp understands four cases, prasthita, āgata, prasthitāgata and āgataprasthita. This is unnecessarily elaborate. — anarthyānām: cf. 1.7.2 above. Cb has anarthya of three types 'those addicted to strī, dyūta, madya etc., those who spend more than their income, and actors, dancers etc.' After strīpuruṣānām we have to supply pravāsāvāsakāranam, since a construction with cārapracāram is hardly likely because of the other ca after the latter. — cāra may be state spies or enemy spies.

- 12 karmasu ca: these words are not quite necessary. karma is 'sale, purchase and other activity' (com.). Cb Cs read a stop after ca supplying parimāṇam argham ca vidyuh. But parabhūmijātānām etc. is to be construed with śulkavartanī- etc. as shown by 2.16.18 where these terms recur. It would be better to drop karmasu ca. panyāgāra should be understood as 'gifts' to the king etc., as in 7.15.20 etc.
- 13 The adhyakṣas thus would appear to be under the surveillance of the samā-hartr.
- 14 śūnyapada: Cb reads śūnyabhadra 'a deserted house (śunyagrha) and a deserted town (śūnyabhadra, with bhadra as 'a small town').' śailavanagahana: Cb Cs understand śailagahana and vanagahana. Three separate terms could well have been meant.

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15 Thus the Administrator, being ever diligent, should look after the countryside; and those establishments (of spies) should also look after (it), also other establishments having their own (different) origin (should look after it).

CHAPTER THIRTY-SIX

SECTION 56 RULES FOR THE CITY-SUPERINTENDENT

- 1 The City-superintendent should look after the city in the manner of the Administrator. 2 The section officer (should look after) a group of ten families or twenty or forty families. 3 He should find out the number of individuals, men and women, in that (group), according to caste, family-name and occupation, also their income and expenditure.
- 4 In the same manner, the divisional warden should look after a fourth part of the fortified city.
- 5 Officers in charge of charitable lodging-houses should allow lodging to heretical travellers after informing (the section officer), and to ascetics and Brahmins learned in the Vedas, after satisfying themselves (about their bona fides). 6 Artisans and artists should
- 15 samsthās tāh, i.e., the agents referred to above. For samsthā, see 1.11.22. samsthāś cānyāh svayonayah: Cb has 'they should find out about enemy spies of the same class.' The enemy spies could hardly be understood by samsthā. Cp Cs have 'establishments of the same class should watch over these establishments (samsthāh as acc. plu.).' Spying over spies seems hardly intended here. The 'other samsthās' seem to be udāsthita and kāpatika of 1.11 who have not been mentioned here. svayonayah seems to imply the idea of these having their own different origin. If sva could refer to the samāhartr, it would yield a better idea. Breloer remarks (III, 153) 'the smallest station in each village is samsthā, then sthāna for gopa, sthānika and pradestr, finally sthānīya for samāhartr. All these words may be rendered by depot, magazine.' samsthā is hardly an open depot, in view of 1.11.22.

2.36

- 1 samāhartīvat, i.e., as in 2.35, not as in 2.6. nāgarīkaḥ: Pāṇini (rakṣatī 4.4.33) gives nāgarīka in the sense of nagaram rakṣatī, while nāgaraka is given in the sense of 'a bad person' or 'a skilled person' (nagarāt kutsanaprāvīṇyayoḥ, 4.2.128). The former is the only correct form here.
- 2 gopah: this is an extension of the name from the country administration to that in the city; cf. 2.35.2. Cb reads trimsatkulīm in addition after vimsatkulīm. āyavyayau: this is for revenue purposes.
 - 4 sthānikah also is an importation from the country administration; cf. 2.35.6.
- 5 dharmāvasathinah are managers appointed by owners of the charitable lodging houses; they are not state servants. svapratyayāš ca, i.e., after satisfying themselves that they are really tapasvins etc. They are to be held responsible if

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d a inarms lodge persons of their own (profession) in their own places of work, and traders (should lodge) each other in their own places of work.

7 They shall report one who sells goods at an unauthorized place or time, as well as one without a title (to the goods).

- 8 Vintners, vendors of cooked meat, vendors of cooked rice, and prostitutes shall give lodging (only) to one thoroughly known (to them). 9 They shall report one who spends lavishly and one who does a rash deed.
- 10 The physician, after reporting to the section officer and the ward officer, a person who has made him treat a wound secretly and a person who does an unwholesome act, would become free, and so would the house-owner; otherwise, he shall be (held) equal in guilt. 11 And (the house-owner) shall report those who have departed and those who have arrived; otherwise he shall be held liable for any offence committed during the night. 12 On safe nights, he shall pay three panas.
- 13 And agents operating along roads and away from roads should arrest, outside the city and inside, in temples, holy places, forests and cremation grounds, a person with a wound, one with harmful tools, one hiding behind a heavy load, one agitated, one in a long sleep, one tired after a journey or a stranger. 14 Similarly, inside the city, they should make a search in deserted places, work-shops, ale-houses, cooked-rice houses, cooked-meat houses, gambling dens and quarters of heretics.
- 15 And (citizens shall take) steps against (an outbreak of) fire in summer. 16 In the two middle quarters of the day, one-eighth (of a paṇa) is the fine for (kindling) fire. 17 Or they should do their cooking outside (the house). 18 One quarter (of a paṇa is the fine) for not providing five jars, also a big jar, a trough, a ladder, an axe,

they are proved wrong and if harmful persons or spies are found to have been given lodging. For svapratyaya cf. 3.14.34; 8.4.33. 7 svakarana 'proof of ownership, title; 'cf. 3.1.15; 3.16.17-18 etc.

- 8 Separate vegetarian and non-vegetarian eating houses are indicated.
- 10 The position of gṛhasvāmī ca is awkward; the words should come after mucyeta or tulyadoṣah syāt as Cp seems to have read. It is possible that the words have got into the text from the margin. 12 kṣemarātriṣu, i.e., when no crime is reported during the night.
- 13 pathikotpathika: see 2.21.17 above. udbhāṇḍīkṛta: see 2.28.20 above. 15-16 The punctuation adopted is supported by the actual comment in Cb, though not its text. We have to supply kuryuḥ from the last s., with householders or citizens as the subject. Cs reads the stop after caturbhāgayoḥ, Meyer proposes it after ca. 17 bahiḥ 'outside' the houses. Cb understands 'outside the city.' 18 pādaḥ pañcaghaṭīnām to be construed with akaraṇe as in Cb Cj. Cp Cs understand 'one-fourth paṇa fine during five ghaṭikās round mid-day.' Meyer agrees with this. ghaṭī as a measure of time is not mentioned elsewhere in the text. And

a winnowing-basket, a hook, a 'hair-seizer' and a skin-bag. 19 The (City-superintendent) should remove things covered with grass or matting. 20 He shall make those who live by (the use of) fire reside in one locality.

- 21 House-owners should live near the front doors of their own houses, not collecting together at night.
- 22 Collections of water-jars should be placed in thousands on roads and at cross-roads, gates and in royal precincts.
- 23 For the owner, not running to save the house on fire, the fine (shall be) twelve panas, six panas for a tenant.
- 24 In case of (houses) catching fire through negligence, the fine (shall be) fifty-four paṇas. 25 The incendiary should be put to death by fire.
- 26 For throwing dirt on the road the fine (shall be) one-eighth (of a pana), for blocking it with muddy water, one quarter. 27 On the royal highway, (the fines shall be) double.
- 28 Fines for voiding faeces in a holy place, in a place for water, in a temple and in royal property are one pana rising successively by one pana, half these for passing urine. 29 If (these are) due to medicine, illness or fear, (the persons are) not to be fined.
- 30 For throwing the dead body of a cat, a dog, an ichneumon or a serpent inside the city, the fine shall be three panas, for (throwing) the dead body of a donkey, a camel, a mule, a horse or cattle, six panas, for a human corpse, fifty panas.
- 31 In case of a change of route or in case of taking the corpse out by a gate other than the gate for corpses, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed). 32 (The fine) for gate-keepers (allowing this, shall

for this explanation, we should have the locative, not the genitive of ghati. — kacagrahanī 'a long pole with curved-finger-like iron hooks at the end for pulling the enemy by the hair '(Cp). Cf. 9.2.27. 19 channa 'things covered' seems to refer to the coverings or thatchings themselves.

- 21 asampātinah 'not collecting together.' The prohibition is apparently intended to prevent conspiracies, also to ensure the presence of owners if their houses catch fire at night.
- 22 rājaparigraha, according to Cb, refers to the kośagrha, kupyagrha, koṣṭhāgāra, paṇyagrha and āyudhāgāra; that seems right.
 - 23 'vakrayinah is from Cb; its correctness is shown by 3.8.24.
- 28 Cb Cs include rājamārge here from the last s. and have '1 paṇa on rājamārga, 2 in a puṇyasthāna and so on.' This seems hardly right. Only four places are intended.

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derrees And be) two hundred (paṇas). 33 For depositing and burning (a corpse) elsewhere than in a cremation ground, the fine (shall be) twelve paṇas.

- 34 The watch-drum (shall be sounded) at both ends of the night excluding a period of six $n\bar{a}lik\bar{a}s$. 35 At the sound of the drum, punishment for (moving at) the prohibited time, near the king's palace, is (a fine of) one paṇa and a quarter, in the first and the last watches, double (that) in the middle watch, four times (that) inside (the palacegrounds).
- 36 He should question a (person) arrested in a suspicious place or with a suspicious mark or because of a previous offence. 37 For approaching royal property and for scaling the city's fortifications, the middle fine for violence (shall be imposed). 38 (Those moving at night) on account of a woman in delivery, for a doctor, on account of a death, with a lamp, in a carriage, at the City-superintendent's drum, for a show or on account of a fire, and (those moving) with sealed passports are not to be arrested.
- 39 During nights of (unrestricted) movements, those disguised in dress or in a dress contrary (to their sex), wandering monks, and

33 nyāse seems to refer to burial rather than merely leaving the corpse there.

34 vişannālikam ubhayatorātram, i.e., six nālikās after sunset and six nālikās before sunrise. The latter expression is adverbial; the former may also be treated as adverbial or as an adjective to yāmatūryam. Meyer proposes dviṣaṇṇālikam and tr. 'the closing signal instrument (yāmatūrya) fixes twice six nālikās reckoned from midnight on both sides.' For this dvi is not necessary, when ubhayato is there, and rātra can hardly refer to madhyarātra. 35 akṣaṇa: 'kṣaṇaḥ anujñātaḥ kālaḥ, aksano nisiddhah' (Cp); 'prohibited period,' i.e., movement during the prohibited period; cf. 3.12.46; 4.9.26. tādanam 'dandaḥ' (Cp). - prathama- etc.: it is clear that three yāmas (prathama, madhyama and paścima) are thought of between the two beats of the drum; in other words the yama here is a period of 6 nalikas or 2 hours 24 minutes. Cs, understanding the usual yama of 3 hours, has 'in what remains of the 1st and last watches 'and madhyama, i.e., 'the 2nd and 3rd watches.' There is hardly any justification for supplying seşa or understanding two watches as constituting the madhyamayama. Meyer, who has a period of 12 nālikās for restricted movement, has prathama yāma as the 1st nālikā, paścima as the 12th nālikā and madhyamayāma as the intervening 10 nālikās. This is clearly unlikely. - antah is from Cb for bahih. The latter as 'outside the city' could hardly be the nāgarika's concern, and is by itself unlikely.

36 $p\bar{u}rv\bar{u}pad\bar{u}ne: apad\bar{u}na$ is used in the sense of 'offence'; cf. 3.12.35; 4.5.11 etc. 38 -prad $\bar{u}pay\bar{u}na$ - as two separate items is better as in Cb. — $n\bar{u}garikat\bar{u}rya$ apparently sounded to call attention to some danger or threat. — $mudr\bar{u}aparently$ issued by the $n\bar{u}garika$ or his subordinates.

39 pravrajitāḥ: apparently these are suspected enemy spies in disguise. — doṣataḥ: the doṣa may be pracchannaveṣatva etc. itself, or theft etc. that might be committed during the night.

men with sticks and weapons in hand, shall be punished in accordance with their offence.

- 40 For guards preventing what ought not to be prevented and not preventing what ought to be prevented, the fine (shall be) double that for (movement during) the forbidden watches. 41 For (guards) misbehaving with a woman who is a slave, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed), with one not a slave, the middle fine, with one in the exclusive keeping (of some one), the highest, with a woman from a respectable family (the punishment shall be) death.
- 42 For (a guard) not reporting to the City-superintendent an offence committed during the night whether by the animate or the inanimate, the punishment shall be in conformity with the offence, also in case of negligence.
- 43 Constant inspection of places supplying water, roads, water-courses, covered paths, ramparts, parapets (and other) fortifications, and the guarding of what is lost, forgotten or has run away (are the duties of the Superintendent).
- 44 And in the prison house, (there should be) a release of children, old persons, the sick and the helpless on the day of the (king's) birth-constellation and on full moon days. 45 Persons of a pious disposition or persons bound by an agreement may give a ransom for the offence.

⁴⁰ akṣaṇadviguṇaḥ, i.e., 2 paṇas and a half. 41 adāsīm, i.e., 'a courtesan' (Cs).

⁴² aśamsatah: we should supply raksinah and understand nāgarikasya in the sense of the dative. Cp supplies nagaravāsijanasya, while Cs understands nāgarika as 'citizen.' Meyer has 'if the nāgarika does not report,' apparently, to the king. The guard is more likely in view of pramādasthāne.

⁴³ bhrama etc.: cf. 2.4.2.

⁴⁴ jātanakṣatra- etc.: the day on which the moon is in the nakṣatra in which it was at the time of the king's birth. There would be one such day in each month. With the paurnamāsī, there would be two days for jail clearance every month. The expression can hardly mean 'on the full moon day when the moon (or sun) is in the constellation of birth.' There would be only one such day in a year. 45 punyaśīlāh those who are charitably disposed. — samayānubaddhāh 'bound (with the prisoner) by an agreement ' to be recompensed for the ransom they pay now. It is possible to understand also 'who were bound to the prisoner to pay ransom for him.' - doşanişkrayam 'a ransom in accordance with the crime ' for which they are in prison. The commentators explain the s.: 'Holy persons inadvertently committing an offence should pay a ransom after binding themselves for future conduct $(samay\bar{a}nubaddh\bar{a}h)$; if they do not do this $(v\bar{a})$, they must remain in prison.' This is extremely unlikely. - For niskraya in place of corporal punishment, see Chapter 4.10. That is available to anyone, not to punyasila or samayānubaddha persons only. Ransom in place of imprisonment is mentioned only here. In fact, imprisonment is scarcely prescribed anywhere in the text.

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- 46 Every day or every five days, he should clear out those in prison by (getting them to do) work, by (inflicting) corporal punishment or by (receiving) the favour of cash (in ransom).
- 47 On the occasion of the acquisition of a new territory, on the occasion of the installation of the crown prince or on the occasion of the birth of a son (to the king), a release of (all in) the prison is ordained.

Herewith ends the Second Book of the Arthasastra of Kautilya, 'The Activity of The Heads of Departments'

46 viśodhayet 'should clear out,' i.e., set free. Meyer compares cāragasohana in Jain literature.

BOOK THREE

CONCERNING JUDGES

CHAPTER ONE

SECTION 57 DETERMINATION OF (VALID AND INVALID) TRANSACTIONS

SECTION 58 FILING OF LAW-SUITS

- 1 Three judges, (all) three (of the rank of) ministers, should try cases arising out of transactions at frontier posts, in the sanigrahanas, dronamukhas and sthānīyas.
- 2 They should declare as invalid transactions concluded in absence, inside a house, at night-time, in a forest, by fraud or in secret.

The Third Book, which lays down the duties of judges, gives us, in effect, the entire law according to Kautilya. - dharmastha 'a judge ' has reference to the enforcement of law (dharma). This name is generally unknown to the Smrtis; only the Manusmṛti in 8.57 makes a casual reference to it.

3.1

The two prakaranas in this Chapter extend from ss. 1-16 and 17-47 respectively. - vyavahāra is primarily a transaction between two or more parties, which may form the basis of a suit in a court of law. Some transactions are invalid by their very nature. sthāpanā refers to a consideration of their admissibility in the court. - vivādapada is a suit concerning a matter in dispute. It has no reference to the 'titles of law.' The section deals with the filing of a suit and the procedure to be followed thereafter.

1 trayo 'mālyāḥ: it is best to regard these as parenthetical as in Meyer, the idea being that the three judges (who are to sit in each court) should possess the qualifications of an amatya as mentioned in 1.9.1-2. Cj has 'trayah is repeated to show that there are to be three in every place.' Cb understands three ministers in addition to three judges. Cs renders amatya by 'sitting together,' i.e., constituting a bench. N. N. Law (Studies, p. 118 and n.) supplies a vā ' three persons grounded in the śāstra or three ministers.' This is hardly likely. - janapadasandhi, i.e., frontier towns and forts. For sangrahana etc., see 2.1.4. -- vyāvahārikān arthan: this shows that the judges are to deal with cases involving transactions between two parties. These are, therefore, all cases concerning civil law. There is no reference to different grades among judges in small and large towns. Nor is there a reference to possible differences of opinion among the three judges or to appeals from one court to another.

- 3 For one who concludes (such a transaction) or induces its conclusion, the lowest fine for violence (shall be the punishment). 4 The fines shall be half for witnesses, each one of them. 5 For trustworthy persons, however, (there shall be only) annulment of the object.
- 6 Contracting a debt with a pledge in its absence or transactions in absence that are accepted as free from blame shall succeed.
- 7 Those concluded inside a house, concerning inheritance, things handed over, deposits and marriage, (or) by women who do not stir out (of their homes), or by sick persons who are not unsound in mind, shall succeed.
- 8 Those concluded at night, concerning forcible seizure, trespass with criminal intent, strife, marriage and a royal order, (or) by persons carrying on their business in the fore-part of the night, shall succeed.
- 9 Those concluded in the forest, by persons moving in forests, from amongst caravans, herds, hermitages, hunters and wandering minstrels, shall succeed.
- 10 And among persons earning a secret livelihood, those fraudulently made shall succeed.
- 2 tirohita, i.e., in which a party to the transaction is absent or the object involved in it is not there at the time. kṛtān is to be construed with antaragāra onwards. pratiṣedhayeyuḥ, i.e., no suit can be admitted on the basis of such a transaction. 5 śraddheya apparently refers to those who are parties to such a transaction in good faith, being unaware that they are invalid. dravyavyapanayaḥ, i.e., the transaction is declared null and void; no fine is, however, imposed in this case.
- 6 parokṣṇa etc. 'contracting a debt by mortgaging one's property such as a house or a field when the property is not seen at the time '(Cb Cj). For this sādhi-karṇagrahaṇam would have been better. Meyer has 'contracting a debt in addition to one already contracted (adhika ṛṇa),' which is less likely. avaktavyakarāḥ 'accepted by the people as valid, e.g., where people say that such and such a property may be dealt with by such and such a person even in the absence of the owner '(Cb Cs). Meyer has 'where the contracting parties need not be named'; Breloer (KSt, II, 133) has 'where through witnesses certainty is reached (that the agreement was intended by the absent party).'
- 7 For niksepa, see 3.12.33 ff., for upanidhi, 3.12.1 ff. aniskāsinīnām: see 2.23.12 above. amūdhasamjña would seem to mean 'not of unsound mind' rather than 'who have not lost consciousness.'
- 8 anupraveśa: Cb has 'entering the house and stealing'; trespass with criminal intent seems meant; cf. 3.19.17. Meyer compares Vasiṣṭha, 19.38 and Āpastamba, 2.10.26.18. rājaniyoga: Cb Cs restrict this to measures for guarding the city, at the king's order. There seems to be no reason for such a restriction. pūrvarātra- etc., i.e., prostitutes, vintners, innkeepers etc.
- 9 -madhyeşu aranyacarāṇām, i.e., when any of these are at the time moving through the forest or staying in it.
- 10 gūdhājīvişu: cf. 4.4 for such persons. Curiously, that Chapter includes corrupt judges too in this category.

- 11 And in case of secret association, those concluded in secret shall succeed.
- 12 (Transactions) other than these shall not succeed, also those concluded by dependents, (such as) by a son dependent on the father, by a father dependent on the son, by a brother excluded from the family, by a younger son whose share has not been allotted to him, by a woman dependent on her husband or son, by a slave or a person kept as a pledge, by a minor or a person grown too old for doing any business, and by a person accused of a crime, by a wandering monk, by a cripple or by one overcome by a calamity, excepting by those to whom authority for the transaction has been given. 13 Even among such, transactions concluded by a person in rage, a person in distress, an intoxicated person, an insane person or a person in another's power, shall not succeed. 14 For those who conclude, who induce the conclusion of and who bear witness to (such transactions), the fines (shall be) as prescribed for each one separately.
- 15 All transactions, however, in each respective group, concluded with full title at the proper place and time, with all formalities duly observed, with admissible evidence, with the appearance, marks, quantity and qualities duly noted, shall succeed. 16 And in their case, the last document shall be authoritative, except in the case of direction and pledge.

Thus ends the determination of (valid and invalid) transactions.

11 mithahsamavāya: Cb Cs restrict this to the Gandharva marriage. Any secret association would seem meant, its secrecy being regarded as necessary and legal.

12 pitrā putravatā, i.e., when the father has retired and the son is looking after the affairs. — niṣkula, i.e., separated from the family. — A minor is one under 16 (cf. 3.3.1) and atītavyavahāra is 'over seventy' (Cb Cs). — abhiśasta: one 'accused' of some offence by another person. Cf. 4.8.1,7. — vyasanin is hardly 'addicted to vice' (Cb Cs); cf. s. 34 below. 13 tatrāpi seems to refer to all valid transactions, not to niṣṛṣṭavyavahāras only as in Cs. — avagṛhīta 'suppressed, held in power'; cf. 5.6.47. Cs explains it as 'a convicted person,' Meyer as 'possessed by a spirit' or 'become abnormal in some way,' corresponding to aprakṛtim gataḥ of Nārada, 1.40.

15 varge, i.e., community, caste (Cb Cj Cs); an economic group, karṣaka, vaide-haka etc. may also be thought of. — svakaraṇa: cf. 2.36.7; 3.16.17,18. — saṇpūrṇācārāḥ: ācāra seems to refer to the customary formalities to be observed when entering into a transaction. — deśa 'witnesses' (Cb Cj Cs). In s. 19 below, deśa seems distinguished from sākṣin. It may be understood as evidence in general. Meyer renders it by 'a point' in a statement. — rāpalakṣaṇa- etc. refers to the object concerning which the transaction takes place. — Yāj., refers to the object concerning which the transaction takes place. — Yāj., 131-32, appear to be a metrical summary of this passage; so Nārada, 1.40-41 and 2.31-32, appear to be a metrical summary of this passage; so Nārada, 1.40-41 and 2.31-32. Appear to be a metrical summary of this passage; so Nārada, 1.40-41 and 2.31-32. Appear to be a metrical summary of this passage; so Nārada, 1.40-41 and 2.31-32. Appear to be a metrical summary of this passage; so Nārada, 1.40-41 and 2.31-32. Appear to be a metrical summary of this passage; so Nārada, 1.40-41 and 2.31-32. Appear to be a metrical summary of this passage; so Nārada, 1.40-41 and 2.31-32. Appear to be a metrical summary of this passage; so Nārada, 1.40-41 and 2.31-32. Appear to be a metrical summary of this passage; so Nārada, 1.40-41 and 2.31-32. Appear to be a metrical summary of this passage; so Nārada, 1.40-41 and 2.31-32. Appear to be a metrical summary of this passage; so Nārada, 1.40-41 and 2.31-32. Appear to be a metrical summary of this passage; so Nārada, 1.40-41 and 2.31-32. Appear to be a metrical summary of this passage; so Nārada, 1.40-41 and 2.31-32. Appear to be a metrical summary of this passage; so Nārada, 1.40-41 and 2.31-32. Appear to be a metrical summary of this passage; so Nārada, 1.40-41 and 2.31-32. Appear to be a metrical summary of this passage; so Nārada, 1.40-41 and 2.31-32. Appear to be a metrical summary of this passage; so Nārada, 1.40-41 and 2.31-32. Appear to be a metrical summary of this passage;

17 After writing down the year, the season, the month, the fortnight, the day, the office, the place, the debt, and the country, village, caste, family, name and occupation of the plaintiff and the defendant, who have given adequate sureties, the (clerk) shall put down the questions (with answers) to the plaintiff and the defendant, in due order of the subject-matter. 18 And he shall look into them when put down.

19 A (party to a suit) who gives up the dispute as put down and changes to another dispute, does not corroborate the first statement by a subsequent matter, remains (silent) after challenging an unchallengeable statement of the other (party), after making an affirmation does not indicate the evidence when asked to do so, indicates weak evidence or false evidence, produces evidence other than that indicated, when evidence is produced denies a statement in the matter saying 'it is not so,' does not accept what is confirmed by witnesses, talks secretly with witnesses in a place where no conversation is allowed, — these are reasons for loss of suit.

'a direction' or instruction to a person to take a thing entrusted to him to another person. In view of that, 'receiving a gift or purchase' (Cb Cs) seems little likely. They seem to be influenced by Yāj., 2.23, and Nārada, 1.97. But 'purchase' at least can hardly be on the same footing as a pledge in this connection.

17 karaṇa here can hardly refer to 'evidence,' so early in the list. Cs refers it to 'half a tithi called bava etc.' That is uncertain. Cb does not explain, only mentions dharmakaraṇa and arthakaraṇa. Probably something like 'department, office' is to be understood. Jayaswal's 'cause of action' (Manu and Yāj., p. 121) is doubtful in view of the specific mention of rṇam. — adhikaraṇam: the place where the court is situated, then the court itself. Jayaswal has 'statement of the case' (loc. cit.). — rṇam: this shows that the law of procedure is based on the law of debts, the prime cause of action. — It is not certain if avedaka or āvedaka is to be understood in the sense of 'the defendant.' — For avastha 'surety,' cf. 2.8.29; 3.18.11. The surety is for ensuring payment of the fine. 18 avekṣcla: though the writing down is done by the lekhaka (cf. 4.9.17), and this examination may be supposed to be by the judge, that is not made quite clear. Of course, the subject for avekṣcla may also be lekhakah understood.

19 vādam is preferred to pādam, as in the actual comment in Cb. It is also supported by Nārada Intro., 2.24 (pūrvavādam parityajya and vādasamkramanād). And as Meyer points out, pāda does not mean 'a title of law.' Nor can padam be read, for pada in vivādapada does not refer to the 18 titles of law. — dešam: see s. 16 above. Breloer (II, 155) understands 'place' in the usual sense. — hīnadešam 'a smaller number of witnesses than those cited' (Cs). — adešam 'those unfit to be witnesses, such as kinsmen etc.' (Cb Cs). — nirdistād dešād is from Cb and is necessary. Breloer, however, prefers nirdistoddešād, understanding uddeša as 'a leading statement at the commencement of a discussion, what is to be proved 'as in 15.1.15-16 (II, 155). This is extremely doubtful. anyam dešam that follows makes this reading quite unlikely. — arthavacanam: Cb Cs read arthavacane as adjective to deše 'when he has deposed truthfully.' Breloer (II, 155) understands it in the sense of 'an official account.' — parokta 'a person against

- 20 The fine for loss of suit is one-fifth the amount (in dispute).
 21 The fine for one who voluntarily admits is one-tenth.
 - 22 Wages for the servant shall be one-eighth part (of a pana).
- 23 Food on the way (will be) according to the prices (at the time).
- 24 The defeated party shall pay both these.
- 25 The accused shall not file a counter-complaint, except in cases of strife, forcible seizure and association in caravans. 26 And there shall be no suit against the accused (by another party).
- 27 If the plaintiff, to whom a reply has been given (by the defendant), does not counter-reply on the same day, he shall lose the suit. 28 For, it is the plaintiff, who has decided (beforehand) what is to be done, not the defendant. 29 If the latter does not reply, a period of three days or seven (may be allowed). 30 After that, the (judge) shall impose a fine of three panas minimum and twelve panas maximum. 31 After three fortnights, if he does not reply, the (judge) shall impose the fine for loss of suit and indemnify the plaintiff from goods belonging to him, excepting the tools of his profession. 32 He shall impose the same (penalty) on the defendant who absconds. 33 In the case of the plaintiff, there shall be loss of suit the moment he absconds.
- 34 The statement of a witness who dies or suffers from a misfortune is without value.

whom a decision is given (parā-ukta).' Manu, 8.53-57, are clearly based on this passage.

- 20 pañcabandhah cannot be 'five times' as Meyer translates. For 'so many times' we have -guna; cf. bandhacaturgunah, 3.11.7. 21 svayamvādin: this refers to one who voluntarily admits what is urged against him. This is principally to be understood of the defendant. Cf. s. 46 below. Cb implies that the admission is made before the witnesses have deposed, which seems reasonable. Cs has 'who has filed a suit without witnesses,' Meyer 'who has offered to make a false deposition as a witness,' Breloer 'the same as tavāhamvādin, i.e., the unfree man' (III, 247 n. 6). None of these explanations seems intended.
- 22 puruṣa as 'judge' (Cb) is quite unlikely. The court servant who summons witnesses etc. is clearly to be understood. 23 pathibhaktam is in the nature of a travelling allowance. argha- is definitely preferable to artha-. With the latter, Meyer has 'according to the peculiarity of the case.'
- 25 sārthasamavāyebhyaḥ: Meyer proposes mithaḥsamavāyebhyaḥ. That is quite unnecessary. Association between members of a caravan can conceivably lead to complaints and counter-complaints. 26 abhiyogaḥ, apparently, by a third party. Breloer (II, 140), however, understands the same party, the idea being that a suit about a matter can only be filed once.
- 29 Three days or seven would depend on the circumstances of the case. Nārada Intro., 2.3, has a similar rule. 31 pratipādayet 'make him receive,' i.e., pay him. For the rule, cf. Manu, 8.58, Yāj., 2.12, Nārada Intro., 1.44-45. 32 Cf. Manu, 8.55, Yāj., 2.16.

- 35 The (successful) plaintiff may, after paying the fine, make (a poor defendant) work (for him). 36 Or, the (defendant) may keep a pledge, if he so desires. 37 Or, he may indemnify him by work, guarded by charms destructive of evil spirits, with the exception of a Brahmin.
 - 38 When all laws are perishing, the king here is the promulgator of laws, by virtue of his guarding the right conduct of the world consisting of the four varnas and four āśramas.
 - 39 A matter in dispute has four feet, law, transaction, custom and the royal edict; (among them) the later one supersedes the earlier one.
- 34 The translation follows Meyer, with his proposed -vacanam asāram though sākṣiṇaḥ outside the compound would have been still better. The idea is, if a witness, after giving evidence, dies or suffers some great misfortune, he is presumed to have given false evidence. Cf. Manu, 8.108. In the Nachtrag, Meyer proposes sākṣivacanāt with a stop after it, construing asāram with the next s. 'a party becomes parokta on the (false) testimony of a witness who dies or is in calamity. If the accused is poor (asāra) the complainant shall pay the fine etc.' Even for this sākṣiṇaḥ outside the compound is necessary. Cb Cs, reading sākṣivacanāḥ sāram, explain 'the sons etc. of a deceased or a suffering party shall be entitled to receive or liable to pay the amount in dispute (sāram) on producing witnesses (sākṣivacanāḥ).' It is extremely doubtful if heirs could be so brought in without any prior mention. And why should a vyasanin not receive the amount himself? The s. may also be understood as 'if a party to a suit dies or suffers a misfortune, the testimony of his witnesses has no value.' But this is colourless.
- 35 daṇḍam daitvā: the state must receive the daṇḍa, if need be from the successful party. 36 sa refers to abhiyukta, hardly to abhiyoktā. 37 rakṣoghnarakṣitam: perhaps abhiyoktāram is to be supplied, hardly ādhim. pratipādayet: the subject may be dharmasthaḥ as in s. 31, though abhiyuktaḥ is also possible. anyatra Brāhmaṇāt is odd, for the defendant, of whom alone the Brāhmaṇatva can be thought of, is not specifically referred to in the s. It is quite possible that the whole s. is a marginal gloss that has intruded into the text. It is unnecessary in view of s. 35. iti read in the mss. in such places is often derived from some commentary. At any rate, a pious Kṣatriya cannot be understood on its strength as is done in Cs.
- 38 ayam: asya as going with lokasya would be better. There is little point in ayam rājā. nasyatām sarvadharmānām is a case of genitive absolute. Meyer objects that this construction is unknown to this text and suggests nāsena or nāsanāt and sarvādharmānām, 'by destroying all impieties.' This is unnecessary. Cb Cs construe the genitives with pravartakah. rājā dharmapravartakah: M Cb Cs read rājadharmah pravartakah. But a dharma as a pravartaka of dharma is not a happy idea. And ācārarakṣaṇa is more likely of rājā, than of rājadharma. The idea seems to be, because the king gives protection, he can lay down law, when the traditional laws have become inoperative. The commentators' idea seems to be that a king can revive laws that are languishing, by protecting the right conduct of subjects. That also is possible.
- 39 Compare the paraphrase in Bṛhaspati: dharmeṇa vyavahāreṇa caritreṇa nrpājñayā, catuṣprakāro 'bhihitaḥ samdigdhe 'rthe vinirṇayaḥ. vyavahāra seems to

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- 40 Of them, law is based on truth, a transaction, however, on witnesses, customs on the commonly held view of men, while the command of kings is the royal edict.
- 41 (Carrying out) his own duty by the king, who protects the subjects according to law, leads to heaven; of one who does not protect or who inflicts an unjust punishment, (the condition) is the reverse of this.
- 42 For, it is punishment alone that guards this world and the other, when it is evenly meted out by the king to his son and his enemy, according to the offence.
- 43 For, a king, giving decisions in accordance with law, transaction, settled custom and edict as the fourth, would conquer the earth up to its four ends.
- 44 He shall decide, with the help of law, a matter in which a settled custom or a matter based on a transaction contradicts the science of law.

mean only 'a transaction' throughout. We may also think of 'judicial process.' — paścimaḥ pūrvabādhakaḥ: this seems to mean that the later one in the list supersedes the earlier one. According to Cb Cs, only the last supersedes the first three. Cf., however, Nārada Intro., 1.10, uttaraḥ pūrvabādhakaḥ. 40 satya seems to refer to truth in the sense of eternal truth, that is supposed to be the basis of dharma. Breloer (II, 49-53) thinks that we should read smṛtyām sthito or smṛtisthito 'based on tradition.' Though for the sake of uniformity in the meaning of dharma in these verses and in 43-44, this is what should be understood by dharma, satye sthitaḥ is quite likely and is supported by Nārada Intro., 1.11. — samgrahe, i.e., in the view commonly accepted by men. Cb has 'unanimity among witnesses.'

- 41-42 These stanzas are out of place and are clearly derived from a different source. They belong to 1.4 above.
- 43 anuśāsad: cf. anuśiṣṭa, 4.9.15. dharmena: by this dharmaśāstra law is clearly to be understood, as shown by s. 44. saṃsthayā: this is probably the same as caritra above. Cb has 'lokācāra.' nyāyena: this refers to rājaśāsana. Meyer relates the word to nīti or naya in the sense of 'a royal measure.' It is possible that the difference in terminology stems from a difference in sources.
- 44 Though with the reading samsthā yā, as proposed by Meyer, we get two relative pronouns in the same clause, that appears preferable to samsthayā. It may be that samsthā vā should be read. The idea is, when samsthā or vyavahāra is in conflict with dharma, the latter prevails. With samsthayā as the reading there would be a reference to a conflict between samsthā and vyavahāra without a solution being offered for it. This stanza clearly contradicts s. 39, if the terms in the two places are regarded as identical, unless paścimaḥ pūrvabādhakaḥ is understood as in Cb.— The use of the word śāstra in connection with vyavahāra is strange. Cb seems to understand vyāvahārika śāstra as rājavacana. That is not very likely. Cs has 'a royal edict (śāstra) or the evidence of witnesses (vyāvahārika).' This is doubtful.

- 45 Where (a text of) the science may be in conflict with any edict in a matter of law, there the edict shall prevail; for, there the written text loses its validity.
- 46 A (distinctly) seen offence, a voluntary admission, straightforwardness in questions (and answers) to one's own and the opposite party, reasoning, and oath lead to a decision in a case.
- 47 In case of contradiction between an earlier and a later statement, in case of the blameworthiness of witnesses and in case of escape from the custody of the prison-guard, loss of suit shall be decreed.

- 45 dharme nyāyena of M seems preferable to dharmanyāyena, though dharma has then to be understood as 'a matter of law.' dharmanyāya is confusing. Cb understands dharma and nyāya as two separate things. Cs has 'custom which is just in every way.' Breloer (II, 131) explains 'a reflection or judgment (nyāya) which follows from the same holy law.' In that case, the conflict between the śāstra and this nyāya would hardly arise. tatra pāṭho hi naśyati: Breloer (II, 131) translates 'for the text underlies the change.' He adds that the judge is thus given the opportunity to build up new legal sentences outside of and even contrary to the holy law.
- 46 dṛṣṭadoṣaḥ: in view of the predicate arthasādhakaḥ, this should be understood as a Karmadhāraya rather than as a Bahuvrīhi. svapakṣa- etc. is to be construed with anuyogārjavam in the second half, as in Cb Cs. Meyer construes it with svayamvādaḥ, making dṛṣṭadoṣaḥ the predicate in the first half 'the defect of a voluntary statement by one or the other party is seen above (in s. 21?).' This is hardly possible. Breloer proposes (II, 132 n. 4) svayamvādasvapakṣa- etc. as one, 'when the guilt is brought to light through his own admission or through the evidence of the other party.' This also seems doubtful.
- 47 sākṣivaktavyakāraṇe: vaktavya seems used for vaktavyatva. 3.11.28-9 enumerate persons ineligible as witnesses. Breloer's 'when there are witnesses whom the judge has brought himself' (II, 132) is hardly possible. cāra is obviously the jailor or prison-guard; cf. cāraka 4.9.22. It may also refer to the secret agent of the court, who has traced the party and is bringing him to the court. For niṣpāta 'running away' cf. s. 33 above. Breloer's 'by going over (niṣpāte) by means of secret police' is not quite clear. The kārikās have clearly a miscellaneous origin.

CHAPTER TWO

SECTION 59 CONCERNING MARRIAGE

- (i) The Law of Marriage; (ii) Rules Concerning Woman's Property; (iii) Concerning Supersession (of a Wife) by a Second Marriage
- 1 (All) transactions begin with marriage.
- 2 Making a gift of the daughter, after adorning her (with ornaments) is the Brāhma form of marriage. 3 The joint performance of sacred duties is the Prājāpatya. 4 On receiving a pair of cattle (from the bride-groom) it is the Ārṣa. 5 By making a gift (of the daughter) to the officiating priest inside a sacrificial altar, it is the Daiva. 6 By a secret association (between lovers) it is the Gāndharva. 7 On receiving a dowry, it is the Āsura. 8 By forcible seizure (of a maiden), it is the Rākṣasa. 9 By the seizure of a sleeping or intoxicated (maiden), it is the Paiśāca.
- 10 The first four are lawful with the sanction of the father, the remaining with the sanction of the father and the mother. 11 For, those two receive the dowry of the daughter, or one of them in the absence of the other. 12 The woman shall receive the second dowry.
- 13 In the case of all (forms of marriage), giving pleasure (to the bride by means of gifts) is not forbidden.

Thus ends the law of marriage.

3.2

The 59th prakaraṇa is spread over three Chapters, 3.2-4, and contains a number of sub-sections. The three subs-ections in this chapter are to be found in ss. 1-13, 14-37 and 38-48 respectively. — Cb Cs quote a mnemonic verse according to which Manu begins with the law of debts, Uśanas with property, Bṛhaspati with deposits and Kauṭilya with marriage. Meyer has shown very clearly how Kauṭilya's is the most rational arrangement of the topics of law.

- 1 vyavahāra 'dealings,' i.e., in effect, civil life.
- 3 'The mantra containing the admonition to practise dharma together is recited in the Prājāpatya' (Cb). The Smṛtis have closely parallel definitions of these forms of marriage.
- 10 pitṛpramāṇāḥ: apparently the will or consent of the mother is unnecessary.

 dharmyāḥ conveys the idea of not only 'lawful,' but also 'holy, pious.' dharmiṣṭha or dharmavivāha conveys the same idea. mātāpitṛpramāṇāḥ: the consent is obtained evidently after the event in three of these four cases. 11 śulkaharau: evidently śulka was received when consent was given in these cases. 12 dvitīyam śulkam: Cb paraphrases by 'prītidāna'; so Cs understands gifts given to the bride at the time of marriage. It is possible that the second dowry may be that received when the woman happens to marry again, after the first husband's death.
- 13 sarveṣām, i.e., 'by all relations of the briderroom and others' (Cb Cs); Cb in fact appears to regard this prītyāropaṇa as the second dowry. sarveṣām, how-

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- 14 Maintenance and ornaments constitute woman's property. 15 Maintenance is an endowment of a maximum of two thousand (panas); as to ornaments, there is no limit.
- 16 It is not an offence for the wife to use that for the maintenance of her sons and daughters-in-law or if no provision is made when (the husband is) away on a journey, (or) for the husband (to use it) for taking steps against robbers, diseases, famine (and other) dangers and for religious acts, or for the couple (to use it) jointly when they have begotten a son and a daughter. 17 And if it has been used for three years, the (wife) shall not question, in the case of the pious marriages. 18 If used in the Gāndharva and Āsura marriages, the (husband) shall be made to return both with interest, if used in the Rākṣasa and Paiśāca marriages, he shall pay (the penalty for) theft.
- 19 When the husband is dead, the (widow), if desirous of leading a life of piety, shall forthwith receive the endowment and ornaments and the remainder of the dowry. 20 If, after receiving (these), she

ever, may refer to forms of marriage, in all of which gifts are allowed, though not śulka. And it is possible that this prītyāropaṇa, e.g., in a Brāhma marriage, is the dvitīya or secondary śulka. — It is proposed to read iti vivāhadharmaḥ here and not after s. 18 as in the mss. They are clearly misplaced there.

- 14 ābandhyam: this form from Cb is more likely (from bandh 'to bind'). The lexicons show the forms ābaddha and ābandha. 15 paradvisāhasrā: we expect dvisahasraparā for the sense 'a maximum of two thousand panas.'—sthāpyā is another name for vṛtti (cf. s. 19 and 3.3.12), 'what is set apart, an endowment.'
- 16 ātma- to be construed with putra and snuṣā. Her own case is covered by the next expression. — bhaya 'danger' as a separate item is better. — It is proposed to read a stop after prajātayoh (supplying bhoktum adoṣaḥ). Cb Cs regard sambhūya...nānuyuñjita as constituting a single sentence and restrict the rule to pious marriages and a three-year use only. The presence of both $v\bar{a}$ and ca in the same clause would be strange. And the genitive of dampatyoh implies construction with bhoktum adosah, like that of patyuh in the preceding clause. Meyer has ' when the couple has put it together as common property, when they have begotten a son and a daughter and when it is used as common property for three years.' This is reading too much in the words. Kane (HD, III, 786) seems to have read aprajātayoh ' so also if there be no children of the marriage and the husband expends strīdhana without objection by the wife, then also no complaint would be entertained.' 17 trivarsopabhuktam, i.e., if the husband has used it for three years without complaint by the wife. The idea that no complaint shall be entertained after a lapse of three years after it was spent is less likely. 18 ubhayam, i.e., vṛtti and ābandhya, hardly śulka and strīdhana. — savṛddhikam dāpyeta, i.e., it is treated as a loan. — steyam dadyāt, i.e., he has no right at all to its use.
- 19 sthāpyābharaṇam is necessary as shown by 3.3.12; 3.4.16 and s. 15 above. śulkaśeṣam: Cs has 'what is left after joint use by the couple.' But the śulka goes to the bride's parents (s. 11). It may be that the parents who receive the śulka hold it in trust for the daughter. Meyer understands payment of śulka in instalments, the unpaid instalments going to the wife and not her parents. This

marries again, she shall be made to return both with interest. 21 If, however, she is desirous of having a family, she shall receive, at the time of remarriage, what was given to her by her father-in-law and her (late) husband. 22 We shall explain the time for remarriage in 'Long absence from home.' 23 If she remarries against the wishes of her father-in-law, she shall forfeit what was given her by her fatherin-law and her (late) husband.

- 24 If the (widow) is snatched away from the protection of her kinsmen, the kinsmen (by the new marriage) shall return (her woman's property of the first marriage) as it may have been received (by her). 25 If she has approached (for remarriage) in a legitimate manner, the acceptor shall protect her woman's property (of the first marriage).
- A (widow) remarrying shall forfeit what was given by her (late) husband. 27 She shall use it if desirous of a pious life. 28 If a (widow) who has sons marries again, she shall forfeit her woman's property. 29 The sons, however, shall receive that woman's property. 30 Or, if she remarries for the maintenance of her sons, she shall augment (the woman's property) for the sake of the sons.
- The (woman) shall settle on sons born (to her) from many husbands her woman's property as given by the respective fathers.
- A (widow) marrying again shall settle on her sons her woman's property even when she is entitled to do what she pleases with it.
- 33 A (widow) without sons, remaining faithful to her husband's bed, shall use her woman's property in the proximity of elders, till the

seems supported by 3.4.15, 33. 21 kuṭumbakāmā: she desires a son who would belong to her late husband's family. The husband's full brother is to be her first preference for remarriage (3.4.38). 22 dīrghapravāse, i.e., in the subsection in 3.4.37-42.

- 24 The first jñāti- refers to the kinsmen of the late husband, while the second jñālayah refers to those of the new husband. Meyer understands by both the woman's father, brother etc. and proposes abhisrstāyāh 'handed over, made over' in place of abhimṛṣṭāyāḥ. That seems little likely. — yathāgṛhītam, i.e., as she had received at the time of the first marriage. 25 stridhanam is evidently that of the first marriage.
- 26 patidāyam would normally be 'what she has inherited from her husband.' But the wife does not appear among heirs in 3.5.9-12. Some kind of inheritance can be understood here to distinguish this from patidatta of s. 21. appears better. Cb has 'food and clothing given by the husband.'
- 32 kāmakaraņīyam: it is not stated what strīdhana can be so described. Perhaps the saudāyika of later Smrtis 'gifts by brothers and father before or after marriage ' may be understood.
 - 33 gurusamīpe strīdhanam etc.: Kane (III, 708 n. 1857) seems to read strī

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end of her life. 34 For, a woman's property is meant for calamities. 35 After (her death), it shall go to the heirs.

36 If a woman dies while her husband is living, her sons and daughters shall divide her woman's property among themselves, daughters (only) if she had no sons, in the absence of these, the husband (shall receive it). 37 The dowry, the post-marriage gifts and other things given by her relations, the relations shall receive.

Thus end rules concerning woman's property.

38 The (husband) shall wait for eight years if the wife does not bear offsprings or does not bear a son or is barren, for ten if she bears dead offspring, for twelve if she bears only daughters. 39 After that, he may marry a second wife with the object of getting a son. 40 In case of transgression of that (rule), he shall hand over the dowry, the woman's property and half (that) as compensation for supersession, and (pay) a fine of twenty-four panas maximum.

41 By paying the dowry, the woman's property, (and) in the case of a wife without a dowry or woman's property of her own a compensation for supersession equal in amount to that, and a suitable maintenance he may marry even a number of wives. 42 For, wives are (necessary) for having sons.

dhanam and comments that this passage is probably the first to propound clearly the characteristics of the Hindu Widow's estate. It is doubtful if in this section strī dhanam can be read as two words, the latter understood as referring to other property as well. The next s. mentions the technical strīdhana only, and it gives the reason for the rule in this s. — $d\bar{a}y\bar{a}dam$, i.e., the husband's heirs. Kātyāyana reproduces this rule word for word.

36 vibhajeran, evidently in equal shares. In the matter of succession to strī-dhana, this text does not make a distinction between the forms of marriage as the Smṛtis do (Manu, 9.196-7; Yāj., 2.145; Nārada, 13.9). It refers to them in a different connection (ss. 17-18 above). 37 śulkam: this is received by the parents (s. 11). — anvādheyam 'what is given by blood relations after marriage.' Kātyāyana includes gifts from the husband's family as well. — Yāj., 2.144, is an echo of this rule.

38 aprajāyamānā 'who bears a child once and does not conceive again' (Cb Cs). It may also mean 'who does not bear (because of miscarriages).'—
aputrām may mean whose son died and who has not borne a child thereafter.
40 ardham 'half the strīdhana' (Cb); 'half the śulka and strīdhana' is also possible.
Meyer prefers to read artham 'money as compensation for the second marriage.'
Yāj., 2.148, repeats the rule and has ardham.

41 tatpramāṇam 'equal to the śulka and strīdhana of any of the other wives' (Meyer). Cs has 'equal to the expenses of the new marriage,' which appears less ikely. 42 Cf. Manu, 9,26; Nārada, 12.19.

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- 43 And in case of simultaneity of the menstrual periods of these, he shall approach according to (the time of) marriage, first that (wife), whom he had married first, or the wife who has living sons.
- 44 In case of concealment of the period or failure to approach at the time, ninety-six (paṇas shall be) the fine.
- 45 The (husband) may not approach a (wife) who has sons, who is desirous of a pious life, who is barren, who bears dead offspring or whose menstruation has stopped, if she is unwilling. 46 And the man, if unwilling, may not approach a (wife) who is leprous or insane. 47 A woman, however, shall approach a (husband) even of this type, for bearing a son.
 - 48 A husband, who has become degraded or gone to a foreign land or has committed an offence against the king or is dangerous to her life or has become an outcast or even an impotent one may be abandoned.

- 43 yathāvivāham, i.e., according to the form of marriage, first a wife married according to the Brāhma form and so on (com.). A man only rarely would marry different wives according to different forms. Manu, 9.85-87, lays down seniority according to the varņa of the wives. yathāvivāham can be construed with pūrvoḍhām 'married first according to the time of marriage'; this appears more likely.
- 44 tirthagūhanāgamane: the commentators understand the two offences by the wife, Meyer by the husband. It is possible also to understand the first as the wife's offence and the second as the husband's.
- 45 dharmakāmām is to be understood independently, not to be construed with vandhyām as in Cs. Cb Cs remove the stop after upeyāt and read it after na cākāmah puruṣaḥ, adding a na before gacchet in the next s. The punctuation has little to commend it. A man could hardly avoid his duties during the rtu merely because he was unwilling. Cf. 3.4.36. 47 vā has the force of api. The reason for the discrimination seems to be that the husband could easily marry again, not so the wife.
- 48 nīcatvam: construe with prasthitah. It is not stated what makes a man degraded. Following some degraded profession or becoming a drunkard or a rake may be understood. rājakilbiṣī: this seems to refer to one committing an offence against the king, i.e., a seditious person. Cb has 'this is of three kinds, the king's purohita, the person receiving a gift from the king, and a consumptive person.' The consumptive is possible, but the other two are strange, particularly person.' The consumptive to their crime. tyājyah: Jayaswal (Manu and Yaj., p. 230) says that tyāga denotes separation from conjugal intercourse, as opposed to mokṣa, the technical divorce.

CHAPTER THREE

SECTION 59 (Continued)

- (iv) Marital Duty; (v) Maintenance; (vi) Cruelty; (vii) Disaffection; (viii) Misconduct; and (ix) Prohibition of Fayours and Dealings
- 1 A woman twelve years of age attains majority, a man when sixteen years of age. 2 If after this there is a failure to carry out marital duties, there shall be a fine of twelve panas for the woman, twice that for the man. Thus ends (the topic of) marital duty.
- 3 When maintenance is not (payable) at stipuated (intervals of) time, the (husband) shall give (the necessary) food and clothing according to the dependents or more in a generous measure. 4 If (payable) at stipulated (intervals of) time, he shall calculate the same and pay in instalments. 5 And also in case she has not received a dowry, a woman's property and compensation for supersession, (the same procedure shall be followed).

3.3

- 2 The colophon iti śuśrūṣā is added in conformity with those of the other subsections in this Chapter.
- 3 bharmanyā seems clearly to mean the allowance given for the maintenance of a wife separated from the husband. - anirdistakālā 'the time for which is not stated' seems to refer to payment of the alimony in one lump sum, while nirdistakālā seems to be that paid in instalments at stated times. — grāsācchādanam is the usual expression for 'maintenance' given to a person; cf. 3.5.32; 3.7.19. — vā'dhikam: vā is misplaced; it should come after adhikam. purusaparivāpa: see 1.16.5; 2.24.28 etc. — savišesam may refer to quality while adhikam refers to quantity. Cb explains the s. thus 'when a woman is appointed to look after the household (bharmanyā) and there is no restriction on her as to time that so much amount is to be spent in so much time, she should be given provisions for running the household according to the number of persons in it.' Cs mostly follows. The idea is very strange. 4 Meyer understands nirdistakālā as 'to be given for a definite period,' which appears less likely. — tadeva, i.e., grāsāc-chādanam, probably excluding the idea of adhikam. — bandham seems to refer to 'a part, a portion' of an amount, as in pañcabandha, dasabandha etc.; cf. also 3.9.20; 3.12.16. ca is unnecessary. Meyer understands bandha as 'surety.' That also is not unlikely. The commentators have 'if the wife takes the matter (of provisions) to the court and fails, she is to give 1/5th or 1/10th part of the provisions (to the state?).' This appears still more strange. 5 -ādhivedanikānām is from Cb and quite necessary for the sense. adhyāvahanika 'gifts received at the time of going from the father's to the husband's place' would hardly be intended in this context. Since we have to supply bandham dadyāt in this s., Cs adds 'she has to pay even when she has not received sulka etc., how much more would she be liable to pay if she has received that?' The commentators appear to be clearly on a wrong track.

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- 6 If the (wife) is staying in her father-in-law's family or has become separated, the husband is not to be sued. Thus ends (the topic of) maintenance.
- 7 The inculcation of modest behaviour (shall be done) without the use of expressions such as 'thou lost one,' 'thou ruined one,' 'thou cripple,' 'thou fatherless one' or 'thou motherless one.' 8 Or, striking on the back three times with one of (the three, viz.,) a split bamboo-cane, rope or hand (may be done). 9 In case of transgression of this fines half those for verbal and physical injury (shall be imposed).
- 10 The same (shall be the punishment) for the wife whose offence against her husband is well-known. 11 On occasions of (her) enjoying herself outside (the home) out of jealousy, the penalty shall be as laid down. Thus ends (the topic of) cruelty.
- 12 A wife disliking her husband (and) not adorning herself (for fulfilment of marital duty) during seven menstrual periods, shall forthwith set down her endowment and ornaments and consent to her husband lying with another woman.
- 13 A husband disliking the wife shall consent to her staying alone in the family of one of (the following, viz.,) a female mendicant, a guardian or a kinsman.
- 6 śvaśurakulapraviṣtāyām: the wife, though having no relations with the husband, stays in the family. Meyer thinks that she may have married the husband's brother. In the alternative, he proposes śvaśurakulāpraviṣtāyām, signifying an appointed daughter (putrikā) who is not a member of her father-in-law's family. Neither suggestion seems necessary. vibhaktāyām: apparently in this case, she has received some share of the property. nābhiyojyah: the claim would be about maintenance, hardly about śulka (as in Cb).
- 7 naște vinaște is from the actual comment in Cb. vinagne at least is suspicious.
 anirdesena 'without using these expressions, but using other words of admonition' (Cb). Cs has 'addressing her with these abusive expressions.' That is less likely. 8 Cf. Manu, 8.299-300. 9 vāgdanda- etc.: as in 3.18 and 3.19 below.
- at the beginning of the next s. tadeva, i.e., the ardhadandāḥ. doṣa would be abuse or beating of the husband. bāḥyavihāreṣu dvāreṣu: i.e., when the wife goes away from home to enjoy herself; dvāra is 'an occasion'. yathānirdiṣṭaḥ, i.e., as laid down in ss. 20-22 below or 3.4.1-23. Cb Cs explain 'the same amount of cruelty (naṣṭa or nagna etc. and trir āghāta) is allowed to a chaste (adoṣā) wife when her jealousy is aroused by such occasions (dvāreṣu) for harsh treatment towards the husband as his wandering outside (for prostitution etc.). In case of transgression she pays full fines (not half like her husband).' With irṣyāyām, Meyer tr. 'the same holds good in case of jealousy by the wife towards the husband when there is no open offence (prasiddhāyām adoṣāyām). Punishment for wandering outside the house or at the doors, as prescribed in each case.'
- 12 sthāpyābharaṇam: see 3.2.15. anušayīta 'should sleep nearby on a lower level' (Cb), 'should wait upon the husband full of remorse' (Cs). Mere consent would seem meant, without the idea of claiming ādhivedanika.

- 14 One who speaks a falsehood, when indications are clear, when there is a refusal of intercourse or when an approach is made to a person of the same *varna* through a secret emissary, shall pay a (fine of) twelve *panas*.
- 15 A disaffected wife is not to be granted divorce from the husband who is unwilling, nor the husband from the wife. 16 By mutual disaffection (alone) a divorce (shall be granted). 17 Or, if the husband seeks divorce because of the wife's offence, he shall give to her whatever he may have taken. 18 Or, if the wife seeks divorce because of the husband's offence, he shall not give her whatever may have been received. 19 There is no divorce in pious marriages. Thus ends (the topic of) disaffection.
- 20 The wife who, (though) prohibited, indulges haughtily in the sport of drink, shall pay a fine of three paṇas. 21 In case she goes by
- 13 $anv\bar{a}dhi$: Cb understands 'a trustee of the $str\bar{i}dhana$.' It may simply mean 'a guardian.' $-kul\bar{a}n\bar{a}m$: in the case of the $bhik\bar{s}uk\bar{i}$, this implies only staying with her. $dvi\bar{s}an$, as qualifying $bhart\bar{a}$, is necessary. Because of $v\bar{a}$, Meyer would find here something new about the disaffected wife; hence, he proposes a stop after $v\bar{a}$ 'or, (she shall give freedom) when she stays with $bhik\bar{s}uk\bar{i}$, etc. The husband, hating, shall give freedom if he has only one wife in her.' $ek\bar{a}m$ need not be so understood. It merely refers to her staying separately from her husband.
- 14 drstalinge maithunapahare 'who denies or conceals intercourse (with another woman) when signs of such are distinctly visible '(Cb Cs). It seems better, however, to understand the two terms separately as in Meyer and to construe mithyāvādī with each of them. linga refers to signs of disaffection or hatred, not of intercourse. - apahāra seems to have the sense of refusal (to have intercourse). mithyāvādī 'one who speaks a falsehood,' i.e., denies these things, hardly 'who falsely accuses' (as in Meyer). - savarnāpasarpopagame 'when the husband's misdeeds are found out through a friend sent to him as a spy '(Cb), 'who has approached for intercourse a female emissary who is a friend (of the wife)' (Cs). This latter is clearly influenced by classical poetry. Meyer has 'when she has acknowledged (upagama, i.e., abhyupagama) before a wife of the same caste that she dislikes her husband.' Perhaps the only idea is 'approaching a person of the same varna through an intermediary' for shelter or aid, rather than for intercourse, in which case the punishment would have been more severe. The offence is conceivable more of the wife than of the husband; mithyāvādī, however, is masculine. 17-18 It is strange that when the wife is in the wrong, she gets her śulka, strīdhana etc., while she gets nothing if forced to seek divorce through the man's wrong. Apparently, the only test is who seeks divorce. It is not unlikely, however, that asyai and nāsyai have changed places in the two ss.; or perhaps we should read asau (for asyai) and nāsau (for nāsyai). 19 dharmavivāhānām, i.e., the first four forms. - dvesah is added from Cb in the colophon, for uniformity.
- 20 darpamadyakrīdāyām 'haughty play (darpakrīdā) and the sport of drinking '(Cb Cs Meyer). A single idea might appear preferable. 21 strīprekṣāvihāra: we have to understand strīprekṣā 'a show put up by women only 'and strīvihāra. vihāra is 'udyānagamana' (Cb). Cf. Manu, 9.84.

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day to a show by women or on a pleasure-trip with women, the fine (shall be) six paṇas, for going to a show by men or on a pleasure-trip with men, twelve paṇas. 22 At night, (the fines shall be) double.

- 23 For leaving home when the (husband) is asleep or intoxicated and for not opening the door to the husband, twelve *paṇas* (is the fine).

 24 For going out at night, (the fine is) double.
- 25 If a man and a woman, with sexual intercourse in view, include in gestures with limbs or indecent conversation in secret, twenty-four paṇas is the fine for the woman, double that for the man.
- 26 For touching the hair, the knot of the lower garment, teeth or nails, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed), double (that) for the man.
- 27 And in case of conversation in a suspicious place, punishment by whipping may be substituted for the fine in paṇas. 28 To women, the Caṇḍāla shall give five strokes with the lash in the region between the sides (i.e., on the back) in the centre of the village. 29 Or, she may free herself by paying a paṇa for each stroke.

Thus ends (the topic of) misconduct.

- 30. When a man and a woman, who are forbidden, make a gift to one another of small articles, a fine of twelve paṇas (shall be imposed),
- 23 suptamattapravrajane: it is necessary to read matta as in Cb, as it describes the husband. pravrajana is 'leaving home, going out.' adāne, i.e., not opening, when, for example, the husband returns home at night. 24 niskasane is the same as pravrajane.
- 25 maithunārthenānga-: Cb text shows maithunārthe 'nanga-, which Cs adopts; the actual comment in Cb, however, implies the former reading. ananga is superfluous, when maithunārtha is there. For the instrumental case of the latter word, cf. 3.4.21 below.
- 26 Cb Cs interpret ālambana as 'kṣatakaraṇa' when construing it with danta and nakha. But danta and nakha would rather appear to be those of the other party, like keśa and nīvī. Meyer proposes hasta for danta, or stanasakthyava- for party, like keśa and nīvī. Meyer proposes hasta for danta, or stanasakthyava- for dantanakhā-. It must be admitted that danta and nakha are strange and can only be thought of in the commentators' sense. hasta for danta and sakthyā- for nakhā-might appear better.
- 28 strīnām: this would imply that males were exempt from this whipping.

 pakṣāntare is from Cb. pakṣāntaram cannot be properly construed. The
 expression seems to refer to the back. Cb Cs however explain by 'on each side,'
 expression seems to refer to the back. Cb Cs however explain by 'on each side,'
 which would be an unusual sense. Meyer's suggestion 'at intervals of half a month'
 which would be an unusual sense. 29 panikam: as this comes to a small fine,
 (Nachtrag) is hardly acceptable. 29 panikam: For one lash as the
 Meyer thinks that pañca has dropped out before panikam. For one lash as the
 equivalent of five paṇas, he compares 2.27.19. That appears plausible. alicārah: other aticāras are dealt with in 4.13.
- 30 kṣudrakadravya: see 3.17.6. sthūlakadravya: see 3.17.7-8. 31 agamyayoh: between whom a sexual relationship is prohibited. pratisiddhamyayoh:

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if of big articles, twenty-four paṇas, if of mone y or gold, a fine of fifty-four paṇas for the woman, double (these) for the man. 31 Half these same fines (shall be imposed) in case the two are unapproachable (for each other), also in cases of forbidden dealings with men.

Thus ends (the topic of) prohibition.

32 On account of disaffection towards the king, and misconduct, and by wilfully running away, a woman loses her ownership over the woman's property, what she has brought (from her kinsmen) and dowry.

CHAPTER FOUR

SECTION 59 (Continued)

- (x) Leaving Home; (xi) Going Away (with a Man); (xii) Short Absence from Home; and (xiii) Long Absence from Home.
- 1 For a woman who leaves the house of her husband, the fine is six paṇas, except in case of ill-treatment. 2 If she was forbidden (to do so), (the fine is) twelve paṇas.
- 3 If she has gone to a neighbour's house, (the fine is) six paṇas. 4 In case a neighbour, a mendicant or a trader gives her shelter, food or goods (respectively), the fine shall be twelve paṇas. 5 If (these have been) forbidden, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed).

purusavyavahāresu: Cs has 'dealings between two men between whom dealings are forbidden.' It seems that the wife's dealings (such as purchasing, borrowing etc.) with a forbidden man are meant. Jolly-Schmidt have the curious note '" in the case of forbidden intercourse with them." An apparent allusion to homosexuality.' That is an aticāra mentioned in 4.13.40, not here.

32 rājadviṣta is 'treason.' — aticāra, as treated above in this Chapter, does not lead to loss of strīdhana. — ātmāpakramaņena seems to be running away from home. In 3.4.15, one case of niṣpatana is said to lead to loss of strīdhana. Cb has 'stealing the husband (?).' — The kārikā is evidently derived from a different source.

3.4

- 1 viprakāra is clearly by the husband.
- 3 atigata is simply 'gone to,' not 'gone beyond (the neighbour's house).' 4 It is proposed to read -panyadāne for -panyādāne of the mss. The offence of the neighbour is that he gives shelter to the wife, of the bhikṣuka that he gives food to her, and of the vaidehaka that he gives goods to her. This in the main is how Cb understands, except that it understands a $p\bar{a}$ ṣanḍa bhikṣu and an evil trader. There is no reason for the restriction. With the reading of the mss. Cs understands dāna with avakāśa and bhikṣā, but ādāna with panya. This appears hardly legitimate. 5 pratiṣiddhānām refers to the neighbour, etc.

- 6 If she has gone to the house of a stranger, (the fine is) twenty-four paṇas. 7 In case a (stranger) gives shelter to another man's wife, a fine of a hundred paṇas (shall be imposed), except in cases of distress. 8 In case he has prohibited (her) or is ignorant (about her coming), he is guiltless.
- 9 'There is no offence in going to the house of one of (the following, viz.,) a kinsman of the husband, a trustee, the village headman, a guardian, a female mendicant or her own kinsmar, if there are on males in it, on account of the husband's ill-treatment,' say the teachers.
- 10 'To the house of a kinsman, even if there are males in it.

 11 For, how can there be deceit by a chaste woman? 12 This is easy to understand,' says Kautilya.
- 13 Going to the house of a kinsman on the occasion of death, illness, calamity or childbed is not at all forbidden. 14 For the (husband) preventing her on such an occasion, the fine is twelve paṇas. 15 If even on such occasions she conceals herself, she shall forfeit her woman's property, or the kinsmen, concealing (her, shall forfeit) the balance of the dowry.

Thus ends (the topic of) leaving home.

- 16 In case a (wife) leaving the house of her husband, goes to another village, the fine is twelve panas as well as the loss of her endowment and ornaments. 17 Or, in case she goes in the company of a man with whom sex-intercourse is permissible, the fine shall be twenty-
- 7 śatyo dandah: the heavy fine is in view of the man being a total stranger, not a known neighbour. Meyer has 'a wife giving an opportunity (avakāśa) to another man's wife,' which is hardly likely. 8 vāraņa 'preventing,' i.e., prohibiting her from coming in.
- 9 sukhāvastha 'a surety for happiness 'is a sort of trustee for the wife's happiness. He has the responsibility of maintaining her for some time during the husband's absence (s. 26). According to Cb 'he has brought about the match.' Meyer treats it as an adjective to grāmika 'in affluent circumstances.' anvādhi: treats it as an adjective to grāmika 'in affluent circumstances.' anvādhi: see 3.3.13 above. apuruṣam: apparently males other than the heads of the families are meant.
- 10 jñātikulam: this excludes sukhāvastha and others. 11 chalam 'deceit' rather than 'contention about trifles, word-jugglery' (Meyer). The latter meaning, however, suits in 3.5.24 12 etad, i.e., the fact that chaste women would not cheat, or, the deceit if practised by a woman.
- 18 garbha may be her own confinement or rather that of some other female relation. 15 gūhamānā, in effect, amounts to a refusal to return to the husband's house. śulkaśeṣam implies payment of the dowry in instalments.
- 16 sthāpyā-: see 3.2.15. 17 gamyena, i.e., not within prohibited degrees of relationship. sarvadharma-, i.e., all social and religious rights and privileges. anyatra bharmadānatīrthagamanābhyām: this means that she is entitled to these two privileges, both of which involve the husband's duties towards her. Cs

four paṇas and the loss of all rights, excepting the giving of maintenance and approaching during the period. 18 For the man (the punishment is) the lowest fine for violence, if equal or superior (in varṇa), the middle (fine) if inferior. 19 A blood-relation is not to be punished. 20 In case there is prohibition, half the (above) fines (shall be imposed on him).

- 21 In case she goes to a secret place midway on her way or if she accompanies on the way, with carnal intentions, a man who is suspected or forbidden, one should know that as adultery.
- 22 Accompanying a man on the way is no offence in the case of (the women of) dancers, wandering minstrels, fishermen, fowlers, cowherds, vintners and others who give freedom to their women.

 23 Or, in case of prohibition, for the man taking the woman with him or the woman going with him, the fines (shall be) half the same as above.

Thus ends (the topic of) going with a man.

24 The wives of a Sūdra, a Vaiśya, a Kṣatriya and a Brahmin, who are away on a short journey, shall wait for a period (of one year) increased successively by one year, if they have not borne children, for one year more, if they have borne children. 25 Those who are provided for (shall wait) for double the period. 26 The trustees shall maintain those unprovided for, kinsmen for four or eight years

has 'except when she goes for the maintenance of the household or for the sake of the period.' The latter would imply freedom to ignore the husband during the rtu. Meyer's 'except when she creates (i.e. seeks) livelihood or makes a pilgrimage 'is also little likely. In the footnote, Meyer suggests bharmādāna as 'receiving maintenance,' and 'adultery by the wife during the rtu' as the meaning of tīrthagamana. Neither is necessary. 18 tulyaśreyasoh: Cb reads tulyaśreyasah evidently to make it conform with pumsah, and explains 'one equal in varna' only. But two persons are clearly to be thought of. 20 pratisedhe, i.e., when the bandhu is asked not to go with that woman.

21 vyantare seems to mean 'in the middle' while she is on the way (pathi). Cb has 'away from the road.' Meyer thinks that atavyantare 'inside a forest' is to be read. — maithunārthena: Cb supplies vidyāt after this and understands it with the preceding case. Cs follows. It seems better, however, to construe this word with what follows, particularly with pathyanusarane. — pathyanusarane is proposed for pathyanusārena of the mss., in conformity with the next s. and the title of the sub-section. — Besides proposing atavyantare, Meyer also proposes gūdhadeśe vābhigamane for -deśābhigamane. His tr. is 'if she approaches with carnal intentions a man on the road, either in the middle of the forest or in a secret place, or if she accompanies etc.' which is not very happy. — sangrahanam: for the punishments Cb refers to 4.12.33.

22 prasṛṣṭastrīkāṇām, i.e., among whom women enjoy a greater freedom of movement than among the other communities. 23 ta eva, i.e., those of ss. 17-19 above.

24 samvatsarottaram, i.e., 1, 2, 3 and 4 respectively. — samvatsarādhikam, i.e., 2, 3, 4 and 5 years. 25 dvigunam kālam, i.e., double the two sets in the last s.

after that. 27 Thereafter, they shall release (them) after taking back according as they had given.

- 28 The (wife) shall wait for a Brahmin who is away studying, for ten years if she has no child, for twelve if she has a child, for a royal servant (she shall wait) till the end of her life. 29 And if she bears a child from a man of the same varna, she shall not incur blame.
- 30 Or, when the affluence of the family has disappeared, she, being released by the trustees, may marry again as she desires, or when she is in distress, for the sake of livelihood.
- 31 After a pious marriage, the maiden shall wait for her husband who has gone away without informing her, for seven periods if no news is heard about him, for one year if news is heard. 32 If he has gone away after informing her, she shall wait for five periods when no news is heard, for ten if news is heard. 33 If he had paid only a part of the dowry, she shall wait for three periods if there is no news, seven periods if there is news about him. 34 If he had paid the dowry (in full), (she shall wait) for five periods if there is no news, ten if there is news. 35 After that, she may remarry as she desires, with the permission of the judges. 36 'For, frustration of the period is destruction of sacred duty,' says Kautilya.

Thus ends (the topic of) short absence from home.

26 sukhāvasthāh: see s. 9 above. These maintain for the periods stipulated in ss. 24-25. — param, i.e., after this stipulated period, the jñātis take upon themselves the responsibility. sukhāvasthāh is understood as an adjective to jñātayah by Meyer 'kinsmen in affluent circumstances' which is hardly right. 27 pramuñceyuh: i.e., she may then marry again; cf. s. 30 below. Cb Cs understand 'release' to go to her parents' house if she so desires, which appears hardly adequate.

- 28 rājapuruṣam: A Brahmin would seem meant primarily. 29 savarnatas ca prajātā: apparently this applies to the rājapuruṣa's wife only, though Cb Cs make it applicable to all cases. Because of ca 'from a higher varna' is also to be understood according to them.
- 30 kuṭumbarddhilope: in this case, even before the stipulated period is over, she may be allowed to remarry. sukhāvasthair vimuktā: it is obvious that the sukhāvasthas have been able to maintain her out of the family funds only. When these dwindle, they give her freedom to marry again.
- 31 kumārī and parigrahītāram both imply that the marriage has not been consummated. sapta tīrthāni: the counting may start from the day of departure or from the day on which he was expected back. 33 ekadeśadattaśulkam: payment of śulka in instalments is clearly implied. It is to be noted that the reference ment of śulka here is in connection with dharmavivāhas. 34 This is naturally a repetition of s. 32. 35 dharmasthair viṣṛṣṭā: we may conclude that the permission of the judges is necessary if a virgin wife in the first four forms of marriage wishes to marry again. 36 Apparently the maxim in this form is Kauṭilya's own.

37 The wife of a (man) who has gone away on a long journey or has become a wandering monk or is dead shall wait for seven periods, for one year if she has borne children. 38 After that she may approach (for marriage) a full brother of the husband. 39 If there are many (such brothers, she should approach) one who is proximate (to the husband), one who is pious, one capable of maintaining her, or the youngest if without a wife. 40 In the absence of these, even one who is not a full brother, a sapinda or a member of the family who is near. 41 Among these, this alone shall be the order (of preference).

42 In case she marries setting aside these heirs of her husband, (or) in case she has a lover, the lover, the woman, the bestower (of the woman) and the man who marries her receive the penalty for adultery.

CHAPTER FIVE

SECTION 60 PARTITION OF INHERITANCE

- (i) Order of Inheritance
- 1 Sons, having fathers, with the father and mother alive, are not masters (of the property). 2 After the father's death, there may be a partition of the father's property among them.
- 37 dīrghapravāsinah: apparently in the case of a 'long' journey no time limit for return is fixed. sapta tīrthāni: if the period of waiting is to start from the day of departure in the case of the dīrghapravāsin, as is only to be expected, there would be little material difference between the short and long journey. It probably lay in the distance from home of the intended destination. 39 pratyāsanna, i.e., proximate to the husband in point of age. kaniṣtham abhāryam: Cs understands two distinct brothers. But 'the youngest if unmarried' (Cb) is better, since a descending order of preference is intended. Meyer has the latter explanation, but offers another, 'dhārmika bharmasamartha kaniṣtha is the second and abhārya is the third alternative.' 40 kulyam a member of the husband's family beyond the sapinda-relationship. āsannam is to be construed with this word as shown by 3.6.22. 41 The Smṛtis recommend this order for niyoga, not for remarriage. Cf. Manu, 9.59.
- 42 jārakarmaṇi: Meyer manages to get from jātakarmaṇi of G the same meaning as jārakarmaṇi. A vā or ca is to be understood; else vedana itself would be jārakarma. But the second half mentions jāra as well as vettṛ 'one who marries.'— atyayam: the punishment of 4.12.33 is apparently to be thought of.

3.5

The 60th prakarana is also spread over three Chapters, 3.5-7.

1 pitṛmantaḥ sthitapitṛmātṛkāḥ: it seems clear that the latter expression is a marginal gloss explaining pitṛmantaḥ that has got into the text. The gloss probably owes its origin to Manu, 9.104. To get over the tautology Cs has 'pitṛmantaḥ, i.e., having excellent parents,' Meyer 'pitṛmantaḥ, who are still under the father's protec-

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- 3 What is acquired by oneself is not to be divided, except what is brought into being out of the father's property.
- 4 Sons or grandsons up to the fourth generation shall be receivers of shares of (goods) come down without a partition from the father's property. 5 Till then the (funeral) cake remains unbroken. 6 When the cake is discontinued, all shall divide in equal shares.
- 7 Those who had received no property from the father or those who had divided the father's property, when they live together, may divide again. 8 And he, through whom the (property) may arise, shall receive two shares.
- 9 Full brothers or those living with him shall receive the property of a sonless man, and daughters (shall receive it).
- 10 The sons (shall inherit) the estate of a man with sons, or the daughters, born in the pious marriages. 11 In the absence of these, the father if alive. 12 In the absence of the father, the brothers and sons of brothers.
- tion.' 2 ūrdhvam pitrtah: partition during the father's lifetime is, however, also thought of in s. 16 below.
 - 3 The Smrtis refer to vidyādhana, śauryadhana, etc. in this connection.
- 4 avibhaktopagatānām: supply dravyānām, 'goods come down without there having been a partition before.' Cs has 'of those who died (upagata) without dividing the property.' This is hardly possible. upagata is not uparata. ā caturthād, i.e., sons, grandsons and great-grandsons. anśa seems to refer to the unequal shares as described in the next Chapter. The idea apparently is that a son, or a grandson would be entitled to the preferential share to which his deceased father or grandfather was entitled. 5 tāvad avicchinnah etc.: cf. Manu, 9.186.
- 7 apitrdravyāḥ 'who had received no property from the father 'when they had decided to live separately, the reason probably being that there was then no property that could be partitioned. saha jīvantaḥ: these are the samsṛṣṭins of the Smṛṭis. They are referred to in this text much too early. 8 dvyamsam: Meyer would prefer to read ṛddhyamsam 'a portion corresponding to the addition.' ṛddhi is not 'addition,' and we should have anurūpa for 'corresponding.' The rule is made applicable in the Smṛṭis to the case where a son through his efforts recovers ancestral property that was mortgaged etc. Cf. Vasiṣṭha, 17.51. Bṛhaspati, however, agrees with this text in applying it to samsṛṣṭins. (Cf. Jolly, ZDMG, vol. 71, p. 233).
- 9 sodaryāḥ: these may or may not be living with him. sahajīvino vā: these may not be sodarya. kanyāś ca: the ca shows that the daughters are to get a share whichever type of brother inherits. Her share would apparently be equal to that of an uncle. Cs understands only an amount for marriage. But the prādānika is mentioned in s. 21 below.
- 10 riktham: it is difficult to find any distinction between riktha and dravya of s. 9. Perhaps s. 9 refers to sams ssins, this s. to the first partition. duhitaro $v\bar{a}$, i.e., the daughters inherit if there are no sons. $v\bar{a}$ can hardly be understood as ca. This s. places the daughter before the brother, not together with him as in

- 13 And a brother's sons, if without their father, shall receive only a single share of the father, even if they are many in number, along with the brothers.
- 14 Of uterine brothers born of more than one father, the partition of inheritance is to be from the (respective) father.
- 15 As between the father, the brother and the son, so long as the earlier one is alive, they do not depend on the later one, and so long as the eldest is alive, on the youngest even if he had received wealth.
- 16 In the case of partition during his life-time, the father shall not show special favour to any one. 17 And he shall not, without ground, exclude any one from inheritance.
- 18 When there is no property of the father, the eldest shall support the younger brothers except those who are wrongly behaved.
- 19 There is partition only among those who have attained majority. 20 They shall deposit with the mother's kinsmen or with village elders, the share of those who have not attained majority, clearing it of debts, till they come of age, also the share of one who is away on a journey.
- 21 To (brothers) who are not established (in life) they shall give an amount for their marriage, equal to that of those already settled, and to daughters an amount for bestowal in marriage.
- s. 9 dharmisthesu etc.: the implication is that in the case of the last four forms of marriage, the daughters are excluded from inheritance even in the absence of sons. 12 bhrātaro bhrātṛputrāś ca: these share jointly. Contrast Manu, 9.185-7 (daughter not admitted), Yāj., 2.135 (wife between sons and daughters), Nārada, 13.50-51 (father, brothers and their sons not mentioned).
- 13 apitṛkā bahavo 'pi goes primarily with bhrātṛputrāḥ and pitur ekam amśam has reference to them only. A deceased brother's sons, even if many, receive, amongst them, only the share which their father, if alive, would have received along with his brothers. This is partition per stirpes.
- 15 Apparently this s. refers to the manager in a joint family. Seniority determines it. Cb, reading arthagrāhiṇaḥ, explains 'those who had given the loan (arthagrāhiṇaḥ) should demand it of the father, the brother and the son of the debtor in this order.' Cs makes this clear by understanding ṛṇadātāraḥ as subject and explaining arthagrāhiṇaḥ as gen. sing. 'of the man who had taken the debt.' The idea seems out of place here and does not agree with the rule in 3.11.14. arthagrāhiṇam 'who had received wealth' apparently by his own endeavour. The force of api is to be understood with this.
 - 17 akāraņāt: a valid kāraņa would be patitatva etc. of s. 30 below.
- 20 The \bar{a} is necessary before $vyavah\bar{a}rapr\bar{a}pan\bar{a}t$. Baudhāyana, 2.2.42, is an exact parallel (cf. Kane, HD, III, 573 n. 1077).
- 21 naiveśanikam: the expenses for marriage would be over and above their regular share.

22 There is to be an equal division of debts and property.

23 'Those without any property shall divide even water-vessels,' say the teachers. 24 'This is play with words,' says Kauṭilya. 25 There is division of an object that exists, not of one that does not exist.

- 26 He should cause partition to be made in the presence of witnesses, declaring with specific mention, 'so much property is joint, of that so much is each one's share.'
- 27 They shall divide again what is wrongly divided, what is robbed by one from the other, what is hidden, or what, being unknown, comes to light (later).
- 28 The king shall take that to which there are no heirs, excluding maintenance for the wife and what is needed for funeral rites, with the exception of the property of a Brahmin learned in the Vedas. 29 He shall bestow that on those well-versed in the three Vedas.
- 30 An outcast, a son born to an outcast and an impotent person are not entitled to a share, also an idiot, a lunatic, a blind and a leprous person. 31 If these have a wife, their progeny, not of the same kind (as the father), shall receive a share. 32 The others (shall receive only) food and clothing, excepting the outcasts.
 - 33 And if, after they have been married, their potency is lost, the kinsmen shall beget sons (for them, and) he shall assign shares to them.
- 22 riktha is understood by Cb Cs as debt owed to the family by strangers. This can hardly be right in the context. Cf. Yāj., 2.117; Manu, 9.218.
- 23 The ācāryas seem to be rather keen on formalities to avoid future trouble. 24 chalam 'play with words' as in the Nyāya system (Meyer). Cs has 'contradiction in terms: if they are niṣkimcana, they cannot have water-jugs.'
- 26 anubhāṣya, i.e., specifying the share. $k\bar{a}rayet$: the subject seems to be dharmasthah. A village elder or an elderly kinsman is also possible.
- 28 strīvṛtti: only the wife seems meant. pretakārya from Cb is distinctly preferable to pretakadarya of the mss. which hardly yields a sense. Meyer proposes to emend it to pretakarmadeya. Kane (III, 763 n. 1469 and 810-1 n. 1586 and 1587) would understand kadarya in the sense of bhṛṭya 'a dependant 'as in Kātyāyana (yoṣidbhṛṭyaurdhvadehikam). That would be a very unusual meaning for the word.
- 31 sati bhāryārthe teṣām refers to jadonmattāndhakuṣṭhinaḥ only. 32 patītavarjāḥ: the patīta is not entitled to maintenance; his son, however, would be entitled.
- 33 $b\bar{a}ndhav\bar{a}h$: for this niyoga, the order of 3.4.38-40 would a pparently operate; cf. above 3.7.6.

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CHAPTER SIX

SECTION 60 (Continued)

(ii) Division into Shares

- 1 Among sons of the same wife, the (special) share of the eldest (is to be) goats in the case of Brahmins, horses in the case of Kṣatriyas, cattle in the case of Vaiśyas and sheep in the case of Sudras. 2 One-eyed or lame among them (are to be) the share of the middlemost (and) those of mixed colours the share of the youngest. 3 In the absence of animals, the eldest shall receive one part of every ten articles, with the exception of jewels. 4 For, he has the fetters of (the duty of offering) oblations to the manes tied round him. 5 This is the partition recommended by Uśanas.
- 6 From the personal belongings of the father, the carriage and ornaments (are to be) the share of the eldest; the bed and seat, and bell-metal dishes used for meals, the share of the middlemost; black grains, iron (objects), household furnishing and the bullock-cart, the share of the youngest. 7 Of the remaining articles or of a single article (there is to be) an equal division.
- 8 The sisters do not inherit, receiving (only) a share of the bell-metal dishes used for meals and ornaments from the mother's personal belongings.

3.6

- 1 Brāhmaṇānām ajāḥ 'because the goats are useful in sacrifices' (Cs). Baudhāyana, 2.2.3.9, assigns cattle to Brahmins and goats to Vaiśyas. 2 kāṇa-laṅgāḥ: Cb comment implies this reading though its text shows -liṅgāḥ, which is adopted by Cs and explained 'characterised by one-eyedness,' which is quite unsatisfactory. The question whether, when there are none of such animals, the junior sons are to go without them, is not answered. 5 auśanaso vibhāgaḥ: Cb Cs state that as this view is not contradicted, it is acceptable to Kauṭilya. But the following ss. mention an alternative arrangement, and, as is often the case, the last mentioned view may well be that of the author.
- 6 kṛṣṇam dhānyāyasam: Cb reads kṛṣṇadhānyā. Āpastamba, 2.6.14.7-8, mentions kṛṣṇa bhauma in the share of the eldest. 7 ekadravyasya: such as the work of a single slave, the water of a single well etc. (Jolly-Schmidt). Cs interprets vā as api. Meyer prefers etaddravyasya of this whole property. The idea of sarva can hardly be brought in in this way. The rule about the rest of the property would also apply to Uśanas's scheme. For special shares, cf. Manu, 9.112 ff., Āpastamba, 2.6.14.10-11. They are among kalivarjyas later.
- 8 adāyādā bhaginyaḥ: this can be reconciled with 3.5.10 if we suppose here that daughters do not inherit when there are sons. Meyer thinks of special shares being denied to them. That is not unlikely. Manu, 9.118, Yāj., 2.114, allow 1/4th of a son's share to a daughter.

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9 The eldest, if devoid of manly qualities, shall receive (only) a third of an eldest son's share, one-fourth (only) if he behaves in an unjust manner or has given up religious duties. 10 If he behaves wantonly, he shall forfeit the whole.

11 By that are explained the middlemost and youngest sons. 12 Among these, he who is endowed with manly qualities shall receive a half of an eldest son's (special) share.

13 In the case of sons of different wives, however, seniority (is to be) in accordance with priority of birth, in the absence of one wife married according to the sacrament and another not married according to the sacrament, and in the absence of one wife married while a virgin and another married when she had lost her virginity, (also) among two sons born of the same wife or among twins.

14 In the case of the Sūta, the Māgadha, the Vrātya and the Rathakāra, partition (is to be) in accordance with mastery (in the profession). 15 The rest shall live under him. 16 If (all are) without mastery, they shall receive equal shares.

17 Among (a Brahmin's) sons from wives belonging to the four varṇas, the son of the Brahmin wife shall receive four shares, the son of the Kṣatriya wife three shares, the son of the Vaiśya wife two shares, the son of the Sūdra wife one. 18 By that is explained partition among sons from wives belonging to three and two varṇas of a Kṣatriya and a Vaiśya (respectively).

19 A Brahmin's son born of a wife belonging to the immediately next varna is to have an equal share. 20 That of a Kṣatriya or a

9 mānuṣa, i.e., capacity to earn, to manage the household etc. — jyeṣṭhāmśād: he loses a part of the special share; his regular share is not affected. — anyāyavṛṭṭiḥ is from Cb. anāyavṛṭṭiḥ of the mss. could mean 'living without earning an income,' but does not appear a likely reading. 10 sarvam refers to jyeṣṭhāmśa only.

12 jyeşthāmśād ardham: this would come from the estate, or from the eldest son's special share, if the latter is mānuṣahīna.

13 samskṛtāsamskṛtayoḥ (abhāve): i.e., the son of a samskṛtā wife would be senior to that of an asamskṛtā, irrespective of age. asamskṛtā 'one married by the Gāndharva and other forms' (Cb). — -kṛtakṣatayor is from the comment in Cb for -kṛtakriyayor. Cs understands by the latter the same as kṛtakṣatā. But in 3.7.4, kṛtakriyā is 'one married in the proper way.' Meyer proposes kanyākṛtākṛtakriyayor, i.e., kanyākṛtakriyā and kṛtākṛtakriyā (kṛtā meaning 'violated'). This is hardly satisfactory. The idea, of course, is that the son of a wife who was a virgin at the time of marriage is senior to that of a wife not virgin at the time, irrespective of age. — yamayor: cf. Manu, 9.125-6.

14 aiśvaryato, i.e., according to proficiency in the profession.

18 Kşatriya Vaisyayoh: the ratios would be 3:2:1 and 2:1 respectively. Cf. Manu, 9.152-3, Yāj., 2.125.

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that being th of Vaisya is to have half a share, or an equal share if endowed with manly qualities.

- 21 The only son among two wives, one of the same varna (as the husband) and the other of a different varna, shall receive everything, and shall maintain the kinsmen.
- 22 In the case of Brahmins, however, the son born of a Śūdra wife shall receive (only) one-third (of the property) as his share, a sapinḍa or a proximate member of the family (shall receive) two-thirds for the sake of offering the funeral oblations. 23 In the absence of these, the father's teacher or pupil (shall receive the two-thirds).
 - 24 Or, a person appointed, either a mother's kinsman or a person of the same *gotra*, may beget on his wife a *kṣetraja* son; to him he shall allot that property.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SECTION 60 (Continued)

- (iii) Classification of Sons
- 1 'Seed, dropped in the property of another, belongs to the owner of the field,' say (some) teachers. 2 'The mother is (only) a leather-bag (for holding the seed); who owns the seed, to him belongs the child,' say others. 3 'Both are to be found,' says Kautilya.
- 4 A (son) begotten by oneself on a duly married wife is the legitimate son. 5 Equal to him is the son of the appointed daughter.
- 19-20 This seems to be an alternative to ss. 17-18. In this arrangement a Kṣatriya's son from a Vaiśya wife gets less than in the preceding arrangement. According to Cs, this arrangement operates when there are no sons from the other wives. There is nothing to indicate this. Cb seems to refer amśa to jyeṣṭhāmśa.
- 22 Pāraśavaḥ: see 3.7.21. Cb states that according to others this rule applies by upalakṣaṇa also to a Kṣatriya's son from a Śūdra wife. 23 ācāryo 'ntevāsī vā: the Smṛtis mention these in the regular list of heirs before the king; cf. Manu, 9.187, Yāj., 2.135. Their mention in the present context is more appropriate.
- 24 asya, i.e., the Brahmin who has only a Śūdrāputra. mātrbandhuḥ: this is because a sapinda or a kulya is not there. tad dhanam, i.e., the 2/3rds share.

3.7

- 3 vidyamānam ubhayam: Cb has 'since both kṣetra and bīja are necessary, the offspring belongs to both.' The idea rather is, in certain circumstances, it belongs to the owner of the kṣetra, in others to the bījin. By agreement, he belongs to both, when he is called dvyāmuṣyāyaṇa; cf. s. 7 below. Cf. Manu, 9.32 ff., for a full discussion.
- 4 kṛtakriyā is one who is duly married. Cf. 3.6.13 above. 5 putrikāputraḥ : cf. Manu, 9.127 ff.

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- 6, A (son) begotten on the wife (of a man) by a person appointed, whether of the same gotra or of a different gotra, is the kṣetraja son. If the begetter has no other son, he belongs to both fathers or both gotras and offers funeral offerings to and inherits property from both. With the same duties and rights as he, is the (son) secretly born, who is, however, secretly begotten in the house of the kinsmen.
- 9 One abandoned by the kinsman is the cast-off, a son to him who performs the sacraments for him. 10 The offspring of a maiden is the 'maiden's son.' 11 The (son) of a bride married when enceinte is 'brought with the marriage.'
- 12 The (son) of a woman remarried is 'the remarried woman's son.' 13 If begotten by oneself, he becomes an heir to his father and kinsmen. 14 If begotten by another, (he is an heir) only to him who performs the sacraments for him, not to the kinsmen. 15 With the same rights is the adopted son, given with water by the parents.
- 16 One who himself or through his kinsmen has offered to be a son is the son who has approached. 17 One appointed to the position of a son is the son made. 18 One purchased is the son bought.
- 19 When, however, a legitimate son is born, (the others) if of the same *varṇa*, receive a one-third share, if not of the same *varṇa*, receive only food and clothing.
- 6 anyagotreņa: this would refer to mātṛbandhus; cf. 3.6.24, also 1.17.50. 7 dvigotro vā: vā has the sense of ca (Cs). This is the dvyāmuṣyāyaṇa of the later texts. Cf. Manu, 9.132, Yāj., 2.127. Baudhāyana, 2.2.21, is an exact parallel and Kātyāyana has a metrical rendering of this rule. 8 bandhūnām: Meyer proposes bandhunā 'by a kinsman,' which is not necessary. tu has no significance.
- 9 samskartuh: the upanayana samskāra is primarily meant. 10 kānīnah: cf. Manu, 9.172 (he belongs to the man who marries the mother), Yāj., 2.129 (he belongs to the mother's father).
- 13 svayamjāta, i.e., begotten by the second husband, and parajāta, i.e., a son by the first husband, who is accepted by the second husband. Cb Cs refer them to the aurasa, and kṣetraja and others respectively. There is no reason why these should be understood here. Two kinds of paunarbhava are clearly to be understood. pitur bandhūnām ca is as proposed by Meyer. It is obviously the original reading. 15 taīsadharmā: Cb Cs refer tat to svayamjāta. Normally it should refer to parajāta. On this view, the rights of the adopted son would appear restricted.
- 16 bandhubhir vā: because he has no parents he is given by the kinsmen. For the sons, cf. Manu, 9.158-179, Yāj., 2.128-132 (closely agreeing with this text), Nārada, 13.45-47.
- 19 Baudhāyana, 2.3.11, agrees, using the same words (cf. D. R. Bhandarkar, Some Aspects etc., p. 59).

- 20 The sons of a Brahmin and a Kṣatriya born of a wife belonging to the immediately next varṇa are of the same varṇa (as the father), of a wife belonging to the next but one varṇa, are not of the same varṇa.

 21 A Brahmin's son from a Vaiśya wife is Ambaṣṭha, from a Śūdra wife a Niṣāda or a Pāraśava. 22 A Kṣatriya's son from a Śūdra wife is Ugra. 23 A Vaiśya's son (from a Śūdra wife) is nothing but a Śūdra. 24 And of these (three varṇas) sons begotten on wives of the same varṇa by those who have not practised the vows, are Vrātyas.

 25 These are the 'right order' sons.
- 26 From a Śūdra (are born of a Vaiśya, a Kṣatriya and a Brahmin wife respectively) the Āyogava, the Kṣatta and the Canḍāla. 27 From a Vaiśya (are born) the Māgadha and the Vaidehaka (of a Kṣatriya and a Brahmin wife respectively). 28 From a Kṣatriya (is born) the Sūta (of a Brahmin wife). 29 The Sūta and the Māgadha mentioned in the Purāṇa, however, are different, a special type from the Brahmin and the Kṣatriya.
- 30 These are the 'reverse order' sons, who come into existence because of the transgression of his own duties by the king.
- 31 From an Ugra on a Niṣāda wife is begotten the Kukkuṭa; in the opposite case, the Pulkasa. 32 From an Ambaṣṭha on a Vaidehaka wife is born the Vaiṇa; in the opposite case, the Kuśīlava. 33 From an Ugra on a Kṣatta wife is born the Śvapāka. 34 These and others are the intermediate castes.
 - 35 A Rathakāra is a Vaiśya, (so called) because of his profession.
- 20 Manu, 10.6, considers all three anantarāputras as sadṛśa. Yāj., 1.91 ff., differs and gives names for the mixed castes so formed, which are unknown to Manu, Nārada and Kauṭilya. 21 Niṣādaḥ Pāraśavo vā: Meyer says the former is an offspring of a regular marriage, the latter is a bastard, and refers to Baudhāyana. 2.2.29-30, for support. 24 acaritavratebhyaḥ: the vrata is principally upanayana, Manu, 10.20, seems to derive vrātya from vrata 'vow, sacred rite.' Meyer would derive it from vrāta 'a group,' either as 'those wandering in groups' or 'those fallen from their group.'
- 26 This text does not specifically prohibit pratiloma marriages, though s. 30 implies that. The women are likely to be wives, not mistresses. 29 paurānikas tvanyaḥ etc.: Cs understands by Sūta Sauti Romaharṣaṇa, the narrator of the Mahābhārata, who is said to have sprung from a sacrificial altar; so was Māgadha, according to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, 1.3. They are superior to Brahmins and Kṣatriyas respectively (Cs). This is very doubtful. In fact the s. is suspicious. viśeṣaḥ or viśeṣataḥ cannot be properly construed in the sentence. The s. appears to be a late marginal comment that has got into the text. Cb seems to understand the Sūta as springing from a Brāhmaṇa and Māgadha from a Kṣatriya.
- 35 Vaiśyo is from Cb from Vainyo of the mss. The latter cannot be right because the Vainya and the Rathakāra follow different professions. As Cb remarks according to some Rathakāra is an antarāla community, but he is only a Vaisya

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- 36 Among them, marriage (is to be) in their own (caste of) origin, there is to be the observance of precedence and the pursuit of the hereditary occupation. 37 Or, they are to have the same special duties as the Śūdra, excepting the Caṇḍāla.
- 38 Only the king, behaving in this manner, obtains heaven, otherwise hell.
- 39 In the case of all intermediate castes, partition is to be in equal shares.
 - 40 Whatever be the customary law of a region, a caste, a corporation or a village, in accordance with that alone shall he administer the law of inheritance.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SECTION 61 CONCERNING IMMOVABLE PROPERTY

- (i) Concerning Dwelling-places
- 1 Disputes concerning immovable property (are to be decided) on the testimony of neighbours.
- 2 A house, a field, a park, an embankment, a tank or a reservoir is immovable property.

called by this name because of the profession.' — This theory of the origin of mixed castes is, of course, open to many serious objections.

- 36 $p\bar{u}rv\bar{a}parag\bar{a}mitvam$ seems to refer to precedence in social matters, in accordance with the origin of the mixed castes. Cb Cs, reading $p\bar{u}rv\bar{a}vara$ -, understand the rule of hypergamy, a man of a higher community marrying a woman of a lower one. If this is meant, we should have a $v\bar{a}$ after it, showing an option to svayonau $viv\bar{a}hah$. It is proposed to omit svadharmam $sth\bar{a}payet$ read after ca in the mss. Those words require $r\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ as the subject, which can be understood neither in the preceding nor the following clause. These clauses show that $p\bar{u}rv\bar{a}para$ etc. are in the nominative, not accusative. 37 $anyatra\ Cand\bar{a}lebhyah$, i.e., a Candāla is not to follow the professions of a Śūdra. Cf. Manu, 10.51-56.
- 38 This also is a spurious s., obviously a marginal comment by the same hand that added svadharmam sthāpayet above. No reference is made to the king's conduct in this Chapter to justify the words evam vartamānah.
- 39 Cb seems to imply that males and females all get equal shares. Meyer points out the contrast with 3.6.14-15 above. But the antarālas are probably only those in ss. 31-33, which do not include those of 3.6.14.
- 40 Manu, 8.41, makes the rule applicable to all matters, not to inheritance alone.

3.8

The 61st prakarana is also spread over three Chapters, 3.8-10.

- 3 Along the house (is to be) a boundary, fixed with iron wires in pillars at the corners. 4 He should cause the house to be made in conformity with the extent of the boundary. 5 Or, he should cause a new fixing of the boundary to be made two aratnis or three padas away from the wall of a neighbour's house.
- 6 (He should make) the dung-hill, the water-course or the well, not in a place other than that suited to the house, except the water-ditch for a woman in confinement till the end of ten days (from delivery). 7 In case of transgression of that, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed).
- 8 By that are explained the work of cutting fire-wood and channels for water used for rinsing on festive occasions.
- 9 He should cause to be made a deep-flowing water-course or one falling in a cascade, three *padas* away (from the neighbour's wall) or one *aratni* and a half (away). 10 In case of transgression of that, the fine is fifty-four *panas*.
- 3 karnakīlāyasasambandho: Cb has 'having a fixing of durable substances with copper wires in the pillars (kīla) at the corners (karṇa).' Cs has iron instead of copper (āyasa). Meyer has 'an iron joining with pegs (kīla) that have ears (karṇa, i.e., barbs?).' 'Pointed iron pegs' is possible, but the commentators may be right. Perhaps -sambaddho is to be read for -sambandho. setuḥ here is 'a boundary' or 'boundary-mark' as in 3.9.10 ff. 4 bhoga is here 'expanse, extent' (Cs). 5 For pada and aratni, see 2.20.11 and 12. deśabandha is evidently 'fixing of the limit or boundary.' Cb reads pāde bandham, paraphrased by 'nemibandha, fixing of the circumference.' Cs understands pāde bandham as 'foundation.' That reading, however, is uncertain.
- 6 vā na is from Cb, so is the additional anyatra; but grhocitād is proposed for its grhocitam. The ablative is clearly necessary for the sense. The grha is more likely that of a neighbour. The idea is that the dung-hill etc. are not to cause nuisance to the latter. anyatra sūtikākūpād: i.e., the neighbours have to put up with the nuisance of waste water from a lying-in chamber for a period of ten days from delivery.
- 8 tena, i.e., 'by the rule of the sūtikākūpa' (Cb Cs). It seems, however, that tena would refer to the principal rule rather than to the exception to it. Perhaps, indhanāvaghātana corresponds to the principal rule, while kalyāṇakṛtyeṣu to the exception. -kṛtam after -ghātana is not necessary. Meyer would look upon it as a separate word and construe it with kalyāṇakṛtyeṣu 'arrangements for joyous festivities.' That is not very happy. ācāmodaka: Meyer has 'water strained after rice is cooked.' That is one of the meanings of ācāma; but 'water used for rinsing the mouth after meals' seems better.
- 9 It is proposed to omit pravesya after aratnim vā. That is supported by its absence in the parallel s.11. The word seems to have got in from some comment in the margin. prasravaṇaprapātam from Cb is an alternative to gūḍhaprasṛtam, hardly to udakamārgam itself as in Cs. It would mean 'which flows in a cascade.' Cb, however, has 'where everything falls and flows,' Cs 'a place where all waterstreams can fall.' udakamārga is for drinking water as distinguished from bhrama which is for waste water; see 2.4.2.

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- 11 He should cause to be made a place for carts and quadrupeds, a fire-place, a place for the large water-jar, the grinding mill or the pounding machine, one pada away or one aratni (from the neighbour's wall). 12 In case of transgression of that, the fine is twenty-four paṇas.
- 13 Between all two structures or two projecting rooms, (there is to be) an open lane one *kisku* (wide) or three *padas*. 14 Between them, the distance between the eaves of roofs (is to be) four *angulas*, or one may over-lay the other.
- 15 He should cause to be made a side-door in the intervening lane, measuring one *kiṣku*, for making repairs to what is damaged, not (allowing) crowding. 16 For light, he should cause a small window to be made high up. 17 When the dwelling is occupied, he should cause it to be covered.
- 18 Or, house-owners, by mutual agreement, may get things done as desired, (and) should avoid what is undesirable.
- 19 And he should cause that part above the verandah which requires protection, to be covered by matting, or a wall touching (the roof), for fear of damage by rain. 20 In case of transgression of that, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed), also in case of obstruction by doors or windows contrary to natural arrangement,

11 cakricatuspada 'carts and quadrupeds.' Cf. 10.2.16. The quadrupeds can hardly be 'elephants, etc.' (Cb). 'Goats and bullocks (cakrin) and elephants, etc.' (Cs) is improbable. Meyer's 'with a foundation of four circular (cakrin) padas' as adjective to agnistham is altogether unlikely.

13 prākṣiptaka seems to mean 'projecting' beyond the area of the house; by such śālās are meant cakricatuṣpadasthāna etc.

15 khandaphullārtham asampātam 'for making repairs to what is damaged and for not allowing people to move in and out easily '(Cb). Meyer has 'causing no knocking together when opened wide,' which appears less likely. asampāta may mean 'where there can be no crowding.' 17 avasita, lit., 'finished, completed,' conveys the sense of 'occupied'; cf. its opposite anavasita, 3.16.31. — chādayet 'should cover' apparently with curtains, as Jolly suggests.

19 vānalaṭī is the 'gṛhavaranḍaka' (Cb, which shows the form vānalāṭī). Meyer would understand 'a stick or pole (laṭi from yaṣṭi) which supports the net-work (vāna) of straw-matting' or 'a pole of dried fruit.' Neither seems intended. — āvāryabhāgam is from Cb; āhāryabhoga- yields little sense. Meyer's suggestion of ahāryabhoga- 'whose use cannot be taken away,' that is, durable, hardly improves ahāryabhoga- 'whose use cannot be taken away,' that is, durable, hardly improves matters. — avamarśabhittim vā: Cb Cs understand 'a small wall,' supplying kaṭapracchannām with it and treating vā as ca. The expression may mean 'a wall touching (the roof)' which would imply an enclosed verandah. Meyer interprets the reading avamadbhaktim as 'not leaking at the joints.' 20 pratiloma etc.: the reading avamadbhaktim as 'not leaking at the joints.' 20 pratiloma etc.: the reading avamadbhaktim of neighbours. — anyatra etc.: this would imply i.e., which impinge on the rights of neighbours. — anyatra etc.: this would imply in their case a higher fine is to be thought of, though that is not specified.

except on royal high-ways and roads. 21 (The same fine is to be imposed) in case of obstruction outside (the house) by parts of a ditch, stair-case, water-channel, ladder or dung-hill and in case of prevention of the use (of their rights by others).

- 22 For one causing damage to the wall of another's house the fine is twelve *paṇas*, double that in case of spoiling it with urine or dung.
- 23 A free flow of water (must be allowed) in the channels when it is raining, else the fine is twelve paṇas.
- 24 And (the same fine shall be imposed) on one staying on when forbidden and on one ejecting a tenant, except in cases of (verbal and physical) injury, theft, forcible seizure, adultery and wrongful use.
 25 The (tenant) leaving of his own accord shall pay the balance of the annual rent.
- 26 For one not rendering help in a common dwelling, for one obstructing a thing used in common and in case of prevention of (rightful) use (by others), twelve *panas* is the fine. 27 Double that (is the fine) for destroying (what is used in common).
 - 27 Of sheds, court-yards and latrines, of fire-places and pounding-sheds, and of all open (spaces), use in common is desired.

CHAPTER NINE

SECTION 61 (Continued)

- (ii) Sale of Immovable Property; (iii-v) Fixing of Boundaries;
- (vi) Concerning Encroachment and Damage
- 1 Kinsmen, neighbours and creditors, in this order, shall have the right to purchase landed property (on sale). 2 After that, others who are outsiders (may bid for purchase).
 - 23 praṇālīmokṣaḥ, i.e., not blocking the free flow in the channels.
- 24 avakrayinam: cf. 2.36.23. 25 varṣāvakrayaśeṣam: clearly a yearly contract of tenancy is implied.
- 26 sāmānyam, i.e., things shared in common as in s. 28 below. ca is necessary after bhoganigrahe and has been added. The text in Cb has bhogam ca gṛhe, but the actual comment presupposes bhoganigrahe or bhogam ca nigṛhṇataḥ.
- 28 kosthaka 'door of the house' (Cb Cs). It may be the same as vāhanakostha 'a shed for vehicles' of 3.9.25. varcānām: ef. 2.5.6. The word means 'a latrine.' Cb, adopting varjānām, renders it by 'rubbish-heap.' Meyer's proposed vrajānām 'cattle-herds' is quite unlikely.

3.9

1 abhyābhaveyuḥ: cf. 2.28.26 for the distinction in meaning from abhyāvah.

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- 3 (Owners) shall proclaim a dwelling (as for sale) in front of the house, in the presence of members of forty neighbouring families, and a field, a park, an embankment, a tank or a reservoir (as for sale) at the boundaries, in the presence of village elders who are neighbours, according to the extent of the boundary, saying 'at this price who is willing to purchase?' 4 What has been thrice proclaimed and not objected to, the purchaser shall be entitled to purchase.
- 5 Or, in case of increase in price because of competition, the increase in price together with the tax shall go to the treasury. 6 The (successful) bidder at the sale shall pay the tax. 7 In case of a bid by one who is not an owner, the fine shall be twenty-four panas. 8 If the (bidder) does not come (to take possession), the owner whose property was auctioned may sell (again) after seven days. 9 In case of transgression by one whose property was auctioned, the fine is two hundred panas in the case of immovable property, a fine of twenty-four panas in other cases.

Thus ends (the topic of) sale of immovable property.

- 10 A group of neighbouring five villages or ten villages shall decide a dispute regarding boundaries between two villages, by means of boundary-marks, immovable or artificial.
- 11 Elders among farmers and cowherds, or outsiders who formerly had possessions (there), conversant with the boundary-marks, either many or even one, should, after declaring the boundary-marks, point
- 3 -kulyeşu is proposed for -kulyāh of the mss. in conformity with the locative in the parallel -grāmavṛddheṣu. Cb understands the sense of the locative. The subject for śrāvayeyuh is svāminah undertsood. sāmanta is an adjective to grāmavṛddha, and not to grāma. setubhoga: cf. 3.8.4 aboye. For an exactly parallel procedure, cf. 2.21.7-8. 4 avyāhatam 'not objected to' by any one claiming the right of pre-emption, etc. Meyer has 'without hindrance' construing it with kretum labheta. Since the sale is by auction, Meyer thinks of it as carried out under a court decree. In 2.21.7-9, however, there is no question of a court decree. In fact, all sales are controlled by the state and taxed.
- 7 asvāmi-: Meyer thinks of a broker or an agent. Cs has 'one who has no right to land.' The former seems intended. 9 pratikrustātikrama is not handing over possession to the purchaser. anyatra, i.e., property other than immovable. Contrast 3.15.1 (which apparently applies only to traders).
- 10 The sub-section sīmavivāda is to be found in ss. 10-14, kṣetravivāda in ss. 15-20, maryādāsthāpana in ss. 21-23, and bādhābādhika in ss. 24-38. The colophon for maryādāsthāpana alone is found. sāmantā as an adjective to pañcaphon for maryādāsthāpana alone is found. sāmantā as an adjective to pañcaprāmī and daśagrāmī is from Cb and quite necessary. sthāvaraih, i.e., trees, grāmī and daśagrāmī is from Cb and quite necessary. sthāvaraih, i.e., trees, grāmī and daśagrāmī is from Cb and quite necessary.
- 11 Cb seems to have read -gopālakalubdhakāḥ. pūrvabhuktikā vā bāhyāḥ: in view of vā, this should be understood as an option to karṣaka- etc. Cb, however, in view of vā, this should be understood as an option to karṣaka- etc. abhijñāḥ reads abāhyāḥ and construes pūrvabhuktikāḥ with karṣaka- etc. abhijñāḥ rom Cb is quite necessary for anabhijñāḥ of the mss. viparītaveṣāḥ, i.e.,

out the boundary, putting on a contrary dress. 12 In case the boundary-marks as declared are not found, the fine shall be a thousand (paṇas). 13 He shall impose the same (fine) on those who, after the boundary is pointed out, remove the boundaries or destroy the boundary-marks.

- 14 Or, the king shall fix, according as it may be beneficial, the boundary, the extent of the marks of which is lost.
- 15 Village elders who are neighbours shall decide disputes concerning fields. 16 In case of difference of opinion among them, they shall arbitrate in favour of that in favour of which are the majority, the honest or the approved, or they shall follow the middle course. 17 The king shall take that property to which the claim of both is rejected, also that the owner of which has disappeared. 18 Or, he may allot it as it may be beneficial.
- 19 In case of forcible seizure, the fine for theft (shall be imposed) in the case of immovable property. 20 In case of seizure on good grounds, he shall pay an amount (to the owner) after calculating his labour and profit.
- 21 For removing the boundary (marks) the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed). 22 For breaking the boundary, twenty-four panas (shall be the fine).

putting on a female dress; cf. 2.36.39. 12 sahasram: the fine appears to be rather exorbitant. 13 setucchidām: trees are primarily thought of.

- 15 Here, too, sāmanta is an adjective to grāmavṛdha rather than an independent substantive. Cf. s. 3 above. 16 bahavaḥ śucayo 'numatā vā: Cs understands vā as ca 'majority who are honest and approved by the people.' It seems, however' that there is an option between śucayaḥ and anumatāḥ, the latter being 'acceptable to both parties to the dispute.' Cf. 3.11.26-7 in connection with witnesses, also 3.11.39. madhyam gṛhnīyuḥ, i.e., in effect divide the disputed portion equally. 17 ubhayaparoktam is proposed for ubhayam paroktam of the mss. As adjective to vāstu, the emendation is obviously necessary, the meaning being 'to which the claim by both parties is disallowed or lost (parā-ukta).' Cb explains the other reading' if the two parties are unable to come to terms'; Cs has 'if both decisions, viz., the majority and the middle course are rejected by suitors.' Neither is happy. For parokta (used of a party to a dispute), see 3.1.19 ff.
- 20 kāraṇādāne, e.g., when received as a pledge for debt etc. bandham is clearly 'an amount,' which is arrived at by deducting from the produce of the field charges for his own labour and a legitimate profit on the working of the field. The sense of surety does not suit here. See 3.3.4 above.
- 21 Whereas $s\bar{\imath}man$ refers to boundaries between villages, $mary\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ refers to those between fields, etc.

23 By that are explained disputes concerning penance-groves, pasture lands, highways, cremation grounds, temples, sacrificial grounds and holy places.

Thus ends (the topic of) fixing of boundaries.

- 24 All disputes whatever (shall be decided) on the testimony of neighbours.
- 25 As between a pasture land, dry land, wet-crop field, a vegetable garden, a threshing floor, a shed and a stall for vehicles, the earlier one may suffer encroachment from the later one. 26 Dry regions (are those) with the exception of groves for Vedic study and *soma*-sacrifices, temples and holy places.
- 27 In case of damage to the ploughing or seeds in another's field by the use of a reservoir, channels or a field under water, they shall pay compensation in accordance with the damage. 28 In case of mutual damage to fields under water, parks and embankments, the fine (shall be) double the damage.
- 29 A tank on a lower level, constructed afterwards, shall not flood with water a field watered by a tank on a higher level. 30 A (tank) constructed on a higher level shall not prevent the flooding with water of a lower tank, except when its use has ceased for three years.

 31 For transgression of that, (the punishment shall be) the lowest fine for violence and the emptying of the tank.
- 32 The ownership of a water-work, not in use for five years, shall be lost, except in cases of distress.
- 33 When tanks and embankments are newly constructed, an exemption (from taxes) for five years (should be granted), when those that are ruined and abandoned are renovated, an exemption for four years, when those that are over-grown with weeds are cleared, for three
- 24 sarva eva $viv\bar{a}d\bar{a}h$: this has reference to disputes about damage to property which are now about to be discussed.
- 25 veśma seems to be a shed for storing grains etc., though a residential building is also likely. Meyer understands khalaveśma as one. Cf., bowever, 3.10.29 below. 26 The idea apparently is that these sthala regions are not to suffer encroachments by kedāra etc. It seems likely that the s. is a marginal gloss by some pious hand which has got into the text.
- 27 ādhāraparivāhakedāropabhogaih: in view of the plural, three ideas appear better than a single idea, viz., 'the use of wet-fields receiving water by channels from a reservoir.'
 - 30 uparinivistam: paścāt may be understood with this, but is not necessary.
- 33 parihāraḥ: the exemption would be from land revenue as fixed in 2.24.18.

 samupārūḍhānām 'overgrown with weeds etc.' (Cb). It could hardly mean 'overflowing their banks (and thus damaged)' (Meyer). sthalasya: as we have to understand navapravartane with this also, new land brought under cultivation

years, when dry land is newly brought under cultivation, for two years.

34 He is free to mortgage or sell.

- 35 (Owners) may give (water) in return for a share of produce of various kinds from sowings in fields, parks and gardens watered by (their) dug-out channels, structures based on rivers or tanks, or to others as it may be advantageous.
- 36 And those who use these on lease, on hire, as a pledge, for a share or with authorization for use, shall keep (them) in repair.

 37 In case of failure to repair, the fine is double the loss.
 - 38 For one letting out water from the dams out of turn, the fine shall be six *paṇas*, also for one obstructing, through negligence, the water of others when it is their turn.

CHAPTER TEN

SECTION 61 (Continued)

(vii) Damage to Pastures, Fields and Roads

SECTION 62 NON-OBSERVANCE OF CONVENTIONS

1 If one obstructs a customary water-course in use or makes (a new one) that is not customary, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed), also if one constructs in another's land a dam, a well,

for the first time is obviously meant. 34 svātmā: 'svāmī would have been better' (Cs). The idea is that the concessions do not affect rights flowing from ownership.

35 The s. seems to refer to lending water from one's water-works in return for a stipulated share of the produce. It would be better to read -tatākodakam or at least -taṭākam. — khātaprāvṛttima 'set in motion by digging' evidently refers to canals. nadīnibandhāyatana may mean 'a structure, i.e., an arrangement dependent on a river (such as a dam).' taṭāka is a tank. From these, water is given to kedāra, ārāma and sanda. sasyavarna 'various kinds of produce' from kedāra, ārāma and sanda. With the last two, sasya as 'grains' is not quite suitable. -uttarika has reference to 'the return' received. Meyer, in the main, has this explanation. Cb, however, has 'water from a well (khāta), from a river (nadyāyatana), from canals from a river-dam (nibandhāyatana), from a tank (taṭāka), from a field (kedāra), from a garden (ārāma), or from plantations (ṣaṇḍa), may be given in such a way that the quality (varna) and quantity (bhāga) of the crops are improved (uttarika).' ārāma and sanda as sources of water are doubtful. And kedāra, ārāma and sanda are hardly on the same footing as latāka etc. - anyebhyo, i.e., to owners of fields other than kedāra, ārāma and ṣaṇḍa, and others to whom the water would be useful.

36 prakraya 'lease'; cf. 2.12.22. In view of that, 'purchase' (Cs) is not right.

— bhoganisṛṣṭa 'what is allowed for use' for the time being. — pratikuryuḥ, i.e., repair any damage caused by them.

38 avāre and vāre from Cb are preferable to apāre and pāre of the mss. It is doubtful if pāra can mean 'a sluice-gate' (Meyer). vāra is 'a turn' for receiving water from a tank etc. used in common.

a holy place, a sanctuary or a temple. 2 If a (person) himself or through others puts to mortgage or sale a charitable water-work, continued since old times, the middle fine for violence (is to be imposed), the highest on witnesses, except when it is in ruins and abandoned.

- 3 In the absence of the owner, villages or persons of a pious disposition should repair (these).
- 4 The size of roads has been explained in the 'Lay-out of the Fort.' 5 For encroaching on a path for small animals or men the fine is twelve paṇas, on a path for large animals twenty-four paṇas, on a road for elephants or fields fifty-four paṇas, on a road to a dike or a forest one hundred and six, on a road to a cremation ground or a village two hundred, on a road in a droṇamukha five hundred, on a road in a sthānīya, the country-side or pasture land one thousand.
- 6 In case of reducing the size of these (roads), the fines are one-quarter of the fines (mentioned). 7 In case of ploughing (on them, the fines are) as prescribed.
- 8 If the owner of the field takes away the field or the tenant leaves it at the time of sowing, the fine shall be twelve paṇas, except in cases of defect, calamity or unbearable conditions.
- 9 Tax-payers shall mortgage or sell (only) to tax-payers, Brahmin owners of gift-lands (only) to Brahmin owners of gift-lands. 10 Other-

3.10

The last sub-section of the 61st prakarana is contained in ss. 1-34, while the short 62nd prakarana is found in ss. 35-46. — samaya is more of a convention than a consciously made agreement between parties, though that also seems included.

- The stop after niveśayatah, instead of after sāhasadandah, is as in Cb.
 dharmasetu is a tank or other water-work made by some charitable person.
 - 3 svāmyabhāve: Cb restricts the rule to dharmasetu only.
- 4 durganivese: in 2.4.3-5 above. 5 rundhatah: encroachment on the road is to be understood. satchatah cannot be 'six hundred,' in view of its place in the rising scale; 'one hundred and six' is possible, though unusual. Cb seems to have read śatyah 'one hundred,' which might appear better.
- 6 atikarṣaṇe 'reducing in size (from what is recorded in the documents) '(Cb). Perhaps atikarṣane was the original reading. Meyer proposes abhikarṣaṇe 'ploughing up close to the road '(Nachtrag).
- 8 upavāsa, as distinguished from kṣetrika, is clearly 'a tenant.' doṣopani-pātāviṣahyebhyaḥ: see 3.15.2-4: Here doṣa is defect in the field, tools etc., upanipāta pātāviṣahyebhyaḥ: see 3.15.2-4: Here doṣa is defect in the field, tools etc., upanipāta some calamity and aviṣahya some unbearable condition of work, such as incapacity, some calamity and aviṣahya some unbearable condition of work, such as incapacity, illness etc.
- 9 brahmadeyikāh: cf. 2.1.7. 12 prākāmyam is not a right to first choice, as Meyer thinks. It is only a right to obtain things. 13 dadyāt: the subject is apparently grāmikah, the headman of the village.

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is ng wise, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed). 11 Or, (the same fine is to be imposed) on a tax-payer settling in a village exempt from taxes. 12 But one settling in a tax-paying village shall have freedom to get all things, excepting a house. 13 That also he may give him.

- 14 If one does not till land that is inalienable, another may use it for five years and return it after receiving compensation for his exertions.
- 15 Non-tax-payers, living in a different place, may live on the produce (of their fields).
- 16 Tenants shall accompany, by turns, the village headman journeying on village business. 17 Those who do not accompany shall pay a (penalty per) yojana of one pana and half a pana.
- 18 For the village headman ejecting from the village one who is not a thief or an adulterer, the fine is twenty-four *paṇas*, for the village the highest (fine for violence). 19 The entry of one who has been ejected is explained by trespass.
- 20 He should cause a fence to be made with pillars all round the village at a distance of one hundred *dhanus* s from it.
- 21 They shall live on pasture land, intended for the grazing of cattle, by cutting (the grass).
- 22 They shall receive one quarter (of a pana) per animal in the case of camels and buffaloes that have grazed on the pasture and
- 14 Apparently the owner cannot claim it back within five years if he has not been tilling it, nor can the other use it for more than five years.
- 15 The implication may be that tax-paying farmers cannot be absentee land-lords.
- 16 grāmika is clearly the village headman; cf. s. 18 below. His duties are not described anywhere. 17 paṇārdhapaṇikam is understood as 1 1/2 paṇas. It is also possible to understand an option between 1 paṇa and half a paṇa at the discretion of the headman.
- 18 Apparently, only a thief or an adulterer could be exiled, and that by the headman or the entire village. 19 abhigamena is proposed for adhigamena in conformity with 4.13.3-4 to which alone the reference in vyākhyātaḥ can be understood.
- 20 upasāla is a small rampart (sāla), a sort of fence; it provided an open space round the village and also served as a defence.
- 21 vivitamālavanena: this is understood as vivitam ālavanena (by cutting the grass). Cb on this s. is missing. Cs has vivita, māla (table-land or wood near the village) and vana. So Meyer, who has 'they shall provide these for grazing.' The compound in the singular would be strange in that case. upajīveyuh: the subject is 'grass-cutters.' It is because these have an interest in the vivita that fines are laid down in the following ss. which go to the grass-cutters and not to the state. They may be supposed to pay a rent for the right to cut the grass in the pasture land. These seem to correspond to the wood-cutters of 2.17.3.

moved away, half a quarter in the case of cattle, horses and donkeys, one-sixteenth part in the case of small animals. 23 If after grazing, the (animals) sit down, these same fines shall be double, fourfold if they stay overnight.

- 24 Bulls belonging to village temples or a cow within ten days of her calving, and stud bulls are exempt from fines.
- In case the (cattle) eat the crops, he shall make (their owner) pay double the damage to the crops after calculating it in accordance with the harvest. 26 And if the owner allows the (cattle) to graze without informing (the owner of the field), the fine shall be twelve panas, twenty-four panas if he lets them loose. 27 For herdsmen the fines shall be half (of these). 28 The same (fines) he shall impose in case the cattle eat (the produce in) plantations. 29 (The fines shall be) double if the fence is broken, also if the (cattle) eat grains in the sheds or the threshing circle.
- 30 He shall take steps against injury (to cattle). 31 Animals from reserved parks or those that are protected, if found eating, should, after intimating the owner, be so driven off as not to cause injury to them.
- Cattle should be driven off with a piece of rope or a whip. 33 For causing injury to them in other ways, the fines for physical injury (shall be imposed). 34 Those that attack or whose offence is clear may be restrained by all (possible) means.

Thus ends (the topic of) damage to fields and roads.

- 35 The village itself shall receive the penalty of a farmer who, after accepting (residence in) a village, does not do (his share of) work. 36 He shall pay double the wage for the work if he does not do work,
- 22 rūpam: cf. 2.29.4, 6. gṛhṇīyuḥ: the subject is 'grass-cutters.' cannot think of any state officers who can be the subject of this plural verb.
- 24 ukṣāṇo govṛṣāś ca 'old bulls and stud-bulls '(Cb Cs). Meyer's 'stud-bull' for the whole might appear better here. Cf. 2.29.8. Manu, 8.242, a close parallel, does not refer to old bullocks.
- 26 svāminah: the owner of the cattle is more likely than that of the field. cārayatah 'making them graze' (Cb), 'leading them through the field' (Meyer). In the context the former is better despite 4.9.23. 27 pālinām: perhaps we should read pālānām.
- 30 himsāpratīkāram is prevention of injury to cattle, wihich is a new topic that now begins. A new paragraph should have begun with this s. 31 abhayavana-; cf. 2.2.2, also 2.26.1. — parigrhītāh: cf. 2.26.3. — svāminah: this, in effect, would be the king in the case of animals in the reserved parks.
 - 34 prārthayamānāh: for the root, cf. 1.17.39.
- 35 grāmam abhyupetya: i.e., accepting obligations consequent on his settling in the village and becoming a member of the community. - akurvatah: the

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double each individual's share if he does not contribute money, and a double share if he does not contribute food and drink on festive occasions.

- 37 One who does not contribute his share in a stage-show shall not witness it with his people. 38 If he listens to or witnesses it secretly, he shall perforce give a double share, also in an undertaking beneficial to all.
- 39 They shall obey the orders of one who proposes what is beneficial to all. 40 For not carrying them out the fine is twelve panas. 41 If, on the other hand, they conspire together and beat him, the punishment for each severally shall be double the (prescribed punishment for the) offence. 42 (The punishment shall be) severe for those who injure him.
- 43 And seniority among them shall be fixed from the Brahmin downwards. 44 And in their festivities, Brahmins, if unwilling, may not do any work and yet receive (their) share.
- 45 By that is explained the non-observance of conventions in the case of a region, a caste, a family and a corporation.
 - 46 The king should do what is agreeable and beneficial to these, when they build dikes that are of benefit to the country or bridges on roads or carry out works beautifying the villages or defences (of the villages).

object is svakarma. — grāma eva and not the state. 36 The readings and explanations adopted are from Cb. adāne is necessary with hiranya- and bhakṣya-peya- to constitute an offence. Remove the comma after ca in the text (Part I).

- 38 nigrahena: Cb explains 'for obstructing the work.' In that case, the locative should have been used rather than the instrumental. The word seems used adverbially in the sense of 'by force, forcibly.' Cf. Manu, 8.220, where we have nigrhya.
- 41 hanyuh: the root seems used only in the sense of 'to beat, to strike.' 42 upahantṛṣu 'those who cause death '(Cb Cs). It may be that 'those who cause serious injury 'are meant.
- 44 Brāhmaṇā nākāmāḥ, an emendation in the Punjab edition, is necessary instead of Brāhmaṇe nākāmāḥ; with the latter reading Cs explains 'in the case of a Brahmin, they shall not apportion any share to him, without first ascertaining his wishes.' This is hardly satisfactory. aṁśaṁ ca labheran: Cs explains 'may contribute, if they are willing.' This is hardly possible. Cb has no comment on this s. Possibly it is a marginal gloss.
- 45 samgha is an independent term, not to be construed with each of deśa, jāti and kula, as K. P. Jayaswal (Hindu Polity, II, 65) thinks. Cf. 3.7.40 above. anapākarma is failure to carry out or observe.
 - 46 sainkrama 'a bridge, a causeway '; cf. 2.3.30 above.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

SECTION 63 NON-PAYMENT OF DEBTS

- 1 One pana and a quarter is the lawful rate of interest per month on one hundred panas, five panas for purposes of trade, ten panas for those going through forests, twenty panas for those going by sea. 2 For one charging or making another charge a rate beyond that, the punishment shall be the lowest fine for violence, for witnesses, each one of them, half the fine. 3 If, however, the king is unable to ensure protection, the (judge) should take into consideration the usual practice among creditors and debtors.
- 4 Interest on grains (shall be) up to a half, on the harvesting of crops; thereafter it may increase being turned into capital. 5 Interest on capital (shall amount to) half the profit, to be paid for one year, being set apart in a store. 6 One away on a long journey or become obstinate (in making payments) shall pay double the capital.

3.11

As in the *Manusmṛti*, the question of the evidence of witnesses is discussed in the section on debts. The law of evidence was indeed formulated primarily in connection with debts.

- 1 dharmyā...vyāvahārikī can hardly mean 'according to sacerdotal law' and 'according to secular law' as Jayaswal (Manu and Yāj., p. 15) thinks. kāntāragāṇām from Cb seems supported by Yāj., 2.38. 3 caritram, i.e., practices usual among the two parties. These are to be taken into consideration because the traders venture into regions where the king's protection cannot be assured. Cb has 'in such a manner as to suit the debtor and the creditor.' Meyer proposes to read apakṣīyeta 'the whole relationship between creditors and debtors breaks down' i.e., creditors charge exorbitant rates and debtors hardly repay. This is unlikely. Breloer (II, 49-53) renders rājani ayogakṣemavahe by 'so far as it is useful to the king's fiscus or treasury,' i.e., local usage in the matter is to be taken into consideration only if the king's treasury does not suffer thereby. This seems hardly possible. Cf. 1.13.7-8 above.
- 4 upārdhā: i.e., half the amount of grains lent as interest. Cb Cs have 'one and a half times.' That would include the grains lent. param, i.e., if at harvesting time the loan in grains is not returned. mūlyakṛtā, i.e., the loan in grains with the interest is turned into a money loan. Meyer reading upārdhāvaram and a stop after sasyanispattau, has 'interest in grains will be due when crops ripen. It may, after the fixing of the price, increase at least to half.' Breloer has 'up to a half of the ripening field. After the crops have ripened, the interest is half the produce' (II, 85-7). Neither seems meant. 5 praksepa is capital or investment; cf. 4.2.36 etc. In this case money is lent to the farmer, the interest being half the produce. samnidhānasannā 'accumulated in a store' (Breloer, who compares samnidhatte svaveśmani in 2.9.25). Meyer's 'if capital is sunk in the vicinity' is less likely, as the expression describes vrddhi, not prakṣepa. Cb, reading samnidhānasannā vārṣikī deyā as an independent s., has 'if interest is not taken for a number of years it should be calculated for one year only.' vārṣikī 'for one year' may, however, imply yearly interest, so long as the capital is not

- 7 For one recovering interest without fixing it or increasing its rate or claiming through witnesses the capital with interest added to it, the fine shall be four times the (one-fifth or one-tenth) part. 8 For claiming through witnesses a small amount (that was never lent), the fine shall be four times the non-existent (amount). 9 Of that, the receiver shall pay one-third, the rest he who helped him to receive it.
- 10 Debt shall not increase in the case of a person confined in a long sacrificial session or by illness or in the preceptor's house, or in the case of a minor or an insolvent.
- 11 For one not receiving back the debt being paid off, the fine shall be twelve panas. 12 If (it is done) by pleading a valid reason, it shall remain in another's custody with (further) interest stopped.
- 13 A debt not taken notice of for ten years shall be irrecoverable, except in the case of a minor, an aged person, a sick person, a person in a calamity, a person away on a journey or in case of migration from the country or disorder in the kingdom.
- 14 Sons shall pay the debt with interest of a deceased person, or heirs inheriting the property or co-debtors or sureties. 15 (There shall be) no other suretyship. 16 The suretyship of a minor is void in law.
- paid. 6 stambhapraviṣṭaḥ: stambha refers primarily to haughtiness which may lead to obstinacy in the matter of paying the debt. Cf. 8.4.30. Cb, reading samstambha, seems to understand 'paralysis' by it. Meyer has '(money) absorbed (praviṣṭa) in frozen capital,' which is little likely, since with dadyāt as the predicate, arthaḥ can hardly be understood as the subject. mūlyadviguṇam: according to Cb, this is the maximum even if many years have elapsed.
- 7 śrāvayatah: in view of śrotr 'a witness,' this obviously means 'claiming with the help of witnesses.' bandha is the usual one-fifth or one-tenth, the fine for loss of suit (3.1.20-1). Four times that is meant. Cf. 3.12.6. Breloer (II, 87) who follows G_1 in not reading vardhayato, has 'if one deposes that the capital ($v\bar{a}$ $m\bar{u}lya$) or the interest ($v\bar{a}$ vrddhi) is higher than is actually the case ($\bar{a}ropya$, i.e., having enhanced), he is fined four times the enhanced amount (bandha).' That appears doubtful. 8 -catura- is omitted as in Cb. It may convey the idea of fraud, but does not appear genuine. tuccha 'insignificant' conveys the idea of a non-existent loan, in view of $abh\bar{u}ta$ that follows. $śr\bar{a}van\bar{a}$ is a claim with the help of witnesses. 9 $\bar{a}d\bar{a}t\bar{a}$ is obviously the false claimant, while $prad\bar{a}t\bar{a}$ is the witness who would have helped him to get it. Thus Breloer (II, 88). Cb has the debtor and creditor respectively, and curiously has 1/4th and 3/4ths (for $tribh\bar{a}gam$ and śeṣam).
- 10 asāram 'indigent,' i.e., an insolvent. Breloer (II, 85) seems to render it by 'an old man.' narnam anuvardheta, i.e., interest shall cease during that period.
 - 12 anyatra, i.e., with some reliable person as a deposit.
 - 13 daśavarso- etc. : cf. 3.16.30.
 - 14 Breloer (II, 85) treats sahagrāhinah as an adjective to pratibhuvah.
 - 15 anyat, i.e., suretyship for producing the debtor etc. Cf. Yaj., 2.53.

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- 17 But sons, grandsons or heirs inheriting the property shall (be liable to) pay a (debt about the repayment) of which the place and the time are not fixed.
- 18 Sons or grandsons shall bear liability for suretyship concerning life, marriage or land, to which no restriction as to place or time applies.
- In case many debts become due at the same time, two (creditors) shall not simultaneously sue one (debtor), except when he is about to leave (the place). 20 Even in that case, he shall secure payment in the order of contracting the debts or first the dues of the king and of a Brahmin learned in the Vedas.
- The debt mutually contracted between a husband and a wife or a father and a son or between undivided brothers, is irrecoverable (through a court of law).
- 22 Agriculturists and the king's servants are not to be held at the time of their work. 23 And the wife (shall not be held liable) for the debt incurred by her husband, if she has not assented to it, except in the case of cowherds and farmers tilling for half the produce. 24 The husband, however, shall be held liable for the debt incurred by the wife, if he has gone abroad without providing for her.
- 25 In case of admission (of the claim), it is best. 26 In case of non-admission, however, witnesses shall decide, those who are trustworthy, honest or approved, three at least in number. 27 Or, two (will suffice) if both parties agree, but never a single witness in the case of debt.
- 28 Not allowed (as witnesses) are a wife's brother, an associate, a dependent, a creditor, a debtor, an enemy, a cripple, and a convicted person, also those mentioned before as unfit for transactions. 29

16 asāram: cf. 3.1.34. Cb has 'if the surety is insolvent he need not pay when the debtor dies.' It is not easy to see how this meaning is possible.

17 asamkhyāta- etc.: the substantive is rnam (Cb) rather than prātibhāvyam (Meyer). With the former, dadyuh is used, with the latter vaheyuh as in s. 18. -This is different from s. 14 in that here grandsons are also made liable, and sahagrāhinah and pratibhuvah are excluded.

18 jīvitapratibhū seems to be a guarantor of a man's life, while vivāhapratibhū seems to be the same as sukhāvastha of 3.4.9, 26. bhūmipratibhū may be a guarantor for the return of land by tenants. — The s. implies that rnaprātibhāvya does not pass on to sons and grandsons.

22 agrāhyāh: grah is primarily 'to seize, to arrest'; but liability to pay the debt is intended in the following ss. 23 anyatra etc.: i.e., the wives of these become liable even if their assent was not secured.

25 uttamah : supply pakṣah (Cb), upāyah (Cs). Meyer proposes uttamam, which is not necessary. 26 śucayo 'numatā vā: the option is between śucayah and anumatāh, prātyayikatva being compulsory. Cf. 3.9.16 above.

28 anvarthin seems to mean 'a dependent.' Cb has 'one who says that such

king, a Brahmin learned in the Vedas, a village servant, a leper and a wounded man, an outcast, a Caṇḍāla, a person following a despised profession, a blind, deaf, dumb or self-invited person, a woman and a king's officer (shall not be cited as witnesses) except in the case of their own groups. 30 In cases of (verbal and physical) injury, theft and adultery, however, (all may be cited as witnesses) except an enemy, a wife's brother and an associate. 31 In the case of secret transactions, one woman or man, who has heard or witnessed it, may be cited as a witness, excepting the king or an ascetic.

32 Masters may bear testimony for servants, priests and preceptors for disciples, and parents for sons, without being forced, or the latter (may do so) for them. 33 And in case of their suing each other, the betters, if defeated, shall pay one-tenth (as fine), the inferiors, one-fifth.

Thus ends the topic of witnessses.

34 The (judge) should exhort witnesses in the presence of Brahmins, a water-jar and fire. 35 In that connection, he should say to a Brahmin (witness), 'Speak the truth.' 36 To a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya (he should say), 'Let there be no fruit of sacrificial and charitable deeds for you (if you speak untruth); you would go, potsherd in hand, begging for alms to the house of your enemy.' 37 To the Śūdra (he should say), 'Whatever the reward of your merit between birth and death, that would go to the king and the king's sin come to you in case of a false deposition, and punishment will also follow; even afterwards facts as seen and heard would be found out; being of one mind, bring out the truth.' 38 For those who do not bring out (the truth), the fine shall be twelve panas after seven days; after three fortnights, they shall pay the (amount of the) suit.

39 In case of differences among witnesses, the (judges) should decide in favour of that party in whose favour are the majority, honest

and such a person has taken a loan.' — pūrve etc.: a reference to 3.1.12. 29 ahamvādin: who offers to give evidence without being cited. — svavarge-bhyah, i.e., a śrotriya for a śrotriya and so on.

32 anigrahena, i.e., without being forced. 33 For the terms, see 3.1.20-21.

— Breloer (II, 90) seems to understand by uttama and avara higher and lower classes in general, not only those in s. 32. That is unlikely in view of eṣām.

37 vah... yuṣmān: the plural may show that the Śūdras are exhorted jointly, while the others are abjured individually. — anubaddhah as an adjective is clearly necessary, not anubandhah. — upaharata is from Meyer which is better for sense than avaharata. The prepositions ava and upa are often interchanged due to scribal errors. 38 anupaharatām refers to refusal to bear testimony. False testimony is mentioned later. — saptarātrād ūrdhvam: Cb Cs add that the 12-pana fine is for each day after the seventh. — abhiyogam 'the amount of the suit plus 1/10th as fine' (Cb), apparently because the state must receive its charges.

or approved, or should follow the middle course. 40 Or, the king should take that object.

- 41 If witnesses testify to an amount less than (that claimed in) the suit, the plaintiff shall pay a part of the excess (claimed, as fine).
 42 If, on the other hand, they testify to a larger amount, the king should take that excess.
- 43 What was badly heard or badly written through the folly of the plaintiff, or the affidavit of a person (since) deceased, shall, after investigation, be decided only on the testimony of witnesses.
- 44 'In case of divergent (replies to) questions through the folly of witnesses themselves, they shall be fined the lowest, middlemost and highest fines, with regard to (testimony about) place, time and the matter (respectively),' say the followers of Uśanas. 45 'False witnesses who bring into being a non-existent thing or ruin an existing thing, shall pay ten times that (thing) as fine,' say the followers of Manu. 46 'Or, if through folly they lead to a wrong judgment, death by torture (is to be the punishment),' say the followers of Brhaspati. 47 'No,' says Kautilya. 48 For, witnesses have to testify to what is the truth. 49 For those who do not testify (to the truth) the fine is twenty-four panas, half that for those who do not speak out.
 - 50 The (plaintiff or defendant) shall produce witnesses who are not at a great distance in place or time. He may secure those who are at a distance or are unwilling to come, with a summons from the king.

39-40 sāksibhede etc.: cf. 3.9.16-17.

- 41 bandham seems to be one-fifth; one-tenth is inapplicable in this case.
- 43 duhśrutam durlikhitam by the writer when the document (the promissory note) was prepared. pretābhiniveśam: this is clearly a statement by a person since dead. Cb's 'distraction of the writer's mind by grief caused by death in the family 'is hardly likely.
- 44 anuyoge: questions as well as replies to them. Cf. 3.1.46. 45 The omission of kuryur bhūtam in the mss. is due to a scribal error. Cf. 4.9.20. 46 visam-vādayatām: because of the causal, 'causing a false judgment' is better than 'tendering contradictory evidence.' 48 Cb Cs read dhruvā hi sāksiṇaḥ śrotavyāḥ and explain dhruva as 'a member of the neighbouring forty families' who are liable to be witnesses, apparently as in 3.9.3. This is doubtful. śru would mean in the context 'to bear testimony.' 49 abruvāṇānām, i.e., those who refuse to give evidence. The fine agrees with that in s. 38. Cb Cs read adhruvāṇām 'those outside the forty families.'
- 50 pratipādayet: the subject would be abhiyoktā or abhiyuktaḥ. Distant in time are such, e.g., as are engaged in a long sacrificial session. aprasārān 'who do not come,' being unwilling. svāmi- 'king' (Meyer) rather than the 'judge' (Cs). The summons would presumably be issued by the judge in the name of the king.

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CHAPTER TWELVE

SECTION 64 CONCERNING DEPOSITS

- 1 The law of deposits is explained by that of debts.
- forces or forest tribes, or the village, the caravan or the herd is plundered by robbers, or there is loss of the wheeled carriage, or the (deposit) is enveloped by flames or by the current in a calamity of fire or floods in the midst of the village, or the boat has sunk or is plundered, the (depositary), if himself involved, shall not be liable for the deposit.
- 3 The user of the deposit shall pay charges for use in accordance with the place and the time, and a fine of twelve panas. 4 He shall be liable for what is lost or has perished in consequence of the use and (shall pay) a fine of twenty-four panas, or, if the (deposit) runs away for some other reason. 5 He shall not be liable for a deposit that dies or is in distress.
- 6 And in case of a mortgage, sale or denial of the deposit, the fine shall be four times one-fifth (its value). 7 In case of substitution or helping it to run away, (the fine shall be) equal to its value.

3.12

Along with *upanidhi* 'deposits' after which it is named, this *prakarana* deals with allied topics, such as pledge, borrowing etc. All these, like debt, have this common element, that they involve the placing of one person's goods in the temporary possession or charge of another.

- 1 The rules particularly applicable would seem to be those in 3.11.11-24 concerning receiving it back, liability of heirs etc.
- 2 cakrayuktanāśe is proposed for cakrayukte nāśe. cakrayukta means 'a carriage' as shown by 4.10.8; 4.13.22. Hence the proposed reading or cakrayukte naste is necessary. cakra can hardly be 'fraud' (Cs) or 'army' (Meyer) here. It is proposed to omit kimcid . . . dravye vā read in the mss. between -bādhe and jvālā-. It is obvious that grāmamadhyāgnyudakābādhe and jvālāvegoparuddhe go together and cannot be understood separately. The omitted words cannot be easily construed with these. kupya in them is odd, and we have to suppose that irremovable objects could be spared by fire or floods. With ekadeśamuktadravye 'when fire or floods have spared part of the goods,' there should have been a statement about the depositary's liability in the form of an exception. This expression can hardly mean 'when all goods are placed in one place' (Meyer). Cf. 3.4.33 for ekadeśa. The omitted words are clearly derived from some marginal gloss. abhyāvahet: cf. 2.28.26 for the distinction between this root and abhyābhū.
- 4 nispatane implies a live deposit, an animal or a slave. pretam (s: 5) has the same implication. anyathā seems to refer to ill-treatment, which makes the deposit run away.
- 6 caturgunapañcabandho, i.e., four-fifths of the value of the deposit. Compensation to the owner would be distinct from this fine. Cb Cs have 'four times as

- 8 By that are explained the loss, use, sale, mortgage and misappropriation of a pledge.
- 9 A pledge, yielding benefit, shall not be forfeit nor shall its capital bear interest, except when allowed. 10 A pledge, not yielding a benefit, may be forfeit and its capital shall bear interest.
- 11 For one not returning the pledge to (the owner) who has come (to redeem it) the fine shall be twelve paṇas. 12 Or, in the absence of the creditor, the (debtor) may recover his pledge after depositing the redemption amount with village elders. 13 Or, the pledge, with further interest stopped and its value at that time fixed, may remain just there or in the charge of the office for prevention of loss and destruction. 14 Or, in the absence of the debtor, the (creditor), if afraid of destruction (of the pledge), may sell it, with the judges' permission, at the highest price, or to the satisfaction of the Guardian of Deposits.
- 15 But an immovable (pledge) that can be enjoyed after labour or enjoyed in its fruits (without labour), may bring in a profit over and above the value of the interest on the capital, without causing a reduction in the capital. 16 He who enjoys it without authorization shall surrender the profit after deducting the value (of the interest due) and a part (as fine).

reparation to the owner and 4/5ths as fine. There is no reason for a four-fold restitution. 7 parivariane 'change,' i.e., substitution.

- 9 sopakārah, e.g, a cow whose milk can be used by the creditor. sīdet: sad seems to have the sense of 'to be forfeit, to be lost to the owner,' if the owner is unable to redeem it within the stipulated period. anyatra nisargāt implies a case where the benefit from the pledge is not sufficient to cover the expected interest. Cb Cs read these words in s. 10 where they are inappropriate. G_2 and M omit s. 10.
- 12 niṣkrayam 'redemption amount' is, in effect, the capital lent plus interest as it may be due. 13 tatraiva, i.e., in the creditor's house. anāṣavināṣakaraṇa scems to be something like a lost property office. 14 dhāraṇikāṣam-nidhāne is an emendation that is necessary for the sense. Cf. Yāj., 2.63. udgatārgham 'with a raised price,' i.e., the highest price obtainable. udgatārgham 'with a raised price,' i.e., the highest price obtainable. ādhipālapratyayo vā: vikrīṇīta is evidently to be understood, so that pratyaya refers to his satisfaction that the sale is above board and that a fair price is obtained for the pledge. It is possible that the ādhipāla is also in charge of the anāṣavināṣakaraṇa.
- 15 prayāsabhogyaḥ, e.g., a field. phalabhogyaḥ, e.g., a rented house, the rent of which is received by the creditor as interest. prakṣepa- etc.: the idea seems to be that if the benefit from such an ādhi is more than the interest due, the whole of it may be enjoyed by the creditor and the excess may not be calculated towards repayment of the capital. In prakṣepavrddhimūlya, mūlya is 'value,' while in amūlyakṣayeṇa, mūlya is the 'capital' lent, the same as prakṣepa. Meyer, while in amūlyakṣayeṇa, mūlya is the 'capital' lent, the same as prakṣepa in the main, has this explanation, though he understands the first mūlya also as

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- 17 The rest is explained by the law of deposits.
- 18 By that are explained the direction and the commission.
- 19 Or, if a person in whose charge is the object to be handed over, does not reach the place indicated while going with a caravan, or is plundered and abandoned by robbers, he shall not be liable for the object in his charge. 20 Or, if he dies on the way, even his heir shall not be liable.
 - 21 The rest is explained by the law of deposits.
- 22 They shall return, in the same condition in which they received it, a thing borrowed or a thing hired. 23 They shall not be liable for a thing given with restriction as to place or time, if it is lost or ruined through deterioration or some sudden calamity.
 - 24 The rest is explained by the law of deposits.
- 25 Concerning sale through agents, however, salesmen selling the commodity at the proper place and time shall pay (to the owner) the price as received and the profit. 26 Or, if (the price is) lower because of their missing the proper place and time, they shall pay the price according to the rate at the time of giving (the goods to them for sale) and the profit. 27 Or, if selling (the goods) as agreed upon they do not make a profit, they should pay only the price. 28 Or if the price is lower because of a fall in prices, they should give the lower price as reduced. 29 Or, in the case of dealers, who are trust-
- 'capital.' 16 anisṛṣṭopabhoktā, i.e., when the debtor does not want him to enjoy the whole fruit but only as much as would amount to the interest. mūlyaśud-dham is evidently the same as prakṣepavṛddhimūlyaśuddham above. bandham, i.e., 1/5th or 1/10th as fine. Breloer remarks (II, 113-4) that in ancient India only a mortgage was usual, that a hypothee in which the debtor remained in possession of the ādhi-goods was unknown and that hence Megasthenes' statement that in India no eivil hypothee-suits took place is quite correct.
- 18 ādeśa seems to be a 'direction,' e.g., to a servant to take a thing to some person not far away, while anvādhi is 'a commission' to take a thing to some distant place. Breloer thinks that in the latter case, the person commissioned placed an ādhi with the person who handed the goods to him. These two, he says, are guarantee-contracts (II, 114-115).
- 19 Cs has a single case, plundered etc. by robbers while with the caravan and hence unable to reach the destination. This ignores the $v\bar{a}$.
- 23 bhresa 'deterioration'; cf. the use of the root in 3.20.18. deśakālo-parodhi: Cb reads deśakālāvarodhi The idea is the same. The thing is given for use in a specified place and for a specified period of time.
- 25 For vaiyāvrtya- see 2.5.18; 2.8.22. We have here sale through agents, who may be receiving a commission on sales. śeṣam upanidhinā vyākhyātam after s. 25 is out of place and must be omitted. 26 parihīṇam, i.e., sold at a lower price. 27 yathāsambhāṣitam, i.e., carrying out their part of the agreement as to place and time. 28 arghapatane which is due to other causes, over which the salesmen

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worthy and free from blame so far as the king is concerned, they may not pay even the price of what is lost or ruined through deterioration or a sudden calamity. 30 But of commodities removed in space or time they shall pay the price and profit after deducting losses and expenses, and a separate share in the case of each of the different kinds of goods.

- 31 The rest is explained by the law of deposits. 32 With this is explained (the topic of) sale through agents.
 - 33 And the trust (is explained) by the law of deposits.
- 34 If he hands it over to one when it was entrusted to him by another, it shall be (treated as) lost.
- 35 In case of misappropriation of a thing entrusted, a former offence (of the trustee) and the persons entrusting it shall lead to decision. 36 For, artisans are dishonest. 37 There is no rule regarding trusts prevailing among them which requires evidence beforehand.
- 38 If he denies a thing entrusted without evidence, the person who had entrusted it may make witnesses, secretly stationed behind walls, learn about it by soliciting him in private or in a park by creating confidence on the occasion of a drinking party.

have no control. 29 sāmnyāvahārika seems to mean nothing more than 'a dealer, a trader.' — arājavācyeşu suggests that the whole section has primarily in view the sale of royal goods. 30 deśakālāntaritānām, i.e., those to be sold in foreign lands or those to be sold after a lapse of time. — panyasamavāyānām ca pratyam-śam: this apparently means that when the agent handles many kinds of goods at the same time, he is to render a separate account of each. Meyer thinks of a number of agents of the same merchant selling the same kind of goods, each being responsible for his share. Such a rule does not seem necessary.

- 33 nikṣepa is a thing given in trust and primarily refers to raw material given to artisans for manufacture into articles. Cf. 'nikṣepaḥ śilpihaste tu bhāṇḍam samskartum arpitam' (Kṣīrasvāmin on Amara; cf. Kane, III, 454 n. 766).
- 34 'hīyeta, i.e., it is to be treated as lost and the usual compensation and fine are to be given. Breloer thinks that hīyeta means 'shall redeem itself,' i.e., the keeper is not liable. This would be so only if the other person is the heir of the entruster, since deceased, as in Manu, 8.185-6.
- $35~p\bar{u}rv\bar{a}pad\bar{a}nam$: cf. 2.36.36 and see 1.8.16. 37 karana- 'evidence,' particularly in the form of witnesses.
- 38 It is proposed to read rahasi prani- for rahasyaprani-; the latter can hardly mean 'by making witnesses listen to the secret with a request '(Cs) or 'by making them enter (pranipāta) into the secret '(Meyer). The customer entreats the artisan when the latter thinks that there is no one about (rahasi), when he may say something implying that he had received the article. That the concealed witnesses are spies (Meyer) is quite possible. vanānte: vana is upavana, where pienies are arsanged. madyaprahavaṇa is obviously a drinking party arranged in the park. Wine might loosen the artisan's tongue.

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- 39 Some aged or sick trader should entrust to him in secret an object that is marked and go away. 40 At his direction, his son or brother should approach and demand the thing entrusted. 41 If he returns it he is honest, else he shall give the thing (originally) entrusted and a fine for theft.
- 42 Or, some credible person, about to leave home, should entrust to him a marked object and then leave. 43 Then returning after some time he should ask for it. 44 If he returns it he is honest, else he shall give the thing entrusted and a fine for theft.
 - 45 Or, he should (himself) bring him round with a marked object.
- 46 Or, a person appearing foolish by nature should, through fear of (arrest for) king's dues or movement at forbidden time, entrust to him at night an object of high value and go away. 47 Being in prison, he should ask him for it. 48 If he returns it he is honest, else he shall give the thing entrusted and a fine for theft.
- 49 And by means of a recognition-mark, he shall demand both of people in his house. 50 If either (of the two) is not given, (punishment etc.) as stated before.
- 51 And the (judge) should question the source of the objects used (by the defendant), and inquire into indications of that object
- 39 apagacchet: Cs has 'should die'; the artisan is to get this impression, as the man was vṛddha or vyādhita; the man himself, however, only goes away, i.e., disappears for the time being.
- 42 pravrajyā may refer only to leaving home, not necessarily becoming a monk. Cf. pravrajitā 2.23.2 above. śraddheya suggests that the artisan must believe in the bona fides of the man about his intention to leave home or become a monk.
- 45 pratyānayet: the subject seems to be the customer. According to Cs he points to a mark already there in the original article. Perhaps the reading should be pratyāyayet 'should convince' the artisan that it really belongs to him. This presupposes, of course, that the article is found when a search is made.
- 46 rājadāyikākṣaṇabhītaḥ is uncertain in meaning. Two things may be understood—afraid of dues (dāyika) to the king, and afraid of akṣaṇa (as in 2.36.35). Meyer has 'fear of harm (akṣaṇa) from the king or inheritors (dāyaka) laying claim to the valuables' or 'fear of king, inheritance or harm.' With -kāṅkṣaṇa, Cs has 'fear of a demand on him (kāṅkṣaṇa) by a minister, etc. who wants to present it to the king (rājadāyin).' Cb has no explanation; its text has -kāṅkṣaṇa. Meyer also suggests rājadvārikākṣaṇa 'fear of the forbidden hour (akṣaṇa) of the royal door-keepers (at the royal gate).' That is not unlikely. 47 bandhanāgāra- etc.: i.e., on the plea that he wants to pay for his release.
- 49 asya gṛhe janam: this applies when the artisan is dead (Cs). Meyer thinks that the s. is mutilated, a portion stating that an agent should deposit two things, one with marks and another without, has got dropped; that would explain ubhayam. It is also possible that ubhaya refers to the nikṣepa and the kṛtalakṣaṇa dravya of ss. 39, 42 or the sāra of s. 46.

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being involved in the transaction, as well as the capacity of the complainant to (own) the object.

By this is explained association in secret.

53 Therefore, one should make (a deal), with one's own people or with strangers, in the presence of witnesses, in an open manner, properly declaring it with respect to place, time, quantity and quality.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

SECTION 65 LAW CONCERNING SLAVES AND LABOURERS

- 1 For one selling or keeping as a pledge a minor Ārya individual except a slave for livelihood, the fine is twelve panas for a kinsman in the case of a Śūdra, double that in the case of a Vaiśya, three times in the case of a Ksatriya, four times in the case of a Brahmin. 2 For a stranger, the lowest, the middle and the highest fines and death are the punishments (respectively), also for purchasers and witnesses.
- It is not an offence for Mlecchas to sell an offspring or keep it as a pledge. 4 But there shall be no slavery for an Arya in any circumstances whatsoever.
- 5 Or, after keeping as a pledge an Arya when the family has bound itself in times of distress of Aryas, they shall, on finding the redemption-amount, redeem first a minor or one who renders help.
- 51 upalinganam: cf. 3.13.37 etc. Meyer's 'circumstantial evidence about the thing being connected with the artisan's business (vyavahāra) ' is rather involved.
 - 52 That is, similar tricks are to be used if one party denies a secret agreement.
- 53 vibhāṣitam 'declared in words.' agra 'number,' i.e., quantity, and varņa 'class,' i.e., quality.

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A part of this section is found in the next Chapter also.

- udaradāsa: he is one who, in distress, lives with another person in better circumstances and works as a slave in return for food. A minor may be so handed over for his maintenance. There is no actual sale in this case, only stay for the time being. — āryaprāṇam: a Śūdra is clearly included among Āryas. aprāptavyavahāram: see 3.3.1. — parajana, i.e., one not related to the minor.
- 3 mlecchānām would seem to refer to foreigners as well as tribals not absorbed in Aryan society. Mixed castes would be on a par with a Sūdra (3.7.37). Breloer (II, 37-41) remarks that this corroborates the fact that the bondmen were of foreign origin. 4 This means that a minor's dāsabhāva is null and void. The dāsatva of a major Arya is, however, implicit in the Chapter.
- 5 What seems meant is this: there is distress among Aryas (aryanam apadi), so a whole family pledges itself to some one more happily placed (kulabandhane);

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- 6 A person pledging himself shall be forfeit if he runs away once, one pledged by another, if (he runs away) twice, both at the first attempt, if about to leave for a foreign land.
- 7 Or, for one depriving a slave of his Āryahood, when he has stolen money, the fine shall be half (the above fines).
- 8 The pledger shall be liable for the capital, if the pledge has run away or is dead or is in calamity.
- 9 Making a pledge pick up a corpse, dung, urine or leavings of food, and making women (pledges) give bath to a naked person, giving corporal punishment to them and dishonouring them shall result in the loss of the capital, and shall result in freedom for a nurse, a female attendant, a woman tenant tilling for half the produce and a maid. 10 The going away of an attendant who has begotten an offspring is valid (in law).

then a minor may be included as a pledge (āryam ādhāya). That āryam refers to a minor seems clear from athavā, which implies an option to the preceding rule.

— sāhāyyadātāram is probably one who has been helpful in procuring the ransom amount. Cs has 'who has agreed to be a pledge.'

- 6 sīdet: cf. 3.12.9. What seems meant is that he ceases to be a pledge and becomes a dāsa. The former had a number of rights denied to the latter; an absconding pledge lost these. Cs has 'i.e., he must return the debt at once.' But if he could have paid the debt, why need he have run away? Breloer (II, 41-43) understands by 'running away' not only returning to the master but also demanding in law his liberation on account of illegal treatment. If the suit failed he had to go back. A law-suit by the pledge in this form seems hardly implied.
- 7 This s. is in the middle of ss. that deal with the āhitaka, not the dāsa. Perhaps āhitakasya should, therefore, be read for dāsasya, the idea being, a pledge who steals money might be reduced to the status of a slave by the pledgee; that makes the latter liable to half the fines of s. 1. Cb Cs have 'a slave stealing his master's money is to pay a fine half that for a thief stealing the money (bhāva) of an Ārya.' This is doubtful. Meyer has 'for a slave stealing money, the fine is to be half that for depriving a man of his Āryahood.' The fine would appear too small for the offence. He also suggests 'for stealing a slave's money, half the fine for deprivation of Āryahood 'or 'for a slave stealing, half that for an Ārya stealing.' Neither seems likely. The exact meaning of the s. is uncertain.
 - 8 mūlyam bhajeta, i.e., pay off the debt or furnish a fresh pledge.
- 9 upacārikā appears to be a more personal attendant than a paricārikā. 10 upacārakasya abhiprajātasya: despite the gender, a female attendant bearing a child to the creditor is to be understood. If she leaves, no fresh pledge need be given. A male pledge begetting a child on some female in the creditor's house is possible, but appears less likely. Cb Cs understand the husband of the dāsī, who maintains her and serves her master for the same wage; if he begets a child on her, he may run away. This is rather involved. Meyer thinks of sexual misbehaviour with a male pledge and suggests abhimehitasya as the reading. That is quite unlikely. For abhiprajāta, cf. 3.15.13.

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- 11 For one approaching a nurse who is pledged, when she is unwilling, (the punishment shall be) the lowest fine for violence if she is under his control, the middle if she is under the control of another.

 12 If one, himself or through another, defiles a maiden who is pledged, he shall lose the capital, pay (her) dowry and a fine double that.
- 13 The progeny of one who sells himself shall be known as Ārya. 14 He shall get what is earned by himself without detriment to his work for the master, also his paternal inheritance. 15 And he shall become an Ārya by paying the price.
- 16 By that are explained the slave for livelihood and the person pledged. 17 And his ransom-amount is to be in conformity with the capital.
 - 18 One on whom a fine is imposed may pay off the fine by work.
- 19 An Ārya individual captured under the banner should be freed by suitable work for a specified period or for half the price.
- 20 If one employs in vile work or in a foreign land, a slave less than eight years of age, without kinsmen and unwilling (to do that work), from among any of the four types,—(a slave) born in the house, received in inheritance, obtained (as a present) and purchased, —or if one sells
- 11 $v\bar{a}$ is often used only to introduce a new rule. $svava\bar{s}\bar{a}m$ 'under his control' as in Meyer rather than 'not under her husband's control' (Cb Cs). So $parava\bar{s}\bar{a}$ is 'not under his control'; i.e., a man other than the creditor himself has relations with her.
- 13 From this s. onwards the dāsa proper is dealt with. 15 āryatvam gacchet: contrast Nārada, 5.37 'an ātmavikrayin can never be free.'
- 16 That is, their progeny is Ārya, they can earn and inherit and be free by paying ransom. 17 asya evidently refers to the āhitaka only, for in the case of an udaradāsa, no debt is incurred. Breloer (I, 70-71; II, 43-5) says that half the wage earned by the dāsa by working for his master is counted towards liberation price. The present text shows no such rule. But it is clear that the dāsa could earn a wage and from the savings made out of his earnings, he could procure his
- 18 This is obviously the dandopakārin (2.12.21) or dandapratikartṛ (2.23.2; 2.24.2). He is a state slave and the whole of his wage goes towards his ransom
- 19 karmakālānurūpeņa: we have to supply niṣkrayeṇa. The idea is, after doing work assigned for a specific period he becomes free. For the expression, cf. s. 27 below. mūlyārdhena, i.e., for half the usual price of a dāsa. Cb Cs have 'for half the price fixed in conformity with the work and time.' This ignores have 'for half the price fixed in conformity with the work and time or half the cost the vā. Breloer has (II, 45) 'through a fixed work or a fixed time or half the cost of the work (provided he can produce this amount immediately).'
- 20 gṛhejāta- etc. refer to the caturvarga of Nārada, 5.29. videše: after this a vā seems necessary. With this clause nayatah is to be understood from the following clause.

or pledges a female slave who is *enceinte* without providing for the nourishment of the foetus, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed), also on purchasers and witnesses.

- 21 If a person does not make a slave an Ārya for a suitable ransom, the fine is twelve *paṇas*, and confinement (for him) till he does it.
- 22 Kinsmen shall inherit the property of a slave, in their absence the master.
- 23 The offspring begotten by the master on his own female slave shall be known as free along with the mother. 24 If the mother is attached to the house and looks after the affairs of the family, her brother and sister also shall be free.
- 25 .If, after ransoming a male or a female slave, a person again sells or pledges him, the fine is twelve *paṇas*, except in the case of those who themselves agree.

Thus ends the law concerning slaves.

- 26 Those who are near shall note a labourer's engagement in work.
- 27 He should receive a wage as agreed upon, in conformity with the work and time (if the wage is not agreed upon). 28 A cultivator, a cowherd (and) a trader should receive one-tenth part of the crops, of butter (and) of the goods dealt in by them (respectively) if the wage is not agreed upon. 29 But if the wage is agreed upon, then as agreed upon.
- 30 But the group of those who work in hope (of remuneration) such as artisans, artists, minstrels, physicians, professional story-
- 21 samrodhaś cākaraṇāt is in conformity with 3.14.1 as proposed by Meyer. With ākāraṇāt, Cb Cs have 'he should be called (ākāraṇā) and surrounded by kinsmen (samrodha) and taunted and thus forced to give freedom.' This is very doubtful.
 - 22 Contrast Manu, 8.416 'a slave cannot own property.'
- 23-24 Kātyāyana has a closely parallel rule.
- 25 punar vikrayādhānam nayatah: Cs thinks that the person who pays the ransom price is meant, Meyer that the person who receives the ransom price is meant. The former seems better. Breloer thinks (II, 57 n. 5) that aniṣkrīya is to be read 'so long as he or she is not freed.' This does not fit in with the exception in svayamvādin 'who himself agrees to be sold or pledged.' dāsakalpah: dāsa includes the āhitaka. They both differ from the karmakara. The former are under the sway of some one; the latter only does work for a wage. For slavery in ancient India, cf. Breloer II, 7-60.
 - 26 āsannāh appear to be some sort of foremen, who are on the spot.
- 28 The wage mentioned in 2.24.28 for gopālaka etc. appears to be for those in state service; here those working for private citizens seem meant. gopālakaḥ sarpiṣām: cf. 2.29.7 above.

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tellers, attendants and others should get a remuneration as others of that type do or as experts fix.

- 31 (Disputes) shall be settled only on the testimony of witnesses. 32 In the absence of witnesses, the (judge) should inquire at the place where the work (was carried out).
- 33 In case of non-payment of the wage, the fine is one-tenth or six panas. 34 In case of denial, the fine is twelve panas or one-fifth.
- 35 If a person in distress, overcome by the current of a river or flames or robbers or wild animals, calls a rescuer with the promise of all possessions or sons and wife or himself and is rescued, he should give a reward as directed by experts. 36 By that are explained retractions of promises made in distress in all cases.
 - 37 A harlot should get a fee in accordance with the indications of union; but she who makes an exorbitant demand shall lose it, also if she shows evil-mindedness or lack of modesty.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

SECTION 65 (Continued)

Duties of Servants

SECTION 66 UNDERTAKINGS IN PARTNERSHIP

- 1 For a labourer not doing the work after receiving the wage, the fine is twelve panas, and detention till it is done.
- 2 If he is incapable or if the work is vile or if he is ill or in calamity, he shall get annulment (of the agreement) or (the right) to get
- 30 $\bar{a} \hat{s} \bar{a} k \bar{a} r i k a$ is an unusual word; it seems to mean one who works in the expectation of a lump remuneration or reward, not a wage. These persons are not labourers, but belong to a higher category. - yathānyas tadvidhah, i.e., at the usual rates, these varying according to circumstances.
- 33 dasabandho dandah satpano vā, i.e., if 1/10th amounts to less than six panas the latter fine is imposed. With his explanation of bandha as 'so many times' Meyer is forced to suggest that dasabandha and pañcabandha are to be interchanged in the two ss. 34 apavyayamāne, i.e., denying that any wage is due from him.
- 37 pumścali is not mentioned in 2.27. upalinganāt: cf. 3.12.51 above. - The stanza is not in keeping with the rest of the Chapter and seems derived from a different context.

3.14

The rest of section 65 is found in ss. 1-17 and section 66 is found in ss. 18-38. The two are closely connected.

1 samrodhaś cākaraņāt: see 3.13.21 above.

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it done by another. 3 Or, at his cost, the employer shall have the right to get it done.

- 4 If, when there is a restriction 'You shall not give this work to another, nor shall I do any one else's work,' the employer does not get work done by him or the labourer does not do the work, the fine shall be twelve panas. 5 If the (labourer) has received wages from another person than the employer, he may not, on completion of the work, do (additional) work for him if unwilling.
- 6 'If the (employer) does not give work when the labourer has presented himself, the work shall be considered as done,' say the teachers. 7 'No,' says Kautilya. 8 A wage is for work done, not for what is not done. 9 If after allowing even a little to be done, he does not allow it to be done (further), his work shall be considered as done.
- 10 In case the labourer misses the proper place and time or does the work in a wrong manner, he may not, if unwilling, allow the work as done. 11 In case more work is done than agreed upon, he shall not make the effort vain.
- 12 By that are explained labourers from unions. 13 The (workman) kept (on the work) from among them shall remain for seven nights. 14 After that, the (union) shall provide another and secure the completion of the work.
 - 3 vyayakarman 'cost, expense'; cf. 2.1.23.
- 4 avarodhe from Cb is necessary for the sense. Meyer proposes virodhe 'when there is prohibition,' because of 3.15.7. But even in the latter place we have to read avarodhena for avirodhena of the mss. 5 karmaniṣṭhāpane etc.: the idea seems to be that the employer may want the labourer to do additional work after the contracted work in hand is completed by him; if in the meanwhile the labourer has accepted another man's work (receiving payment beforehand), he may refuse to do the additional work for the first employer. Suggesting karmāniṣṭhāpane as the reading, Cs has 'when the work is uncompleted, the labourer who has received wages from another shall not work for the latter if the first employer is unwilling to allow.' asakāmaḥ is queerly understood in this. Meyer has 'If the master has assigned his work to some other person and if he has also received the wage, then if unwilling he may not do it.' This sense for niṣṭhāpana is uncertain. Cb is missing on bhartur akārayato...nāsakāmaḥ kuryāt.
 - 6 kṛtam vidyāt: i.e., a claim for wage can be successfully made.
- 10 -pātanena: -pātane locative as usual would have been better. 11 prayāsam na mogham from Cb is quite necessary. na seems to have dropped out through a scribal error. prayāsam amogham is also possible.
- 12 samghabhrtah: obviously these are members of a labour union. They get work and also their wages through the union, not directly from the employer. 13 $\bar{a}dhih$: in effect, this means a workman sent by the samgha to do the work. The similarity with the 'pledge $(\bar{a}dhi)$ ' is that like the latter he does work for another at the behest of a third party (viz., the union). $saptar\bar{a}tram$: change of work-

15 And without informing the employer, the union shall not remove any one or bring in any one. 16 In case of transgression of that, the fine is twenty-four panas. 17 For the person removed by the union, the fine shall be half (that).

Thus ends the topic of labourers.

- 18 Labourers from unions or partners in an undertaking shall divide the wages as agreed upon or in equal proportions.
- 19 Or, cultivators and traders shall give to a (partner) who has become ill in the interval between the commencement and completion of (work connected with) crops and goods (respectively) an individual share corresponding to work as done by him. 20 In case a substitute is provided, they shall give the full share. 21 But if he has fallen ill when the goods put together have brought success, they shall give his individual share there and then. 22 For, success or failure on the way is common.
- 23 But if when the work has begun a (partner) goes away even if in good health, he shall be fined twelve panas. 24 Nor shall he have the freedom to keep away.
- 25 But he should cause a misappropriator to be caught by (a promise of) a share for the work, preceded by a promise of safety, (and) he should give him the share and safety. 26 In case he steals

men every seven days may be to prevent direct and close relations being established between individual workmen and the employer. 14 karmanispākam: apparently the idea is that the samgha is responsible for finishing the work and not any individual member.

- 17 samghena parihrtasya: the workman is to be fined apparently because he left without informing the employer when withdrawn (from the work) by the union. The union may be supposed to indemnify him.
- 18 The labour union is a sort of partnership and hence the easy transition to the new section.
- 19 sannasya 'who has become ill' (Cb). 20 upasthāne: we expect upasthāpane.
- 21 samsiddha 'has succeeded,' i.e., has brought in a profit. Cb, however, has 'is ready to start.' In that case pratyamśa would refer to the man's goods returned to him before starting. However, in the next s., which, with its hi, gives the reason for this rule, samsiddha seems referred to in pathi siddhi.
 - 24 na ca prākāmyam, i.e., he shall be forced to work. Cf. 2.1.22.
- 25 coram: this evidently refers to a partner in a joint undertaking who is suspected of stealing the earnings. abhayapūrvam karmanah pratyamsena implies a promise when his first offence is discovered that no harm would come to him and he would get his share, if he agrees to improve. grāhayet is not quite appropriate, as there does not seem to be any arrest at this time. Cs thinks of a guild of robbers,

again, he shall be exiled, also if he goes elsewhere. 27 In case of a very serious offence, however, he should deal with him as with a traitor.

- 28 Sacrificial priests shall divide the fees as agreed upon or in equal shares, excepting objects received for each one's special duties.
- 29 And in the Agnistoma and other sacrifices, a priest falling ill after the consecration ceremony shall receive one-fifth (of his share), after the sale of soma one-fourth, after the heating of the pravargyavessel on the middle upasad day one-third, after the middle upasad day half the share, after the morning pressing on the day of somapressing three quarters of the share. 30 After the mid-day pressing, he shall receive the full share. 31 For (at that time) the fees are carried. 32 Except in the case of the Brhaspatisava, fees are indeed given at each pressing.
 - 33 By that are explained fees for sacrifices lasting for many days.
- 34 The remaining hired (priests) should do the work of those who have fallen ill, up to ten days and nights, or others trusted by themselves (should do it).
- 35 Should, however, the sacrificer fall ill before the sacrifice is completed, the priests should complete the work and receive the fees.
- 36 But if when the work is incomplete one leaves the sacrificer or the priest, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed).
 - 37-38 One owning a hundred cows but not keeping the sacred fires, one owning a thousand cows but not performing a sacrifice, a drunkard, one who has married a heretical woman, a slayer of a Brahmin, a violator of an elder's bed, one addicted

one of them betraying the others. But $d\bar{u}syavad$ $\bar{a}caret$ in s. 27 is hardly possible in the case of a robber. Some important citizen or dignitary can alone be thought of. 26 punalsteye implies a reprieve on the earlier occasion. — anyatra gamane, i.e., abandoning the work and going away altogether. 27 $d\bar{u}syavat$, i.e., as in 5.1 below.

- 29 tṛtīyam from Cb is obviously necessary for dvitīyam of the mss. madhyamopasada ūrdhvam is read in comormity with the actual comment in Cb, though its text shows madhyād ūrdhvam. 32 This s. serves little purpose and seems to be a marginal gloss by some one who did not agree with s. 31. hi in the s. cannot establish a relationship with the preceding. For the rules, cf. Manu, 8.210.
 - 33 This s. is unnecessary, and may not be original. Cb has no comment on it.
- 34 ā daśāhorātrāt: Meyer thinks of the days of impurity; that is possible if sanna implies actual death. svapratyayāh: sva may refer to the other priests, who have trust in these. Cb refers sva to the yajamāna 'according to his own wish.' Cf. 2.36.5; 8.4.33.
- 35 samāpayya: the causal shows that the heir or relation is induced to complete the sacrifice.

to receiving gifts from evil persons, a thief, a priest working for a degraded person,— (in the case of these) there is no harm in abandoning each other, because of the certainty of impurity attaching to (such sacrificial) work.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

SECTION 67 RESCISSION OF SALE AND PURCHASE

- 1 If, after selling an article, one does not deliver it, the fine shall be twelve paṇas, except in cases of defect, a sudden calamity or unsuitability. 2 A defect in the article is defect. 3 Trouble from the king, thief, fire or water is a sudden calamity. 4 What is lacking in many qualities or what is done by one in distress is unsuitable.
- 5 For traders a period of retraction of one day (may be allowed), for agriculturists three days, for cowherds five days. 6 In the case of the sale of the means of livelihood by (persons of) mixed and the highest varnas, (a period of retraction of) seven days (may be allowed).
- 7 For perishable goods, a retraction may be allowed with the restriction 'It shall not be sold elsewhere.' 8 In case of transgression of that, the fine is twenty-four panas or one-tenth part of the goods.
- 9 If, after purchasing an article, one does not receive it, the fine is twelve panas, except in cases of defect, a sudden calamity or un-
- 37 The first half occurs in Manu, 11.14, in another connection. vṛṣalī is a heretic woman, not necessarily a Śūdra. Cf. 1.12.5. The nominatives in this and the following stanza cannot be easily construed with the predicate at the end; we should supply eleṣām with it. 38 samkara is defect, i.e., impurity.

3.15

- 4 bahugunahīnam 'lacking in many qualities' is according to Cs 'with its value diminished many times,' according to Meyer 'disadvantageous from many points of view.' ārtakṛtam may convey the idea of what is done under duress. The same three conditions operate for rescission of purchase as well (s. 9 below).
- 6 vrttivikraye is from Cb. For concern about vrtti, cf. 3.1.31. vivrtti- of the mss. conveys little sense. Meyer suggesting nivrtti- for it and thinking varnānām to be an error for panyānām has 'for cancellation (nivrtti) or sale (finally confirmed) of goods mixed or of the highest quality.' This is little likely.
- 7 ātipātika which must be disposed of quickly, perishable goods, such as milk, eurds, flowers etc. (Cb). avarodhena is proposed for avirodhena of the mss. Cf. 3.14.4. avirodhena can hardly mean 'so as to enable the goods to be preserved' (Cs) or 'when there is no prohibition to sell elsewhere' (Meyer). Meyer's other explanation (with avirodhe na) 'there shall be no retraction (na anusayah) except when there is no prohibition (avirodhe)' is not possible. There is nothing in the text for 'except when.'

suitability. 10 And rescission of purchase is similar to retraction by a seller.

- 11 In the case of marriages, however, revocation is valid up to the ceremony of clasping the hand in the case of the first three varnas, and up to consummation in the case of Sūdras. 12 Even in the case of those whose hand-clasping ceremony is completed, revocation is valid on discovering a defect connected with sex. 13 But under no circumstances (will revocation be valid) when they have begotten children.
- 14 For giving a maiden in marriage without mentioning the maiden's defect in connection with sex, the fine is ninety-six panas and the return of the dowry and woman's property. 15 Or, for the suitor marrying without mentioning the bridegroom's defect, the fine is double, and the loss of the dowry and woman's property.
- 16 In the case of bipeds and quadrupeds, however, for declaring dull, diseased and unclean ones as energetic, healthy and clean (respectively) the fine is twelve panas. 17 In the case of quardupeds revocation (is allowed) up to three fortnights, up to a year in the case of human beings. 18 For, it is by that time that purity or otherwise can be known.
 - 19 The members of the court should so allow revocation in the matter of a gift or a purchase that neither the giver nor the receiver is harmed.

¹⁰ samānah, i.e., as in s. 5.

¹¹ $p\bar{a}nigrahan\bar{a}t$: the sense of \bar{a} is to be understood with the ablative. Cf. 3.5.20. — prakarmanah: again \bar{a} is to be understood. prakarman is sexual intercourse, i.e., consummation. 12 dosam $aupas\bar{a}yikam$, e.g., impotency, loss of virginity etc. (Cb).

¹⁴ stridhana could be returned by the parents if it is in their possession. For stridhana, see 3.2.14-15. 15 varayituh refers to the bridegroom himself, since it goes with vindatah 'who marries.' — Manu also includes marriage-sale under this head.

¹⁶ It is proposed to read kuṇtha- for kuṣṭha- of the mss., as it provides the necessary contrast to utsāha. — We expect sotsāha and svastha, adjectives like śuci.
18 śaucāśauce is attested by Cb. Physical as well as mental cleanliness is implied.
— Sale of human beings is clearly mentioned here.

¹⁹ $sabh\bar{a}sadah$ are apparently the same as $ku\acute{s}al\bar{a}h$ of 3.16.5, where this rule is repeated; experts consulted by the court in technical matters are meant.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

SECTION 68 NON-CONVEYANCE OF GIFTS

SECTION 69 SALE WITHOUT OWNERSHIP

SECTION 70 THE RELATION OF OWNERSHIP

- 1 The non-delivery of gifts is explained by the non-payment of debts.
 - A gift, not negotiable, shall remain in revocation in one place
- 3 If, after promising to give his whole property, his sons and wife or himself, one revokes, the (judge) shall allow it. 4 And (the judge shall annul) a gift of piety to wicked persons or for destructive actions, a gift of wealth to those who are not useful or are harmful, and a gift of love to unworthy persons.
- 5 And experts shall fix revocation in such a way that neither the donor nor the receiver is harmed.
- 6 For one who accepts a gift made in fear through fear of punishment, or fear of abuse or fear of a calamity—the punishment shall be that for theft, also for him who makes it. 7 (That applies also to) a gift in anger for injuring another and a gift made in haughtiness above that of kings. 8 In that case the fine shall be the highest.
- 9 The son or heir inheriting the property may not pay, if unwilling, obligations of suretyship, balance of a fine or dowry, a gambling debt, a debt for drinks and a gift of love.

Thus ends the topic of non-conveyance of gifts.

10 As to sale without ownership, however, on finding a lost or stolen article, the owner shall cause it to be seized by the judge.

3.16

The three short prakaranas are found in ss. 1-9, 10-28 and 29-42 respectively.

- 2 avyavahāryam which cannot be the object of a transaction of gift. ekatra anusaye varteta: Meyer has 'belongs solely to revocation, (i.e., to the chapter on revocation of sale and purchase).' This seems hardly meant. The idea seems to be, it stands revoked automatically, with the donor.
- 3 sarvasvam etc.: cf. 3.13.35. These are the avyavahārya gifts. prayacchet: the subject seems to be the judge, rather than the receiver. In the next s., the judge is clearly to be thought of as ordering annulment of gifts. 4 karmasu ca: the ca should preferably have come after dharmadanam.
 - 5 Cf. 3.15.19.
- 6 ākrośa 'reviling, abusing'; cf. 3.18.12; also 4.11.14. 7 rājāām: the plural may suggest inclusion of members of the royal family.
- 9 prātibhāvyam: cf. 3.11.15 ff. śulkaśeṣam: cf. 3.4.33; 3.2.19. The readings from Cb are obviously necessary. — Manu, 8.159, is identical.

11 Of, if the place and time are likely to be missed, he should himself seize it and bring it (to the judge). 12 And the judge should question the possessor, 'Where did you get this?' 13 If he were to show a legitimate method (of puchase), but not the vendor, he shall be acquitted on handing over that article. 14 If the vendor were found, he shall pay the price (to the purchaser) and a fine for theft. 15 If he were to find a means of exoneration, he may clear himself (and so on) till the means of exoneration are exhausted. 16 When these are exhausted, the (last person unable to exonerate himself) shall pay the price and fine for theft.

17 And he who had lost the article shall get the article, lost and recovered, after submitting proof of ownership. 18 If there be no proof of ownership, the fine shall be one-fifth (the value of the article).

19 And that article shall be the king's lawful property.

- 20 If the owner takes away a lost or stolen article without informing (the judge), the fine shall be the lowest fine for violence.
- What is found after being lost or stolen shall remain in the customs house. 22 The king shall take after three fortnights that to which a claim has not been made, or the owner (shall get it) by producing proof of ownership. 23 He shall pay a ransom of five panas for each two-footed being, four panas for a one-hoofed creature, two panas for a cow or a buffalo, one quarter (of a pana) for a small animal. 24 He shall pay five per cent (of the value) of jewels, articles of high value, of low value and forest produce.
- 10 āsādya, i.e., when the owner finds or comes across his lost article in some one else's possession. grāhayet: the object is 'the article' lost. 11 deśakālātipattau, i.e., if delay means that the article may be lost sight of. Cf. 7.18.11. 12 svāminam can only refer to the person in whose possession the article is found. The use of the same word for the claimant as well as the suspect in consecutive ss. is confusing. 13 ācārakramam: perhaps the reading should be ācārakrayam, as is shown by vikretāram. 14 mūlyam would naturally go to the suspect, whose bona fides are thus proved. 15 apasāra 'a means of escape,' i.e., a person who makes it possible for another to exonerate himself.
- 17 nāṣṭikaś ca is from Cb for nāṣṭikam ca; the nominative is necessary, as nāṣṭika is 'one who has lost an article.' svakaraṇam: cf. 3.1.15 etc.
- 20 utkarṣataḥ, i.e., appropriating. svāminaḥ: this is the owner, not the possessor (as Meyer has it). Cf. Yāj., 2.172, and the Mitākṣarā on it, which says that the owner thereby commits the offence of concealing the thief.
- 21 śulkasthāne: this is probably the same as the ghaṭikāsthāna of 2.21.5. 22 anabhisāram 'to which no one comes to claim it,' i.e., unclaimed. svāmī vā: i.e., the owner can claim it even after three fortnights by producing proof. svāmī here, too, cannot be the temporary possessor (as in Meyer). 23-24: these are charges for keeping them safe. If the rule of 5% is assumed to operate in all cases, the price of a slave would come to 100 paṇas, of a horse 80 paṇas, of a cow or buffalo 40 paṇas and of a goat etc. 5 paṇas.

- 25 But what is plundered by enemy troops or forest tribes the king shall recover and restore to rightful owners. 26 What is stolen by thieves, he shall restore out of his own goods if it is non-existent or he is unable to recover it. 27 He should restore what has been seized for themselves (by favourites etc.) or pay a compensation for it.
- 28 One may, however, enjoy as directed by the king what is brought from an enemy territory by valour, excepting Ārya individuals and the property of gods, Brahmins and ascetics.

Thus ends the topic of sale without ownership.

- 29 As to the relation of ownership, however—of goods, evidence as to ownership of which is lost, continuity of possession (shall be proof of ownership) as in each one's possession.
- 30 That property of one's own to which one remains indifferent for ten years while it is being used by others, shall be lost to him, except in the case of a minor, an aged person, a sick person, one in a calamity, one away from home, or in case of migration from the country or a disturbance in the kingdom.
- 31 He shall not raise questions about an unoccupied immovable property which is disregarded for twenty years.
- 32 Relatives, Brahmins learned in the Vedas, or heretics, living in other people's buildings, in the absence of kings, shall not get them on the strength of possession, also a deposit, a pledge, a buried treasure, an article entrusted, a woman, a boundary and the property of the king or a Brahmin learned in the Vedas.
- 26 avidyamānam because it is destroyed or used up by the thieves. 27 svayamgrāhena: this seems to refer to what is seized by the king's favourites etc. for themselves, as in 8.4.23. It can also mean 'what is looted by enemy troops, each for himself' as in 8.1.44. But that appears less likely as that case is already covered by paracakra in s. 25. The state's responsibility to make good what is lost by theft is recognised in all texts; cf. Manu, 8.40; Yāj., 2.36. āhṛtam: hṛtam would be better.
- 28 āryaprānebhyaḥ: cf. 3.13.1. With āryaprānadravyebhyaḥ (Cb) there would be nothing for enjoyment. On asvāmivikraya, Yāj., 2.169-174, are an echo of this text.
- 29 Manu and Nārada discuss the question of ownership in connection with ādhi in the law of debts. deśa: see 3.1.19. yathāsvam: supply 'shall be proof of ownership' (Cb Cs).
 - 30 Cf. 3.11.13. Perhaps upeksyeta should be read.
- 31 anavasitam: for avasita 'occupied,' cf. 3.8.17. vāstu: 3.8.2 defines
- 32 rājām asamnidhau: there seems to be little point in this. Meyer suggests rājan as 'owner' and would read samnidhau 'in the presence of owners.' However, 'in the absence of owners' might appear better. vivasanto: perhaps nivasanto was the original reading.

- 33 Hermits and heretical monks may live in a large place without troubling one another. 34 They should put up with minor troubles. 35 Or, one who has come earlier shall give a turn to stay (to a newcomer). 36 One who does not give (such a turn) shall be driven out.
- 37 Of forest-hermits, monks and students of Veda, the inheritors of property are the teacher or pupil, the spiritual brother and the fellow student respectively.
- 38 And in cases of legal dispute among these, (those convicted) shall observe fasts, bathings, worship of the sacred fire and adoration of mahākaccha, for the king, for as many nights as the number of paṇas prescribed as fine (for the offence). 39 Heretical monks have neither money nor gold. 40 They shall do penance with fasts and vows according to their own religious practices, except in cases of (verbal and physical) injury, theft, forcible seizure and adultery. 41 In those cases, the fines as prescribed shall be imposed.
 - 42 The king shall prevent by means of punishment those with false conduct among mendicant orders. For, righteousness, overpowered by evil, destroys the ruler, if neglected.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

SECTION 71 FORCIBLE SEIZURE

1 Forcible seizure is a deed of force in the presence (of the owner).
2 In the absence (of the owner), it is theft, also in case of denial.

33-36 These ss. are unrelated to the topic of ownership. They are suggested by the preceding s.

37 The s. is out of place. It should have found a place in 3.5 above. — It seems that the ācārya or the śiṣya is the heir of a vānaprastha, dharmabhrātṛ of a yati and samānatīrthya of a brahmacārin. Cb Cs understand an order for inheritance, the earlier one in the list inheriting first, in the case of all three. krameṇa seems rather to mean 'respectively' than 'in this order.' For a yati, there would hardly be an ācārya, or for a brahmacārin a dharmabhrātṛ.

38 mahākaccha: as 4.3.12 shows this is some sacred object or deity, probably the ocean or Varuna. And vardhana seems little more than 'worship, adoration.' Cb, with mahakrcchravartana, has 'staying in water.' Cs understands the krcchra penance, with which Meyer agrees, adding that vardhana refers to the increasing scale in krcchra. 41 yathoktā dandāh: But where would they get the money to pay the fines? Making them work to pay off the fines may be understood; cf. 3.13.14.

3.17

sāhasa, derived from sahas 'force,' is primarily a forcible seizure of another's articles.

1 anvayavat: anvaya is the presence of the owner when the article is seized. Cf. Kullūka on Manu, 8.332, which is an exact echo of this s. The idea of connec-

- 3 'In case of the forcible seizure of jewels, articles of high value, of low value and forest produce, the fine shall be equal to their value,' say the followers of Manu. 4 'Double the value,' say the follower of Uśanas. 5 'In accordance with the offence,' says Kautilya.
- 6 '(In the case) of flowers, fruits, vegetables, roots, bulbous roots, cooked food, leather goods, wicker-baskets, earthenware and other trifling articles, the fine is a minimum of twelve panas and a maximum of twenty-four panas. 7 In the case of articles of iron, wood and ropes, small animals, cloth and other big articles, the fine is a minimum of twenty-four panas and a maximum of forty-eight panas. 8 In the case of articles of copper, steel, bronze, glass and ivory and other big articles, the lowest fine for violence, (i.e.) a minimum of forty-eight panas and a maximum of ninety-six panas (shall be the punishment). 9 In the case of large animals, human beings, fields, houses, money, gold, fine cloth and other big articles, the middle fine for violence, (i.e.) a minimum of two hundred and a maximum of five hundred (shall be the punishment). 10 For one who binds or causes another to bind or releases from bondage a woman or a man by using force, (the punishment shall be) the highest fine for violence, (i.e.) a minimum of five hundred and a maximum of one thousand,' say the teachers.
- "I accept (responsibility)," shall pay double (the fine). 12 (He who causes it) saying "I shall give as much money as will be required," shall pay a fourfold fine. 13 He who causes it by stating the amount in the words "I shall give so much money," shall pay the money as stated as well as the fine,' say the followers of Brhaspati. 14 'If he were to plead anger, intoxication or delusion, he shall impose on him the (single) fine as prescribed,' says Kautilya.
 - 15 In all cases of fine one should know that there is an impost of eight paṇas per hundred, but in those above one hundred, a surcharge in addition of five paṇas per hundred.

tion (anvaya) between the article and the person seizing it is possible, but seems less likely. The idea of common ownership (Cs, following Yāj. 2.230) also does not seem likely.

- 3 mānavāh: there is no such rule in the Manusmṛti.
- 10 The worst case of sāhasa involves human beings, and force is used to tamper with their condition of liberty or bondage. ityācāryāh: Kauṭilya apparently agrees with them.
- 15 $r\bar{u}pam$: this impost of 8% on the fine is different from the $r\bar{u}pa$ understood as the inspection fee of 1/8% in 2.12.28, 30, 35. It corresponds to the rupika of 2.12.25. śatāt pareṣu is proposed for śatāt pare of the mss., which show a metrically short $p\bar{u}da$. The plural is necessary in conformity with karmasu. It is clear that ṣu of pareṣu got dropped out through a scribal error. Cb reads śatāvareṣu

16 Because of the large number of crimes by subjects or because of a defect in the condition of kings, the impost and the surcharge, which are illegal, (are current); but the basic fine is (alone) known to be legal.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

SECTION 72 VERBAL INJURY

- 1 Defamation, vilification and threat constitute verbal injury.
- 2 Of (defamation pertaining to) body, character, learning, profession and country, in case of defamation pertaining to body, such as one-eyed, lame and so on, the fine is three paṇas if (the defect is) a fact, the fine is six paṇas in case of a false imputation (of the defect).
- 3 In case of censure masquerading as praise of one-eyed, lame and other (persons), such as 'with beautiful eyes,' the fine shall be twelve panas.
- 4 And in case of vilification referring to leprosy, madness, impotence and so on, when it is true, false and contains ironical praise, the fines are twelve panas increased by twelve panas successively (in the three cases, if it is) towards equals. 5 If towards superiors the fines shall be double, if towards inferiors half the fines, if towards wives of others double, (but) half the fines if it is due to a mistake, intoxication, delusion and so on.
- 6 Of leprosy and madness, physicians and men staying near are the authority, of impotency, women, foam on the urine and sinking of ordure in water (shall constitute proof).
- 7 In case of libel concerning character, among Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, Śūdras and the lowest born, the fines are three paṇas increased by three paṇa ssuccessively (if it is) of the earlier by

and explains 'more than a hundred.' It can hardly mean 'less than a hundred '(Cs). — vyājīm: see 2.6.10 etc. 16 bhāva- 'nature, condition.'

3.18

- 1 upavādah etc.: it is clear that upavāda is reviling a person with reference to some defect in body, character etc., while kutsana has reference to some serious malady, like leprosy, impotency etc. Thus Cb.
- 2 śarīropavāde: the locative is proposed in keeping with the usual practice for the instrumental of the mss.
- 3 śobhanākṣimantaḥ: the plural shows irony. -dantaḥ is clearly out of place. Meyer suggests -krāntaḥ 'gait' for it.
 - 4 tulyesu, i.e., of the same varna, though 'equal in status' is not unlikely.
 - 5 dviguṇāḥ etc.: the plurals are necessary as in 3.19.4.
 - 6 mūtrapheno: it is the absence of the foam on the urine that shows the klība.

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the later, decreasing by two paṇas successively up to two paṇas if of the later by the earlier, also in case of vilification like 'low Brahmin' and so on.

- 8 By that are explained defamation concerning the learning of professional story-tellers, slander of the profession of artisans and actors, and libel of the country of those from Prājjūṇa, Gandhāra and so on.
- 9 The person who threatens another with doing (something), saying, 'I shall do this to you,' shall pay, in case he does not (actually) do it, a fine half that prescribed for the doing of it. 10 If he is incapable (of carrying out the threat) or pleads anger, intoxication or delusion, he shall pay a fine of twelve panas. 11 If he has feelings of enmity and is capable of doing harm, he shall furnish a surety till the end of his life.
 - 12 A person deserves the lowest fine (for violence) for reviling his own country and village, the middle fine for reviling his own caste or corporation, the highest for reviling gods and sanctuaries.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

SECTION 73 PHYSICAL INJURY

- 1 Touching, menacing and striking constitute physical injury.
- 2 For one touching (another's) body below the navel with the hand, mud, ashes or dust, the fine shall be three paṇas; with those same when they are impure and with the foot or with spittle, six paṇas; with vomit, urine, ordure and so on, twelve paṇas. 3 (For touching)
- 7 tripaņottarāh, i.e., 12, 9, 6 and 3 if an Antāvasāyin vilifies a Brahmin, a Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya and a Śūdra, 9, 6 and 3 if a Śūdra vilifies the upper varnas, and so on. dvipaṇādharāḥ, i.e., 8, 6, 4 and 2 if a Brahmin offends a Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Śūdra and Antāvasāyin, 6, 4 and 2 if a Kṣatriya offends and so on. kubrāhmaṇādibhiś ca kutsāyām: the fines are milder (basis of 2, not 3) because there is no specific reflection on character.
- 8 Prājjūṇaka: Cb reads Prāgghūṇaka explained as 'the kingdom of the Caṇḍālas.' Cs renders this reading by 'the Eastern Huns.' That seems doubtful. At any rate, finding a reference in this to the Huns under Toramana and drawing a conclusion from that as to the date of this work (Pran Nath, IA, 60, 121) seem hardly justified. Prājjūṇa may be Prakrit for Prārjuna, perhaps related to the Ārjunāyanas of the inscriptions.
- 9 karane dandah, i.e., as laid down in the next Chapter. 11 avastha 'surety'; cf. 3.1.17.
- 12 devacaityānām: sva may or may not be understood with this. Cf. Yāj., 2.211.

above the navel (the fines shall be) double, on the head four-fold, in the case of equals. 4 (The fines shall be) double in the case of superiors, half in the case of inferiors, double in the case of wives of others, half if due to a mistake, intoxication, delusion and so on.

- 5 For holding (another) by the feet, the garment, the hand and the hair, the fines shall be six paṇas increased successively by six paṇas.
- 6 In cases of pressing, squeezing (in one's arms), bending, dragging and sitting on (another), the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed). 7 For going away after throwing down, the fine shall be half.
- 8 The (judge) shall cause that limb of a Sūdra with which he strikes a Brahmin to be cut off. 9 For menacing, a ransom (may be allowed), for touching the fine is half. 10 By that are explained Candālas and (other) impure persons.
- 11 For menacing with the hand the fine shall be three panas minimum and twelve panas maximum, double (for menacing) with the foot, the lowest fine for violence with an object causing hurt, the middle with one endangering life.
- 12 For one causing hurt without blood with any one of objects made of wood, earth, stone, or metal, or a stick or rope, the fine shall be twenty-four panas, for causing a bleeding wound double, except in the case of impure blood. 13 For one beating (another) to the point of death without causing bleeding, or causing dislocation of the hand or foot, (the punishment shall be) the lowest fine for violence, also for breaking hands, feet or teeth, cutting off the ear or nose and opening up

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- 3 samesu, i.e., tulyesu of 3.18.4 above. 4 Cf. 3.18.5.
- 6 -añcana- 'bending' is proposed for -añjana-, as suggested by Meyer. The latter word hardly conveys a suitable meaning. 7 -daṇḍaḥ singular is proposed, as it refers only to pūrva sāhasadanda.
- 8-10 As Meyer argues, these ss. appear to be interpolated. They break the order. After sparśana, we expect a discussion of avagūrņa and then of prahata. Besides, the four varņas with the Antāvasāyn would have been mentioned as in 3.18.7, not only Brahmins and Śūdras. The animus against the Śūdra found here is unknown to this text, which looks upon him as an Ārya. The interpolation seems derived from Yāj., 2.215 with Manu, 8.279-84. Caṇḍālāśucayaḥ: an ādi was expected after Caṇḍāla in the compound.
- 11 tripaṇāvaro dvādaśapaṇaparo evidently refers to the four varṇas and Antāvasāyins as in 3.18.7.
- 12 anyatra duṣṭaśoṇitāt, i.e., in this case the fine is not double. 13 pārañcikam seems derived from parā-añc 'to bend away,' though the form appears irregular. vraṇavidāraṇe: this may refer to making a fresh wound or opening an old wound. anyatra duṣṭavraṇebhyaḥ: this seems to imply that

wounds, excepting festering wounds. 14 For breaking the thigh or neck or piercing the eye and in cases of (hurt leading to) obstruction in speech, movement or eating, (the punishment shall be) the middle fine for violence and the expenses for treatment and cure. 15 In case of death, he shall be taken for trial as a criminal by a magistrate.

- 16 If a number of persons beat one person, the fine shall be double for each one (of them).
- 17 'An old scuffle or trespass with criminal intent shall not be a cause for a suit,' say the teachers. 18 'There is no going scot-free for an offender,' says Kauṭilya.
- 19 'In case of a scuffle, he who comes first (to the court) wins, for (only) one unable to put up (with the injury) runs (to the court),' say the teachers. 20 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 21 Whether one has approached first or later, witnesses (alone) are to help in deciding the case; if there are no witnesses, the injury or the indications of the scuffle (are to decide).
- 22 If one does not reply to an accusation of injury, he shall be convicted on the same day.
- 23 For taking away in a scuffle an object (of another), the fine shall be ten paṇas, for destroying a small object, the same and an equal amount as fine, for destroying a big object, the same and double that as fine, for destroying clothes, ornaments, money and gold articles, the same and the lowest fine for violence.
- 24 For one causing the wall of another's house to shake by striking at it, the fine shall be three paṇas, for breaking or cutting it six paṇas and (payment of the cost of) repairs. 25 For one throwing into another's house an object causing hurt the fine shall be twelve paṇas, an object dangerous to life the lowest fine for violence.

if the wound is very serious, a higher punishment is to be inflicted. Perhaps a similar idea is to be understood in dustasonitāt in s. 12. 14 samutthāna 'curing' by a physician. 15 kanṭakasodhanāya etc.: apparently 4.11.1 ff. would apply.

- 17 anupraveśah: see 3.1.8.
- 21 ghālaḥ 'injury.' upalinganam : cf. 3.12.51; 3.13.37.
- 22 tad ahar eva: for the period usually allowed, see 3.1.29. paścātkāra 'setting aside' refers to conviction.
- 23 dasapano: Cb comment implies the reading dvisatapanah. tat would apparently be restitution to the owner.
- 24 Cb Cs add pātanabhañjane dvādaśapanah (so to be read in the footnote in the text). It is not easy to see the difference between bhañjana of this and chedana or bhedana already mentioned. 25 anyaveśmani from Cb appears better, though asya of the mss. could refer to para in the last s.

- 26 For causing hurt to small animals with wood and other things, the fine shall be one pana or two panas, double that for causing bleeding. 27 For these same offences concerning big animals, the fine shall be double and (payment of) expenses for treatment and cure.
- 28 For cutting the shoots of trees in city parks that bear flowers or fruit or yield shade (the fine shall be) six panas, for cutting small branches twelve panas, for cutting stout branches twenty-four panas, for destroying trunks the lowest fine for violence, for uprooting (the tree) the middle (fine). 29 In the case of bushes and creepers bearing flowers or fruit or yielding shade the fines shall be half, also in the case of trees in holy places, penance-groves and cremation grounds.
 - 30 In the case of trees at the boundaries, in sanctuaries, and of trees that are prominent, these same fines doubled shall be imposed, also (in the case of trees) in royal parks.

CHAPTER TWENTY

SECTION 74 GAMBLING AND BETTING SECTION 75 MISCELLANEOUS

- 1 The Director of Gambling should cause gambling to be carried on in one place. 2 For one gambling with dice in another place, the fine shall be twelve panas, in order to find out those who follow a secret profession.
- 26 At the end of this s. Cb has a long additional passage, not all of which appears genuine. In particular, the distinction in it between sākhānga and varānga is suspicious. It seems that Yāj., 2.225-6, is responsible for the addition. However, the plural in sthāneşu in the next s. suggests that some part of the addition, particularly vraṇavidārane caturguṇaḥ, may be original.
- 29 ca clearly implies that punyasthāna- etc. is to be construed with the preceding. Meyer, influenced by Yāj., 2.227-9, would construe it with the following stanza.
- 30 ālakṣita is clearly the same as viśruta of Yāj., 2.228. Yāj. often gives only a metrical rendering of ss. found in this section.

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The two prakaranas are found in ss. 1-13 and 14-24 respectively. Manu, 9.223, explains the difference between dyāta 'gambling' and samāhvaya 'challenge' with a bet. The former is done with inanimate objects (dice etc.), the latter with living creatures (cocks etc.).

1 The dyūtādhyakṣa is not included among the adhyakṣas discussed in Book 2.

— ekamukham: cf. 2.16.4; 2.25.1. 2 gūdhājīvijñāpanārtham: it is obvious that these words should have come at the end of s. 1, as stating the reason for gambling being allowed only in one place. Cf. Yāj., 2.203 dyūtam ekamukham kāryam

- 3 'In a suit concerning gambling, the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed) on the winner, the middle on the loser. 4 For, this (latter), being of a foolish nature and anxious to win, cannot bear a loss,' say the teachers. 5 'No.' says Kautilya. 6 If the loser is punished with a double fine, no one will approach the king (for justice). 7 Gamblers indeed are generally fraudulent players.
- 8 Masters (of gambling halls) shall provide for them clean cowrieshells and dice. 9 For substituting other cowrie-shells or dice the fine shall be twelve panas, for fraudulent play the lowest fine for violence and confiscation of winnings, for cheating fine for theft in addition.
- 10 The master (of the hall) shall take five per hundred of the winnings, as well as hire for cowrie-shells, dice, leather-straps and ivory-cubes and charges for water, ground and the act (of gambling).

 11 He shall carry out the pledging and sale of articles. 12 For not prohibiting offences concerning dice, ground or (the use of) hand, the fine shall be double.
- 13 By that is explained 'a challenge' except challenges concerning learning or art.
 - 14 As to miscellaneous, however-

For not returning at the proper place and time a thing borrowed, hired, pledged or entrusted, for missing the place or time of meeting or staying together at a watch (of the night) or shadow (of the gnomon

taskarajñānakāraṇāt, which is an exact echo of the present passage. For gūdhājīvin, see 4.4. below.

- 3 jetuh: who has won in gambling; if he loses the suit, he is clearly held to have cheated at play. That he should get off with a lighter fine is obviously unreasonable.
- 9 upadhau steyadandaś ca from Cb is clearly necessary. Cb understands upadhi to refer to fraud in making payments, to distinguish it from kūṭakarman. 4.10.9 prescribes a heavier punishment for these offences.
- 10 arālā is rendered by paṭṭa in Cb; Cs understands something like a leather-strap. śalākā 'a rod that demarcates the places of the two players' (Cb), 'an ivory cube' (Cs). Pāṇini 2.1.10 refers to akṣa and śalākā as implements of gambling. 11 ādhānam: the adhyakṣa himself may be the pledgee. 12 dviguṇaḥ: apparently double those of s. 9 are meant. Cs has 'double the five per cent,' which appears less likely.
- 13 anyatra vidyāšilpasamāhvayāt: i.e., challenges with bets concerning learning, or skill in art, are not subject to state control and may be freely indulged in.

 Manu forbids gambling as such.
- 14 In the miscellaneous section offences are arranged according to the amount of fines they carry. Some of the offences mentioned here could well have been included under one or the other of the heads discussed earlier. yāma, i.e., time by night and chāyā, i.e., time by day. samupaveśa and samsthiti seem to refer to meeting or staying in a place at the direction of the state. A failure to

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by day), for one making a Brahmin pay duty at the police post or fare at the ferry, and for inviting over the heads of the immediate and the next-but-one neighbours, the fine shall be twelve panas.

- 15 For one not handing over an object which he is enjoined (to deliver), for one touching the brother's wife with the hand, for one going to a prostitute in the exclusive keeping of another, for one purchasing goods claimed by another, for one breaking open a sealed house, and for one doing harm to members from forty neighbouring families, the fine shall be forty-eight panas.
- 16 For the receiver of the family treasure denying it, for one forcibly violating a widow living by herself, for a Candāla touching an Ārya lady, for one not rushing to rescue (another) close by in distress, for one rushing without cause (and) for one feeding Sākya, Ājīvaka and other heretical monks at rites in honour of gods and manes, the fine shall be one hundred paṇas.
- 17 For one putting questions (to suspects) on oath without authorization, and for one, not an officer, doing the work of an officer, for one castrating males used for stud purposes among small animals, and for one causing the abortion of a female slave by medicines, (the punishment shall be) the lowest fine for violence.
- 18 As between father and son, husband and wife, brother and sister, maternal uncle and nephew or teacher and pupil, for one aban-

keep a private engagement could hardly be an offence. Cb seems to understand 'failure to do work as promised at the time and place.' samsthiti may also possibly mean 'regulations, conventions etc.' regarding meeting (samupaveśa). — taradeyam etc.: 2.28.18 shows that Brahmins are not to be charged at ferries. — anuveśa from Cb is clearly necessary for anupraveśa. It seems that according to Cb anuveśa is the immediate neighbour and prativeśa the next neighbour. — nimantrana 'invitation' for meals etc. on ceremonial occasions. — It seems that a list of offences carrying a fine of twenty-four paṇas has dropped out. That has usually a place in the scale of fines. Cf. 3.17.6 etc.

- 15 samdistam has reference to ādeśa of 3.12.18; it hardly means 'promised' (Cs). paravaktavyam: this seems to mean 'promised to others' or 'claimed by others'; in either case, the vendor would be at fault, not the purchaser. Perhaps we have to read vikrīnānasya (for krīnānasya). The expression could mean 'blamed or condemned by others.' Even then the vendor would be at fault.
- 16 āryām: Yāj., 2.234, has uttamān spṛśan making it an offence of untouchability only. niṣkāraṇam, i.e., when there is no āpad. Ājīvakas are the followers of Gosāla Makkhaliputta. Obviously this sect was prominent in the author's day. They are mentioned in Aśoka's inscriptions. vṛṣala: it is clear that this word refers to heretics and has nothing to do with Śūdras.
- 17 vākyānuyoga: see 4.8.1-5. Yāj., 2.235, has ayuktam sapatham kurvan ayogyo yogyakarmakṛt, which shows a clear misunderstanding of the present text.
- 18 sārthābhiprayātam from Cb is necessary. svārtha- has little significance. The fine is for the leader of the caravan abandoning a member on the way.

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doning the other when not an outcast, (and) for one abandoning another going together in a caravan in the middle of a village, the lowest fine for violence (shall be the punishment), if in a forest the middle fine, for causing harm to him thereby the highest fine; for others going with the caravan, half the fines (shall be the punishment).

- 19 For one binding or making another bind a man not deserving to be bound or releasing a (man from) bondage, (and) for one binding or causing another to bind a child that has not attained majority, the fine shall be one thousand *panas*.
- 20 Special fines should be imposed according to the special nature of men and offences.
- 21 The head of a religious order, an ascetic, a sick person, one exhausted by hunger, thirst or journey, a foreigner, one groaning under a fine, and an indigent person should be shown leniency.
- 22 The judges themselves shall look into the affairs of gods, Brahmins, ascetics, women, minors, old persons, sick persons, who are helpless, when these do not approach (the court), and they shall not dismiss (their suits) under the pretext of place, time or (adverse) possession.
- 23 And men are to be honoured on account of excellence in learning, intellect, valour, noble birth and deeds.
 - 24 In this way the judges should look into affairs, without resorting to deceit, being impartial to all beings, worthy of trust and beloved of the people.

Herewith ends the Third Book of the Arthasastra of Kautilya 'Concerning the Judges'

bhresayatah, i.e., for causing harm to him, either physically or materially. — sahaprasthāyişu: these are other members of the caravan who have acquiesced in the leader's action.

- 19 Compare 3.17.10 above.
- 20 purușaviseșa and aparādhaviseșa are to be understood. The former are mentioned in what follows.
- 21 tīrthakaraḥ seems to be 'the head of a religious order,' rather than 'a pilgrim., Cb renders it by dānašīla 'a charitable person.' tirojanapadaḥ: cf. 2.34.4. Cb seems to have read vrddhaḥ before vyādhitaḥ. dandakhedin: danda seems to refer to fines, rather than physical punishment, though that is not unlikely
- 22 anāthānām: this qualifies the preceding compound as in 2.1.26. atihareyuh: cf. 4.9.15.
 - 28 This is a direction to the judges concerning persons appearing before them
 - 24 bhāveṣu, i.e., towards beings or persons.

BOOK FOUR

THE SUPPRESSION OF CRIMINALS

CHAPTER ONE

SECTION 76 KEEPING A WATCH OVER ARTISANS

- 1 Three magistrates, (all) three (of the rank of) ministers, shall carry out the suppression of criminals.
- 2 Employers of artisans capable of making good an article, those good at entrusting material, (and) artisans working with their own capital should accept entrusted material with the guarantee of the

The Fourth Book deals with criminal offences of various kinds. kantaka 'a thorn' refers to criminals who are thorns in the side of the body politic. These include thieves, dacoits, murderers etc. as well as artisans, craftsmen, traders and others who cheat the public. Only Manu, 9.253-293, among the Smṛtis, has a rambling discussion on some of these topics. Yājňavalkya gives many of these rules under steya, sāhasa or saṅgrahaṇa, i.e., under the regular vyavahārapadas.

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For rakşana 'guarding against, keeping a watch over,' cf. 1.17 above.

- 1 pradeṣṭāraḥ: as is clear from the contents of this Book these officers are principally magistrates who punish criminals. They are also concerned with the investigation of crimes. As 2.35.7 shows they are also authorized to enforce payment of state dues. That they are subordinate to the samāhartṛ is clear from 4.4.1, 4.5.13 as well as from 2.35.7. trayo 'mātyāḥ: see 3.1.1 above.
- 2 arthyapratīkārāh is obscure. Meyer renders it by 'who can make good anything connected with the object entrusted.' That appears possible, though not very satisfactory. Cb Cs read arthyaprakārāh and explain 'whose nature (prakāra in the sense of svabhāva) is honest.' Breloer renders that reading by 'people from the class of the rich' (KSt, III, 372). This sense, or the meaning of arthyapratīkārāh as understood by Meyer, would appear suitable, if the expression is understood as descriptive of kārušāsitārah. These are apparently 'employers of artisans,' i.e., some sort of master-arisans with assistants working under them.— samnikṣeptārah: understood literally, this means 'who are good entrusters of materials'; that would be a description of the customers, not of the artisans. Since, however, the predicate is nikṣepam grhnīyuh, the expression must be interpreted so as to describe artisans. We may understand some sort of middlemen, who receive material from customers and then entrust the work to artisans. In that case, the expression may be understood as a further description of kārušāsitārah.—

- guild. 3 In case of death, the guild shall be responsible for the entrusted material.
- 4 And they shall carry out the work with the place, time and (nature of the) work stipulated, without stipulation as to place or time if the nature of the work can be pointed out (as the reason). 5 For exceeding the time-limit, (there shall be) a reduction in the wage by one quarter and double that as fine. 6 They shall be liable for what is lost or destroyed except in case of deterioration or a sudden calamity. 7 For carrying out a work otherwise than as ordered, (there shall be) loss of wage and double that as fine.
- 8 Weavers shall increase yarn to the extent of eleven (palas) from ten. 9 For diminution in increase, the fine shall be double the diminution.
- 10 The wage for weaving (shall be equal to) the value of the yarn, one and a half times in the case of kṣauma and kauśeya, double in the case of patrornā, blankets and dukūla.
- 11 For shortness in measure, (there shall be) a reduction in wage equal to (the value of) the short measure and double that as fine, for short weight the fine (shall be) four times the deficiency, for change of yarn (the fine shall be) double its value. 12 By that is explained the weaving of double cloth.

svavittakāravaḥ appears to refer to artisans who work on their own and deal directly with customers; they have started their workshop with their own capital. Cb seems to explain the word as follows 'those who treat other people's gold (with the same care) as their own gold.' — śreṇīpramāṇāḥ, i.e., with the guild standing guarantee for the artisan's reliability and honesty. This would seem applicable to all the earlier cases or at least to the last case of svavittakāravaḥ. Cb Cs understand all five expressions as describing different traits which are necessary in an artisan. But it is doubtful if one and the same artisan can be described as kārušāsitṛ and svavittakāru at the same time. Breloer finds in the expressions five different categories of artisans. That appears doubtful at least in the case of śreṇīpramāṇāḥ, which has to be understood of svavittakāravaḥ. It seems that only two classes are meant, kārušāsitāraḥ and svavittakāravaḥ. 3 vipattau, i.e., in case the artisan dies. Cf. s. 56 below and 3.19.15 for this sense.

- 4 Sec. 2.14.2, which shows that -kālam kāryāpadeśam is necessary. 5 Cf. 2.14.4. 6 Cf. 3.12.23. 7 Cf. 2.14.8.
- 8 daśaikādaśikam, i.e., the ten palas of yarn are expected to yield eleven palas of cloth; the addition would come from the sizing material used. 9 chedadvigunah, i.e., double the value of the short weight in cloth. Meyer, who does not read the stop after dandah, includes sūtramūlyam and vānavetanam also in the fine. That is quite unlikely.
- 12 dvipaṭavānam, i.e., weaving with a double yarn. For other kinds of weaves, see 2.11.105.

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- 18 In one tulā of wool, a reduction in carding to the extent of five palas (is allowed), and (the same amount of) reduction in the hair (when carded).
- 14 Washermen shall wash garments on wooden boards or smooth slabs of stone. 15 Those washing on anything else shall pay for damage to garments and a fine of six panas.
- 16 (Washermen) wearing a garment other than one marked with the sign of the club shall pay a fine of three panas. 17 For selling, hiring out or pledging the garments of others the fine shall be twelve panas, for change of garment (the fine shall be) double the price and the return of the garment.
- 18 They shall return a garment, which is white like a bud, which is cleansed on a slab of stone, which has the colour of washed yarn, and which is bleached white, after one day increased successively by one day. 19 One with a light red colour (may be returned) after five days, one dyed blue after six days, a precious garment dyed in (saffron) flower, lac-juice or mañjisthā the treatment of which is arduous and which has to be worked upon with great care, after seven days. 20 After that they shall lose their wage. 21 In cases of dispute concerning dyeing, trustworthy experts shall fix the wage.
- 22 For the most precious (garments) the wage (shall be) one paṇa, for middling one half, for lowest one-quarter, for rough (garments) one māṣaka or two māṣakas, double for dyed (garments).
- 23 At the first washing there is a loss of one-fourth (of the value of the garment), at the second of one-fifth. 24 By that are explained later (losses in value).
 - 25 By washermen are explained tailors.
- 13 ürnātulāyāh: a tulā is a weight of one hundred palas; see 2.19.21.—
 romacchedas ca: as 2.11.101 shows, the hair of animals were used for making rugs etc.
 The loss would occur during carding and spinning rather than during weaving (as in Cs). It would have been better if we had romatulāyās ca instead.
- 16 mudgarānkād anyad etc.: it is the washermen's own clothes that are to carry the mark. The emblem may stand for the club used for beating the clothes during the washing operations.
- 18 mukulāvadātam: this and the following expressions seem to convey four kinds of whiteness each succeeding one brighter than the preceding one, washermen being allowed 1, 2, 3 and 4 days respectively for producing the different grades of whiteness. 19 pañcarātrikam tanurāgam: the dyeing operation makes a longer period necessary. guruparikarma 'the treatment of which (dyeing) is heavy, i.e., long and arduous (e.g., printing in various colours etc.)'
- 23 pañcabhāgah, i.e., '1/5th of 3/4ths' (Cb Cs). It may also mean 1/5th in addition to the 1/4th of the original price. 24 uttaram, i.e., 1/6th at the third washing and so on.

- 26 For goldsmiths purchasing silver (or) gold in the same form from the hands of a disreputable person without informing (state officers) the fine is twelve panas, if in a changed form twenty-four panas, if from the hands of a thief forty-eight panas. 27 In cases of purchase at a low price in secret or what is changed in appearance there shall be the punishment for theft, also in case of deceit in the article manufactured.
- 28 For (the goldsmith) stealing one māṣaka from one suvarṇa (of gold) the fine shall be two hundred paṇas, for stealing one māṣaka from one dharaṇa of silver twelve paṇas. 29 By that are explained higher (values).
- 30 For one securing an (artificial) enhancement of colour or practising removal or mixture (with base metals), the fine shall be five hundred panas. 31 In case of fraud in connection with these two (metals), he shall treat it as (a case of) removal of colour.
- 32 One māṣaka is the wage for one dharaṇa of silver, one-eighth part (of a paṇa) for one suvarṇa (of gold). 33 In accordance with special skill, the wage may be increased to double. 34 By that are explained further rates.
- 35 In the case of copper, steel, bell-metal, vaikrntaka and brass, the wage is five (panas) per hundred (palas).
- 25 Only a few of the above rules would apply to tailors, perhaps ss. 17-20 with modifications.
- 26 aśwci is a disreputable person with a suspicious character rather than a slave, labourer etc. (as in Cb Cs). rūpyam swarnam: it seems that we should read rūpyaswarnam as in 2.14.1. Ornaments of silver and gold are thought of. anā-khyāya: the information is apparently to be given to the sawarnika of 2.14. The pradeṣṭr also may have been meant. 27 pracchanna- etc.: Meyer has 'in secret, in a changed form or at a low price,' i.e., three ideas. Cs has 'at a low price what is secretly changed.' It seems, however, that pracchanna and virūpa are unrelated to each other, but mūlyahīnakraya is to be understood of both.
 - 28 For the weights mentioned see 2.19.2-6.
- 30 varnotkarṣam refers to an artificial glitter given to gold and silver ornaments. apaṣāraṇam is proposed in accordance with a suggestion by Meyer for apaṣāraṇām of the mss. and aṣārāṇām of Cb Cs. apaṣāraṇa is described at length in 2.14.20-24. Cb understands aṣāra in the sense of an inferior alloy; this is given a polish (varnotkarṣa) to make it appear as gold or silver; or it is mixed with gold or silver (yoga). This explanation also appears possible. 31 tayoh, i.e., of gold and silver. rāgaṣya apaḥāram: as 4.4.22 shows, this is a very serious offence. It would seem then that apacaraṇa implies a complete substitution of gold or silver by a base metal.
- 32 aṣṭabhāgaḥ is one-eighth of a paṇa, not of a māṣaka (as in Cs Meyer). Ch understands one-eighth of a gold māṣaka. No such coin is known to the text.

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36 A lump of copper has a loss of one-tenth part (in working).

37 In case of reduction to the extent of one pala (beyond this), the fine shall be double the (value of the) loss. 38 By that are explained further cases. 39 A lump of lead or tin has a reduction of one-tight part of the part of the last of the wage for one pala of it.

twentieth part. 40 And one $k\bar{a}kan\bar{i}$ is the wage for one pala of it. 41 A lump of iron has a reduction of one-fifth. 42 And two $k\bar{a}kan\bar{i}$ s is the wage for one pala of it. 43 By that are explained

further cases.

44 For the Examiner of Coins rejecting an established currency of paṇas which does not deserve to be rejected or not rejecting one deserving to be rejected the fine is twelve paṇas. 45 The currency of paṇas is effective when cleared of the payment of surcharge. 46 For one accepting one māṣaka on a paṇa (sent into circulation) the fine is twelve paṇas. 47 By that are explained further cases.

- 48 For one causing a counterfeit coin to be made or receiving it or sending it into circulation the fine is one thousand *panas*, for inserting it in the treasury (the penalty is) death.
- 49 Attendants and dust-washers should receive one-third of articles of high value (found by them), the king two-thirds and gems (when found). 50 For stealing a gem, (the punishment is) the highest fine (for violence).
- 51 In cases of information about mines, gems and buried treasure, the informant shall receive one-sixth part, one-twelfth part (if he be) a servant (of the state). 52 A treasure-trove over one hundred thousand (paṇas) shall go to the king. 53 If less, he shall give one-sixth part (to the finder). 54 A native of the land, who is
- 41 kālāyasa is not mentioned in the Chapter on metals, 2.12, but is known to the text; cf. 3.17.7.
- 44 $r\bar{u}padarśaka$: see 2.12.25. $akopy\bar{a}m$: the root kup in the causal has the sense of 'to cause to be shaken, to disturb,' i.e., to find fault with, to reject. 45 $vy\bar{a}j\bar{i}$: this is 5% as laid down in 2.12.26. It seems that the $r\bar{u}pika$ of 8% and the $p\bar{u}r\bar{i}ksika$ of 1/8% mentioned there are also to be understood. 46 $pan\bar{a}n$ $m\bar{a}sakam$ $upaj\bar{v}atah$: this appears to be a bribe of one $m\bar{a}saka$ for every pana certified. The trader pays 1/16th, i.e., 6½% and escapes 5 plus 8 plus 1/8, i.e., 18½%. Cb Cs think that it is the $laksan\bar{a}dhyaksa$ who misappropriates a $m\bar{a}sa$ of silver from 1 pana at the time of minting. That officer, however, is not mentioned here. Moreover, that would be a counterfeit coin for making which the fine is very heavy (s. 48).
- 49 caraka- is proposed in conformity with 2.13.33. Cf. Breloer, III, 370 n.8. Cb Cs read saraka which means 'a jewel.' That meaning does not fit in the context. The actual comment in Cb contains no reference to any jewel.
- 53 sastham amsam dadyāt: according to Cs it is the finder who gives one-sixth to the king. That is due to Yāj. 2.85. But Yāj. presupposes that the treasure-trove belongs to the finder, which is not the case here. 54 svakaraņena: cf.

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upright, shall receive the entire treasure-trove buried by his fore-fathers after producing proof of ownership. 55 In the absence of proof of ownership, the fine is five hundred (panas), one thousand for appropriating it secretly.

- 56 For the physician undertaking treatment involving danger to life without informing (the authorities), the fine is the lowest fine for violence in case of death, the middle fine in case of death through a mistake in treatment. 57 In case of injury to a vital part or causing a deformity, the (magistrate) shall treat it as (a case of) physical injury.
- 58 Actors shall live in one place during the rainy season. 59 They shall avoid excessive gifts of love by one person and excessive praise of one. 60 For transgression of that, the fine is twelve panas. 61 They may, at will, entertain by making fun of the (customs of) countries, castes, families, schools and love-affairs.
- 62 By actors are explained wandering minstrels and mendicants.
 63 For them the punishment shall be as many lashes with the whip as the number of panas the (judges) may pronounce as the fine, to be inflicted with an iron rod (i.e., mercilessly).
- 64 In the case of the remaining kinds of work, he shall lay down wages for artists in accordance with what they produce.

2.36.7; 3.1.15 etc. — Manu (8.35-37) allows only the Brahmin to take the whole; the rest are to give one-sixth to the state.

57 marmavadhavaigunyakarana may be understood as a single idea 'causing a physical deformity through injury to a vital part' or as two separate ideas, marmavadha and vaigunyakarana. -vedha (Cb Cs) for vadha- is perhaps better. — dandapāruṣyam vidyāt, i.e., the punishments of 3.19.12-14 would operate.

58 This is in order to prevent their disturbing agricultural operations (Cs). Cf. 2.1.34. 59 kāmadānam: this would be received by the kušīlavas from some patron, hardly given by them to some one. 60 dvādašaguņo of the mss. would apply to kāmadāna, but not to ativāda. We should read dvādašapaņo with Cb. 61 The mss. read -avabhāsena; Meyer's suggestion to read -avahāsena is adopted as being preferable to it. Cb Cs read -apahāne 'by avoiding (the ridicule of).' In 3.18.8 we have upavāda 'reviling' which is different from avahāsa 'joking about, making fun of 'here. And the form apahāna is not convincing.

63 ayaḥśūlena 'with an iron rod '; but since śiphā is there, this has to be understood figuratively. Cf. āyaḥśūlika in Kāvyaprakāśa, 10. Cb explains 'if any one pierces the vitals of kuśilavas and cāraṇas and takes money from them he is to be punished with lashes.' This is doubtful. Cs has 'in case they wound the feeling punished with like piercing the vitals with an iron dart,' which seems little of others which is like piercing the vitals with an iron dart,'

64 The idea seems to be that in the case of the work of artisans not mentioned in the Chapter, their remuneration should be fixed in accordance with the type of work they do. Cs has sesa as 'additional work' for which remuneration is to be according to work done. This meaning for sesa seems hardly likely. According to according to work done. This meaning for sesa seems hardly likely. According to Breloer (III, 370 n. 2) we should read a ca after karmanām and understand 'for the

KAUŢILĪYA ARTHAŚĀSTRA

65 In this manner the (king) should prevent thieves who are not known as thieves such as traders, artisans, actors, mendicants, jugglers and others from oppressing the country.

CHAPTER TWO

4. 1. 65

SECTION 77 KEEPING A WATCH OVER TRADERS

1 The Superintendent of Markets should set up the pledging or sale of old wares which are furnished with proof of ownership in the market-place. 2 And he should inspect the weights and measures because of (likely) fraud in the standard of weights and measures.

3 In the case of the parimānī and the drona, half a pala less or more is no offence. 4 For one pala less or more the fine is twelve panas. 5 By that is explained the increase in fine for each successive pala. 6 In the case of a tulā, one karṣa less or more is no offence. 7 For two karṣas less or more the fine is six paṇas. 8 By that is explained the increase in fine for each successive karṣa. 9 In the case of an āḍhaka, half a karṣa less or more is no offence. 10 For one karṣa less or more the fine is three paṇas. 11 By that is explained the increase in fine for each successive karṣa. 12 From this, he should

classes of artisans not mentioned in this Chapter, the wages should be as given to artists.' He adds that artists (silpin) do not belong to this Chapter and artisans not mentioned here should be treated like artists, i.e., their wages are not fixed by rules, but according to the object. It is not certain that such a distinction between two sets of artisans is really intended. What seems meant is only that artists' wages depend on the type of work they do.

65 Breloer (III, 371) considers it noteworthy that wood- and leather-workers clay-workers and house-builders are missing in this Chapter. According to his reasoning on the last s. these would be treated on a par with artists. It is likely that these are not mentioned because fraud or cheating is not measurable in their case, also because their misdemeanour does not quite constitute a social crime. The fact that they belong to a more primitive economy seems to have little to do with their non-mention in this Chapter. — kuhaka is a 'magician' according to Cb.

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¹ samsthādhyakṣaḥ: this officer's duties are not described in the Second Book. It is not clear if he is to work under the panyādhyakṣa (2.16) who appears towards the end of this Chapter. samsthā refers to the panyasamsthā 'the market-place.'—purāṇabhāṇḍānām: this does not mean that the officer is concerned with old or second-hand goods only. He supervises the whole market, where old goods (that are likely to be stolen goods) may also be on sale. 2 pautava: see 2.19.1.

³ parimānī and drona each measures two hundred palas (2.19.17-18 and 29). So the deviation allowed is to the extent of 1/400th. 6 tulā is one hundred palas and a karşa is 1/4th of a pala (2.19.12-15 and 4); so the same deviation is allowed. 9 ādhaka is 1/4th of a drona (2.19.31).

form an estimate of (the fines for deviations in) other types of weights and measures.

- 13 For the trader, purchasing with larger weights and measures and selling with smaller ones, these same fines are to be doubled.

 14 For one robbing to the extent of one-eighth part of the price of the goods in the case of goods sold by counting, the fine is ninety-six panas.
- of wood, metal or gems, or made of ropes, leather or clay, or made of yarn, bark or hair, which is not genuine by declaring it to be genuine, the fine is eight times the price. 16 For the trader effecting the sale or pledging of an article not of high value as an article of high value or of an article not of a particular class as an article of that class or of an article which is given a false shine or in which there is fraud or the container of which is changed, the fine is fifty-four panas if the price is trifling, double if the price is one pana, two hundred (panas) if the price is two panas. 17 By that is explained the increase in fine in case of increase in price.
- 18 For artisans and artists who by conspiring together bring about a deterioration in the quality of a work or (increase in) profit or a hindrance to purchase or sale, the fine is one thousand panas.
- 19 For traders, too, who by conspiring together hold back wares or sell them at a high price, the fine is one thousand panas.
- 20 As to difference in weight or measure or difference in price or quality, for the weigher or measurer who by a trick of the hand
- 13 atiriktābhyām krītvā etc.: the purchase is made with a weight larger by more than 1/400th, while the sale is made with a weight smaller by more than 1/400th, i.e., the difference in weight is more than double the deviation allowed and therefore the fines are doubled. 14 panyamūlyesu astabhāgam: perhaps in conformity with s. 20 below, paṇamūlyesu may have been the original reading; however, we have no reference in this case to a rising scale of fines as we have there.
- 15 Yāj. 2.246 is an exact paraphrase. 16 tajjāta is 'of a particular class' rather than 'made at a particular place' (Cs Breloer). Cf. 4.6.3. samudga-parivartimam, i.e., given from a different container. The reading samutparimeaning 'changed in appearance' is less likely. Cf. Yāj. 2.247-8. hīnamālyam, i.e., valued at less than one paṇa.
- 18 kāruśilpinām etc.: evidently the sainsthādhyakṣa was also responsible for preventing craftsmen and artists whose shops were in the market from joining together for exploiting customers. Meyer thinks that traders inducing craftsmen etc. to join together may also be understood. But that does not seem right. Cf. Yāj. to join together may also be understood. But that does not seem right. Cf. Yāj. to join together may also be understood. But that does not seem right. Cf. Yāj. to join together may also be understood. But that does not seem right. Cf. Yāj. to join together may also be understood. But that does not seem right. Cf. Yāj. to join together may also be understood. But that does not seem right. Cf. Yāj. to join together may also be understood. But that does not seem right. Cf. Yāj. to join together may also be understood. But that does not seem right. Cf. Yāj. to join together may also be understood. But that does not seem right. Cf. Yāj. to join together may also be understood. But that does not seem right. Cf. Yāj. to join together may also be understood. But that does not seem right. Cf. Yāj. to join together may also be understood. But that does not seem right. Cf. Yāj. to join together may also be understood. But that does not seem right. Cf. Yāj. to join together may also be understood. But that does not seem right. Cf. Yāj. to join together may also be understood. But that does not seem right. Cf. Yāj. to join together may also be understood. But that does not seem right. Cf. Yāj. to join together may also be understood. But that does not seem right. Cf. Yāj. to join together may also be understood. But that does not seem right. Cf. Yāj. to join together may also be understood. But that does not seem right. Cf. Yāj. to join together may also be understood. But that does not seem right. Cf. Yāj. to join together may also be understood. But that does not seem right. Cf. Yāj. to join together may also be understood. But that does not seem right.
 - 19 Yaj. 2.250 is an exact reproduction.

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brings about (a difference to the extent of) one-eighth part in (an article) priced at one paṇa, the fine is two hundred (paṇas). 21 By that is explained the increase in fines by two hundred (paṇas) successively. 22 For mixing things of a similar kind with objects such as grains, fats, sugars, salts, perfumes and medicines, the fine is twelve paṇas.

- 23 The Merchant should fix, after calculating their total earnings for the day, what the (sales-agents) should live on with permission.
- What falls in between the purchaser and the seller becomes different from what is received. 25 With that they may make stores of grains and commodities, when permitted to do so. 26 The Director of Trade should confiscate what is accumulated otherwise by them.
- 20 The expression tulāmānāntaram arghavarņāntaram vā at the beginning are understood as something like adhikāraśabdas introducing the topic. This is how Cb apparently understands it. It explains antara by 'special gain (made through tulā etc.).' The two words could have been understood with astabhāgam in the s., but though the former is possible with hastadosena, it is difficult to conceive of arghāntara or varņāntara being brought about by hastadoşa. And the case of varnāntara is separately mentioned in s. 22. Cs supplies 'should be written down in a book 'after the expression, but it is not easy to see the purpose of such records. - dharakasya etc.: as Breloer (III, 396-400) says these are servants in the royal store-houses, where these offences are to be understood as being committed. Cf. 2.15.63. That explains the heavier fine. 21 dvisatottarā dandavrddhih: this may mean that in the case of an article valued at two panas, the fine is four hundred panas and so on or that if the difference is to the extent of 1/4th of the price the fine is 400 and so on (Cs). The former is obviously intended. 22 samavarnopadhāne: this literally implies mixing with goods of the same or similar quality. Meyer thinks we should read asamavarno- 'not of the same quality,' which seems supported by hinam praksipan in Yaj.'s paraphrase of this s. (2.245). But the smallness of the fine seems to indicate only a mixing with similar quality goods. The fine is prescribed because goods in royal stores are tampered with.
- 23 yan nisrstam etc.: it seems that from this s. onwards we have to think of the panyādhyakṣa as the officer concerned and not the samsthādhyakṣa. The former is mentioned in ss. 26 and 33. Moreover, upajīveyuḥ could have for its subject sales-agents, referred to as panyādhisthātāraḥ in 2.16.14-16, who work under the panyādhyakṣa. It is he who fixes their day's remuneration. vanik, therefore, seems to be the panyādhyakṣa; he is the state Trader-in-Chief as 2.16 shows.
- 24 kretrvikretor antarapatitam is an odd expression. What seems meant is 'the difference between purchases and sales,' i.e., goods remaining unsold. krayavikrayayor would have been better. ādāyādanyad 'other than, i.e., different from what is received (as commission or profit).' The idea seems to be that unsold goods cannot be treated as remuneration or profit and the agent deprived of the latter with that excuse. It must be admitted that this sense for ādāya would be unusual. It is not unlikely that ss. 24 and 25 formed a single sentence and we originally had antarapatitam ādāya yad bhavati tena dhānyapanya- etc. Cs reads adāyādanyam 'not liable to be divided among heirs (but to be taken by the king alone),' which is extremely doubtful. Meyer proposes ādāya adainyam bhavati 'no difficulty would arise by taking it,' i.e., it would be useful in times of distress. There seems little point in such a statement here. 26 anyathānicitam, e.g., by setting aside a part

27 With that he should trade when selling grains and commodities

- 28 And he should fix a profit for them of five per hundred over and above the permitted purchase-price in the case of indigenous commodities, ten (per hundred) in the case of foreign goods. 29 For those who increase the price beyond that or secure (a profit beyond that) during purchase or sale, the fine shall be two hundred paṇas for (an additional profit of) five paṇas in one hundred paṇas. 30 By that is explained the increase in fine in case of increase in price.
- 31 And in case of the joint purchase by them remaining unsold, he shall not allow another joint purchase. 32 In case of damage to commodities, he should show them favour.
- 33 If there is a glut of commodities, the Director of Trade should sell all goods in one place. 34 So long as these are unsold, others shall not sell (those goods). 35 The (agents) shall sell those for a daily wage for the benefit of the subjects.
- 36 In the case of commodities distant in place and time, however, the (Director of Trade), expert in fixing prices, shall fix the price after calculating the investment, the production of goods, duty, interest, rent and other expenses.

CHAPTER THREE

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to the advantage of the subjects.

SECTION 78 REMEDIAL MEASURES DURING CALAMITIES

1 There are eight great calamities of a divine origin: fire, floods, disease, famine, rats, wild animals, serpents and evil spirits. 2 From them he should protect the country.

of the goods given to them for selling and making up the price by charging more for the rest. 27 anugrahena prajānām: cf. 2.16.5 above.

- 28 -kraya is clearly 'purchase-price.' 20 bhāvayatām: the object is 'gain or profit.' paṇaśate pañcapaṇād, i.e., for an additional 5%.
- 31 nānyam sambhūyakrayam: Cb Cs understand 'to other merchants.' However, 'to the same merchants' is also likely. A sort of monopoly in sale is thought of here, care being taken to see that there is no cornering of the commodity.
- 33 panyabāhulyāt: Cs reads this with the preceding s.; but the construction is far from happy. The comment in Cb supports the other construction. ekamukhāni: cf. 2.16.4. 34 anye, i.e., other independent traders. 35 anugrahena prajānām: cf. s. 27 above.
- 36 The prose is to be construed with the following stanza, showing a common authorship. panyanispattim refers to the amount of goods produced. Cs has 'time taken for production.' arghavit is clearly the panyādhyakṣa, as 2.16.1-3 show. He can hardly be the sainsthādhyakṣa as Cs and Breloer think.

- 3 In summer, the villages shall do the cooking outside (the houses) or being protected by a collection of ten fire-fighting implements.
- 4 Prevention of fire is explained in 'Rules for the City Superintendent' and in connection with royal possessions in 'Rules for the Royal Residence.'
- 5 And on parvan-days, he should cause worship of the fire to be made with offerings, oblations in fire and recitals of benedictions.
- 6 In the rainy season, villages situated near water should live away from the level of the floods. 7 And they should keep a collection of wooden planks, bamboos and boats. 8 They should rescue a (person) being carried away (by the flood) by means of gourds, skinbags, canoes, tree-stems and rope-braids. 9 For those who do not go to the rescue, the fine is twelve panas, except in the case of those without canoes.
- 10 And on parvan-days he should cause worship of the rivers to be carried out. 11 Experts in the practice of magic or those versed in the Vedas should use spells against rain.
- 12 In case of drought, he should cause worship of the Lord of Saci, the Ganges, the Mountains and Mahākaccha to be made.
- 13 The calamity of disease, (magicians and others) should counteract with secret means, physicians with medicines or holy ascetics with pacificatory and expiatory rites.

4.3

The inclusion of this Chapter in this Book is rather strange. Perhaps kantaka stands for everything causing trouble to subjects. The pradestrs may be concerned with some of the measures recommended, but often the king appears to direct the operations himself.

- 3 grīṣme etc.: cf. 2.36.15-17 above. daśamūlīsamgrahena adhiṣthitāḥ: this is far from clear in meaning. The translation follows a suggestion by N. N. Law (Studies, p. 101) that daśamūlī refers to the fire-fighting tools of 2.36.18, though it must be pointed out that we have only nine objects mentioned there, not ten, since kacagrahanī is a single item, not two as Law thinks. Cb Cs read daśakulī; the idea seems to be that groups of ten families hold themselves responsible for fire in their area and that probably they kept a watch by turns while cooking was in progress. This might also appear to be a likely idea. Cb seems to imply that the gopa (in charge of ten families) is to look after the prevention of fire.
 - 4 nāgarika- etc., i.e., in 2.36.15-27 above. niśāntapraņidhau, i.e., in 1.20.4.
 - 5 parvasu, i.e., on the new moon and full moon days.
- 7 upagrhnīyuh is proposed for apa- as being necessary for sense. 8 gandikā is a tree-stem, sometimes used as an anvil; cf. 2.13.9. venikā is a rope (which has the appearance of a braid). Cf. 10.2.14. Law (Studies, p. 84) thinks that gandikā is a floating device made of the skin of a rhinoceros and that venikā is a float of reeds etc. woven together. The former at least is doubtful in this text.
 - 12 mahākaccha: see 3.16.38. According to Cb it means 'the sea.'



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- 14 By that is explained the epidemic. 15 He should cause to be instituted bathing in sacred places, worship of Mahākaccha, milking of cows in cremation grounds, burning of effigies and a night (festival in honour) of gods.
- 16 In case of disease or epidemic among cattle, he should order lustration rites in connection with the sheds and objects (connected with them) and worship of their respective deities.
- 17 During a famine, the king should make a store of seeds and food-stuffs and show favour (to the subjects), or (institute) the building of forts or water-works with the grant of food, or share (his) provisions (with them), or entrust the country (to another king). 18 Or, he should seek shelter with allies, or cause a reduction or shifting (of the population). 19 Or, he should migrate with the people to another region where crops have grown, or settle along the sea, lakes or tanks. 20 He should make sowings of grains, vegetables, roots and fruits along the water-works or hunt deer, beasts, birds, wild animals and fish.
- 21 In case of danger from rats, cats and ichneumons should be let loose. 22 For catching or killing these, the fine shall be twelve panas, also for not restraining dogs, except in the case of foresters. 23 He should strew grains smeared with the milk of snuhi-plants or such as are mixed with secret mixtures. 24 Or, he should institute a tax in rats. 25 Or, holy ascetics should perform pacificatory rites. 26 And on parvan-days, he should order worship of rats.
- 27 By that are explained remedies against danger from locusts, birds and insects.
- 13 siddhatāpasāḥ seems to convey a single idea 'ascetics who have attained siddhis.'
 - 15 mahākacchavardhanam : see 3.16.38.
- 16 sthānārtha- is proposed for sthānānyartha- of the mss. sthānāni outside the compound would be strange. sthāna by itself can hardly mean 'keeping in another place' (Cb). Meyer suggests sthānānyārtha- 'sheds and other (anya) objects,' which is doubtful. He also suggests senānyartha- or senānyarchā-, which are hardly likely. svadaivata 'i.e., Subrahmanya of elephants, Aśvinau of horses, Paśupati of cattle, Varuna of buffaloes, Vāyu of donkeys and mules, and Agni of goats' (Cb Cs).
- 17 deśanikṣepam: this amounts to entrusting the region to the care of another king who may be better placed. nikṣepa implies receiving back after a time. 18 karśana is reduction in population by inducing migration to foreign lands, while vamana is shifting population from one region to another in the kingdom itself. Cf. 2.1.1. 20 ārambhān in the context refers to hunting, catching etc.
- 22 teṣām, i.e., of cats and ichneumons. śunām: these might drive away the cats. 24 mūṣikakaram, i.e., so many dead rats as tax per head.

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- 28 In case of danger from wild animals, he should leave careasses of cattle mixed with a stupefying liquid or intestines (of cattle) filled with madana-kodrava. 29 Fowlers or hunters should busy themselves with concealed cages and pits. 30 Armoured men, weapons in hand, should kill wild animals. 31 For one not going forth to help, the fine shall be twelve panas. 32 The same shall be the reward for one slaying a wild animal. 33 And he should order the worship of mountains on parvan-days.
- 34 By that are explained remedies against herds of deer or beasts, swarms of birds and crocodiles.
- 35 In case of danger from serpents, experts in poison-cure should act with charms and medicines. 36 Or (persons) coming together should kill snakes. 37 Or, experts in the Atharvaveda lore should use magic spells. 38 And on parvan-days, he should order worship of cobras.
- 39 By that are explained remedies against danger from aquatic creatures.
- 40 In case of danger from evil spirits, experts in the Atharvaveda lore or experts in the practice of magic should perform rites for destroying evil spirits. 41 And on parvan-days, he should order worship of caitya-trees with offerings of raised platforms, umbrellas, food, small flags and goats.
- 42 In cases of all (kinds of) danger, they should make offerings day and night, saying 'We offer you the oblation.' 43 And in all cases, he should favour the stricken (subjects) like a father.
 - 44 Therefore, experts in the practice of magic, (and) holy ascetics, capable of counteracting divine calamities, should live in the kingdom, honoured by the king.
- 28 madanarasa: see 14.1.16-17. madanakodrava appears to be a poisonous variety of the kodrava grains; or kodrava grains treated with poison may be understood. 29 kūta as an adjective 'concealed' is preferable to a substantive 'a snare' (Meyer); cf. 2.3.15; 4.10.3 etc.
- 35 jāngulīvidaḥ: cf. 1.21.9 etc. 36 vāpi sarpān is proposed for vopasarpān, which is evidently corrupt.
- 41 ullopikā appears to be a kind of food, as in Cb. The Mahābhārata (5.191.21) has the form ullāpika (from lap 'address' to the spirits when offering food to them). Utpala on Bṛ. Sam. 48.28 has ullāpika, but on 46.16 ullopikā. hastapatākā is a flag carried in the hand, a small flag.
 - 42 carāmaḥ from Cb Cs seems preferable to carāmi of the mss.

CHAPTER FOUR

SECTION 79 GUARDING AGAINST PERSONS WITH SECRET (MEANS OF) INCOME

- 1 In 'Rules for the Administrator' the protection of the country has been described. 2 We shall (now) explain the weeding of thorns in that (country).
- 3 The Administrator should station in the country (secret agents) appearing as holy ascetics, wandering monks, cart-drivers, wandering minstrels, jugglers, tramps, fortune-tellers, sooth-sayers, astrologers, physicians, lunatics, dumb persons, deaf persons, idiots, blind persons, traders, artisans, artists, actors, brothel-keepers, vintners, dealers in bread, dealers in cooked meat, and dealers in cooked rice. 4 They should find out the integrity or otherwise of village-officers and heads of departments. 5 And whomsoever among these he suspects of deriving a secret income he should cause to be spied upon by a secret agent.
- 6 A secret agent should say to a judge in whom confidence is inspired by him, 'Such and such a relation of mine is accused (before you); save him in this misfortune and accept this amount.' 7 If he were to do so, he should be exiled as one given to receiving bribes.

 8 By that are explained magistrates.
- 9 A secret agent should say to a village chief or a departmental head, 'Such and such a rogue has plenty of wealth; this misfortune has befallen him; by using that, extort money from him.' 10 If he were to do so, he should be exiled as an extortioner.

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 $g\bar{u}dh\bar{a}jivin\bar{a}m$: the genitive conveys the sense of the ablative. — $raks\bar{a}$ is the same as raksana in 4.1 and 4.2 above.

- 1 samāhartrpraņidhau: the actual title of the section in 2.35 is samāhartrpracārah.
- 3 samāhartā: it is clear that this officer is ultimately responsible for the kantaka-śodhana and that the pradestrs work under him. 4 grāmānām obviously refers to officers stationed in the villages. 5 gūdhājīvinam is proposed for gūdhājīvinam in conformity with the use of the former form found throughout elsewhere; cf. 3.1.10; 3.20.2 etc., as well as the title of this section. The actual comment in Cb shows the correct form. sattrinā is proposed for sattrisavarnena of the mss. savarna 'of the same varna' has little significance in the context; and its place in the compound is also suspicious.
- 6 It is proposed to omit pradeṣṭāram vā read after dharmastham in the mss., in view of s. 8 which follows. 7 pravāsyeta: the idea is of 'exile,' not of 'execution,' in the present Chapter.
- 9 $gr\bar{a}mak\bar{u}tam$: the word does not occur elsewhere. It means probably the same as $gr\bar{a}mika$ (3.4.9) and seems to be the village headman. $\bar{a}h\bar{a}rayasva$:

- 11 Or, (an agent) pretending to be an accused should induce those, who are known to bear false testimony, with plenty of money.

 12 If they were to do so, they should be exiled as false witnesses.

 13 By that are explained those who cause false evidence to be given.
- 14 Or, if he considers any one as a user of occult means for winning love with incantations or rites with herbs or rites in cremation grounds, a secret agent should say to him, I am in love with so and so's wife, daughter-in-law or daughter; make her reciprocate my love and take this money. 15 If he were to do so, he should be exiled as a user of occult means for winning love. 16 By that are explained practisers of black magic and sorcery.
- 17 Or, if he considers any one who prepares, purchases or sells poison or who deals in medicines or food, as an administerer of poison, a secret agent should say to him, 'So and so is my enemy; bring about his death and take this money.' 18 If he were to do so, he should be exiled as a poison-giver. 19 By that is explained the dealer in stupefying mixtures.
- 20 Or, if he considers any one as an utterer of false coins, (being) a frequent purchaser of various metals and acids, of coals, bellows, pincers, vices, anvils, dies, chisels and crucibles, with indications of hands and clothes smeared with soot, ashes and smoke, (and being) possessed of blacksmith's tools, a secret agent should expose him by insinuating himself into his confidence as a pupil and by carrying on dealings with him. 21 If exposed, he should be exiled as an utterer of false coins. 22 By that is explained the remover of colour (from precious metals) and the dealer in artificial gold.
- cf. 1.6.7 etc. 10 utkocaka is one who extorts money rather than one who takes a bribe.
 - 13 -śrāvaņakārakāḥ: for śrotr 'witness' cf. 3.1.4,14 etc.
- 14 samvadana is how all mss. read the word here and in the next s., also apparently in 4.5.6, but in 4.5.1 and 4.13.28 they show samvanana. The Atharvaveda knows samvanana (6.9.3) and samvananī (a plant for winning love, 6.139.3). The Mahābhārata (3.222.56-57) shows samvanana in the critical edition, though a number of mss. have samvadana; the lexicons have samvadana. The latter from has been adopted throughout. 16 kṛtyā appears to be connected with spirits, while abhicāra is sorcery.
 - 19 madanayoga: cf. 14.1.16-17.
- 20 muṣṭikā appears to be a kind of hand-vice. bimba the 'die' from which coins are made. -samsargam is read for -samvargam in conformity with (upakarana-) samsargam in 4.6.2 and 18. samvyavahāra: cf. 1.9.3. anupravišya: cf. 1.17.39 etc. 22 rāgasyāpahartā kūṭasuvarṇavyavahārī ca: it seems that a single offender is intended, one who deals in artificial gold and robs precious metals of their genuineness. vyākhyātaḥ also implies a single individual. The ca, therefore, does not seem to be right.

23 But the thirteen (persons), having secret ways of income, when engaged in doing injury (to others), should be exiled or they shall pay a redemption-amount in accordance with the gravity of the offence.

CHAPTER FIVE

SECTION 80 DETECTION OF CRIMINALS THROUGH SECRET AGENTS IN THE DISGUISE OF HOLY MEN

- 1 After the employment of spies, (secret agents) appearing as holy men should entice criminals by means of lores favourite with criminals, (viz.,) robbers by means of charms inducing sleep, making invisible or opening doors, adulterers by love-winning charms.
- When these have been enthused (to see the power of the charms), they should take a large band of them at night and proposing to go to one village should go to another village in which men and women are prepared beforehand, and say, 'Right here you can see the power of our lore; it is difficult to go to the other village.' 3 Then opening the gates by means of a gate-opening charm, they should say, 'Enter.' 4 By means of an invisibility charm they should make the criminals go safely through the midst of wakeful guards. 5 Sending guards to sleep with a sleep-inducing charm they should cause them with their beds to be moved by the criminals. 6 With a love-winning charm they should make the criminals enjoy (harlots) appearing as other men's wives. 7 When these are convinced of the power of their lores, they should prescribe the performance of preliminary rites and so on, so that they may be recognized.

23 trayodaśa: we get the number thirteen only if we understand a single offender in s. 22. See above. — pravāsyāḥ: this again is exile, not execution, since redemption is allowed.

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māṇava 'an evil man' is a criminal, particularly a dacoit or robber. Patañjali on Pāṇini, 4.1.161, explains the formation of the word in this sense. Cf. Sten Konow, Indian Culture, III, 8.

- 1 māṇavān is proposed for māṇavā of the mss. as suggested by Meyer. The accusative as the object for pralobhayeyuh is quite necessary. The siddha agents themselves are not criminals. If they were former criminals, we should have had purāṇamāṇavā. Cb comment presupposes māṇavān. samvadana: see 4.4.14 above.
- 2 kṛtakastrīpuruṣam: Meyer proposes kṛtasamketastrīpuruṣam; that does not seem quite necessary. 7 abhijnānārtham: the idea apparently is that while engaged in the rites, the dacoits would be off their guard and hence easy to apprehend. It seems quite possible that this expression is to be construed with kṛtalakṣaṇa- etc. in the next s.

- 8 Or, they should get them to do their work in houses in which goods have been marked. 9 Or, they should get them caught in one place after winning their confidence. 10 They should get them arrested while engaged in purchasing, selling or pledging articles that are marked or when they are intoxicated with drugged liquor.
- 11 When they are arrested, he should question them concerning former offences and their associates.
- 12 Or, (secret agents) appearing as old thieves should, after winning their confidence, get thieves to do their work in the same manner and get them arrested. 13 When they are arrested, the Administrator should point them out to citizens and country people, saying, 'The king has studied the lore of catching thieves; it is under his instructions that these thieves have been caught; I shall catch others too; you should (therefore) restrain your kinsmen who may have criminal tendencies.'
- 14 And if he were to come to know through the information of the spies that some one among them has stolen a (trifle like a) yoke-pin, goad and so on, he should declare (that about) him among them, saying, 'This is the king's power.'
- 15 Old thieves, cow-herds, fowlers and hunters, winning the confidence of forest thieves and foresters, should induce them to attack caravans, herds or villages with plenty of articles made of artificial gold and forest produce. 16 When the attack is made, they should get them killed by concealed soldiers or through provisions for the journey mixed with stupefying liquids. 17 (Or,) they should get them arrested while sleeping after being tired by a long journey carrying a heavy load of stolen goods or when they are intoxicated by drugged liquor at festive parties.
 - 18 And having caught them, the Administrator should show them as before (to the people), causing a proclamation of the king's omniscience to be made among the inhabitants of the kingdom.

- 11 pūrvāpadāna: see 2.36.36; 3.12.35 etc.
- 14 pratyādiśet : cf. 1.11.4.

⁹ anupravisiā in the nominative is proposed as suggested by Meyer in place of the accusative in the mss., in view of the usual sense of this word. Cf. ss. 12 and 15 below. — The s. is misplaced; it may be read after s. 7. For, ss. 8 and 10 go together.

¹⁶ pathyadanena is read in conformity with the reading in 2.16.24 above. All mss. read here pathyādanena, as all read pathyadānena in 7.17.59.

¹⁸ sarvajña- stands for savarjñatva-. Cf. 1.8.6 for a similar use.

CHAPTER SIX

SECTION 81 ARREST ON SUSPICION, WITH THE (STOLEN) ARTICLE AND BY (INDICATIONS OF) THE ACT

- 1 After the practices of holy men comes (the topic of) arrest on suspicion, with the article and because of the act.
- 2 He should suspect as being either a murderer, or a thief, or one living on a secret income by appropriating buried treasure or entrusted article or through employment by enemies (the following persons, viz.,) one whose inheritance and family (income) are exhausted, one with a small wage, one falsely declaring his country, caste, family, name or occupation, one whose profession or work is hidden, one addicted to meat, wine, eating of food, perfumes, garlands, clothes and ornaments, one who spends lavishly, one addicted to prostitutes, gambling or drinking in bars, one travelling frequently, one whose stay and departure are unknown, one moving at an odd time in a solitary place or a forest or a house-garden, one holding long consultations and meeting frequently in a secret place or in a place with a (likely) victim, one secretly getting treatment for recently inflicted wounds, one always staying inside the house, one proceeding (stealthily?), one devoted to a beloved, one making frequent inquiries about other people's possessions (such as) women, goods or houses, one in possession of tools of a condemned occupation or lore, one moving stealthily in the shadow of walls at an odd hour of the night, one selling at an improper place and time goods that are changed in appearance, one who entertains a feeling of hostility, one with a low occupation or caste concealing his appearance, one, not a monk, having the marks of a monk, or a monk with a different mode of life, one who had formerly committed an offence, one shown up by his own deeds, one who, at the sight of the City-Superintendent or

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 $r\bar{u}pa$ refers to the stolen article found with a person. karma is the act of theft.

- 1 siddhaprayogād ūrdhvam: the succession is of topics only. The siddhas have nothing to do with the contents of this Chapter.
- 2 -sthānagamanam: paṇya found in the mss. at the end of this compound is dropped as in Cb Cs. It does not go well with sthāna and gamana. -pratī-kārakārayitāram is proposed for pratīkārayitāram, in conformity with 2.36.10 above. abhyadhigantāram is uncertain in meaning. Cb explains 'one suddenly turning aside when some person is coming towards him.' Cs follows. It may also mean 'one who stealthily approaches other people or their houses.' kutsita-karmašāstropa-: Cs has -śastra- for -śāstra-. Cb comment presupposes śastra. However, kutsita seems more likely of a lore such as magic than of a weapon. hīnakarmajātim vigūhamānarāpam: the expressions may be understood together or separately. lingin is one who has the marks of a monk. pūrvakṛtā-padānam; cf. 4.8.26 etc. svakarmabhir apadiṣṭam: this person is not caught

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a big officer, conceals himself, runs away, sits without breathing, becomes agitated or has his voice and complexion of the face dry and changed, (and) one shying at a crowd of men carrying weapons in hand. Thus ends (the topic of) arrest on suspicion.

- 3 As to arrest with the article, however, what is lost or stolen and is not found, he should communicate to those who deal in wares of that class. 4 If they, on coming by the article communicated, were to conceal it, they shall be liable for the offence of being accessories. 5 If they are ignorant about it, they shall be acquitted on giving up the article. 6 And they shall not pledge or sell old wares without informing the Market Superintendent.
- 7 If the article about which information has been given is found, he should question the person arrested with the article concerning its acquisition 'Whence did you get this?' 8 If he were to plead 'I got it in inheritance, obtained it as a gift, purchased it, got it made, (or) received it as a secret pledge from so and so; this is the place and time of its acquisition; this is its price, quantity, marks and value,' he shall be acquitted on his (statements about the) acquisition being corroborated. 9 If the person who lost the article were also to prove the same, he shall hold the article as belonging to him whose possession of it was earlier and long or whose title is clear. 10 For, even among quadrupeds and bipeds there is a similarity in appearance and marks; how much more then would it be in the case of forest produce, ornaments and (other) articles produced from material from the same source and by the same manufacturer?
- 11 If he were to plead 'This is a borrowed or hired article, a pledge, a trust, a deposit or goods given for sale on agency basis, belonging to so and so,' he shall be acquitted on corroboration by the person

in the act; only his actions in general are suspicious. — nāgarikamahāmātradarśane is to be understood right up to -mukhavarṇam. — -paraprayoga seems to mean 'employment by the enemy (as an agent).' Cb Cs read varaprayoga. Cb has 'sastrayukta, armed'; it is not unlikely that this is corrupt for satruprayukta. Cs explains 'use of a weapon in consequence of anger (vara, i.e., krodha).' This latter is doubtful. — apahāra and prayoga are the means of gūḍha ājīva or 'secret income.'

- 4 sācivyakara 'one who renders help,' an associate. 5 Cf. 3.16.13. 6 Cf. 4.2.1.
- 7 For this passage, cf. 3.16.12 ff. 8 ādhipracchannam seems to mean 'concealed as a pledge,' i.e., a secret pledge. This is distinguished from āhitaka 'a thing pledged' of s. 11 below. upasamprāpteh is an emendation of Meyer for upasamprāptah; the genitive is quite necessary. argha is the price fixed for sale, while mālya is its cost price. 9 For deśa 'title, proof of ownership', cf. 3.16.29. 10 It seems better to understand ekayoni with dravya and eka alone with kartr.

11 vaiyāvrtyakarma: for sales-agents, see 3.12.25 ff. — apasāra: see 3.16.15. 12 upalinganam: cf. 3.12.51; 3.13.37. It primarily means 'a sign

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proving his innocence. 12 If that person were to say 'It is not so,' the person arrested with the article shall justify the reason for the other person giving it, the reason for his accepting it or get the indications corroborated by the giver, the one who causes to give, the recorder, the receiver and those who have witnessed or heard (the transaction).

13 In the case of an (article) that is left, has disappeared (or) run away and is (afterwards) found, (there shall be) clearance (from guilt) by proof concerning place, time and acquisition. 14 If not cleared, he shall pay that and as much again as fine. 15 Otherwise, he shall be liable to punishment for theft. Thus ends (the topic of) arrest with the article.

16 As to arrest because of the act, however, in the case of a house that has been robbed, entry or exit otherwise than by a door, the piercing of the door with a hole or by uprooting, the breaking of a latticed window or eaves of an upper chamber, the crumbling of a wall while climbing up or descending, or the digging up (of the ground) as a means of burying or robbing objects secretly, he should hold (these) as committed by one inside the house, if (things stolen) could be known through information supplied, and if the cutting, the rubbish, the breaking and the tools are on the inside. 17 In the reverse case (he should hold these) as committed by an outsider, if (these are) on both sides as committed by both (inmates and outsiders).

18 If the offence is committed by an insider, he should examine a man closely related, who may be addicted to vice, may have ruthless associates or may be in possession of a thief's tools, or a woman from

or indication that proves something.' In the next s., it refers to proof or production of proof. — $d\bar{a}yakad\bar{a}paka$ - etc.: in 2.7.31 some of these terms are used in connection with receipts in the treasury. — upadrastrbhir is an emendation suggested by Meyer for upadestrbhir. That it is necessary is shown by 3.11.31. upadestr can hardly mean 'one who dictates to the writer' (Cs). Cb seems to understand 'one who tells the person that the object is in his possession.'

13 upalinganena: see s. 12 above. 15 anyathā: the difference between this case and that in the last s. seems to be that in this case, the person cannot plead any excuse, howsoever invalid, for the possession of the object.

16 sandhinā bijena vā vedham: since vedha 'piercing' implies the idea of making an opening, sandhi and bīja are obviously means to that end. sandhi seems to be 'making a hole,' but bīja is uncertain; it may signify 'uprooting.' Cb seems to understand the removal of some sort of a wooden latch for opening the door. Cs renders sandhi by 'surungā, underground tunnel,' which is doubtful; its explanation of bīja by 'vedhasādhana' is not helpful. Meyer's 'at the joints (sandhi) or at the hinges (bīja)' is possible; but the locative would have been preferable to the instrumental in that case. Besides, for sandhi as 'making a hole, or, a hole,' cf. the Mṛcchakaṭika, Act 3. — upadesopalabhyam: this and the next clause are the only indications of the effort being made from the inside. — abhyantaragoes with each of cheda, utkara, parimarda and upakaraṇa.

an indigent family or attached to another (man), or an attendant of a similar conduct, who is sleeping excessively, overpowered by sleep, agitated, with voice and face dry and changed, restless, prattling too much, with limbs stiffened by climbing high up, with body or clothes cut, crushed, broken or torn, with hands and feet having scars or stiffened, with hair and nails full of dust or with hair and nails cut and bent, or who is thoroughly bathed and anointed, with limbs rubbed with oil, or with hands and feet just washed, whose foot-prints are similar to those (found) in dust or wet surfaces, or who has flowers, wine, perfumes, bits of cloth, unguents or perspiration similar to those (found) at the entrance and exit. 19 He should hold (him) to be a thief or an adulterer.

20 The magistrate, along with the village and divisional officers, should make a search for thieves outside, and the City-Superintendent (should do it) inside the fort, according to indications (just) mentioned.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SECTION 82 INQUEST ON SUDDEN DEATHS

- 1 He shall examine a (person) dying suddenly, after smearing (the body) with oil.
- 2 (One) with urine and ordure thrown out, with the skin of the abdomen filled with wind, with swollen hands and feet, with eyes open, with marks on the throat, he should hold as killed through the stopping of breathing by strangulation. 3 The same, with arms and thighs contracted, he should hold as slain by hanging.
- 4 (One) with hands, feet and abdomen swollen, with eyes sunk in, with the navel turned out, he should hold as impaled.
- 18 tadvidhācāram, i.e., vyasaninam etc. samrabdha means 'swollen,' also 'stiffened'; the latter seems preferable, for śūna is used for 'swollen' in the next Chapter. Cb has 'sprained.' vilūnabhugnakešanakham: bhugna 'bent, curved' does not seem quite appropriate with hair or nails; perhaps bhagna is to be read, vilūna going with keša and bhagna with nakha. Cb's explanation is 'worn out, cut,' which seems to presuppose bhagna. 19 pāradārikam: the adulterer may also break into a house like a thief.
- 20 sagopasthānikaḥ: cf. 2.35.1-6 above. nirdiṣṭahetubhiḥ refers to the indications mentioned in this Chapter for arrest on suspicion etc.

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1 tailābhyaktam: this is in order that injuries, swellings, etc. may become clear. — parīkṣeta: it may be presumed that the inquests were held by the pradeṣṭṛṣ in the country and by the nāgarika in the city, as suggested by 4.6.20.

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- 5 (One) with the anus and eyes closed, with the tongue bitten, with the belly swollen, he should hold as dead by (drowning in) water.
- 6 (One) bespattered with blood, with limbs broken or dislocated, he should hold as slain with sticks or stones.
- 7 (One) with limbs shattered and burst, he should hold as hurled down (from a height).
- 8 (One) with dark hands, feet, teeth and nails, with loose flesh, hair of the body and skin, with the mouth covered with foam, he should hold as killed by poison. 9 The same, with bloody marks of bite, he should hold as killed by a snake or an insect.
- 10 (One) with clothes and limbs thrown about, with excessive vomiting and motions, he should hold as killed by a stupefying mixture.
- 11 He should find out if the (person) is killed in one of these ways or, if after being killed, he is hanged or has his throat cut, through fear of punishment.
- 12 He should examine through birds the remainder of the meal of one (suspected of being) killed by poison. 13 Or, if what is taken from the heart and thrown in fire produces a crackling sound and becomes rainbow-coloured, he should hold that as poisoned, or if he sees the heart not burning when the body is cremated.
- 14 He should seek his servant who may have received a severe verbal or physical injury (at the hands of the deceased), or a woman
- 4 avaropitam: this is uncertain in meaning. Cb Cs have 'impaled'; for that aropita would be expected. Meyer has 'choked with a gag.' The former meaning may be accepted.
- 5 nistabdha: Cs has 'come out, protruding'; Meyer 'pressed, closed.' The latter seems more likely. The word also means 'paralysed.'
- 6 käşthair asmabhir vä from G_1 Cb seems preferable to käşthai rasmibhir vä of the other mss. For, breaking or dislocation of limbs is more likely with stones than with ropes.
 - 10 madanayoga : see 14.1.16-17.
- 11 udbandhanikṛttakaṇṭham: it seems necessary to read udbaddha here as a participle rather than udbandha as a noun which cannot be properly construed with the other words in the compound. The idea is that the murderer makes it appear as a case of suicide either by hanging or by cutting the throat.
- 12 vayobhih: see 1.20.7-8. 13 hrdayād: Meyer understands this to refer to the 'stomach.' But that does not seem necessary. The heart also would be affected.
- 14 There can be no doubt about vāgdandapārusyātilabdham being the original reading. Cs renders atilabdha by 'oppressed'; its literal meaning 'who has received in excess or severely' is also conceivable. dāyavṛtti- is proposed for dāyanivṛtti- of the mss., as indicated by strīdravyavṛttikāmo vā in Yāj. 2.281. dāyanivṛtti can

stricken with grief or attached to another, or a kinsman coveting inheritance, livelihood or a woman.

- 15 He should investigate the same in the case of one (suspected of being) hanged after being murdered. 16 Or, in the case of one who has hanged himself, he should find out (if) any improper wrong (has been done to him).
- 17 In the case of all, an offence concerning a woman or property, rivalry in profession, hostility towards a rival, or association in a market place, or one of the heads of dispute in a law-court is an occasion for anger. 18 Murder is caused by anger.
- 19 He should investigate, through those proximate, the murder of (a person, whether he is) killed by (some persons) themselves or through agents appointed, or by thieves for the sake of money, or by enemies of some one else because of similarity. 20 He should question him by whom he had been called, with whom he had stayed or gone, or by whom he was brought to the place of murder. 21 And he should question those moving near him at the place of murder, each one separately, 'Who brought him here? Who killed him? Did you see any one with a weapon in hand or hiding himself or agitated?' 22 As they might reply, so should he question (further).
 - 23-24 Observing the objects used on the person of the helpless (deceased), his belongings, clothes, dress or ornaments, he should question those who deal in those articles, concerning their meeting (with him), their residence, the reason for their stay, their occupation and dealings, and then carry on the investigation.
 - 25-26 If a person, under the influence of passion or anger, or a woman infatuated by sin, were to kill himself (or herself) by means of a rope, a weapon or poison, he should cause them to be

hardly mean 'reversion of inheritance (on somebody's death) '(Cs). Cb has no explanation of nivṛṭṭi. — For abhi-man 'to covet, entertain a longing for,' ef. 1.6.5 etc.

- 15 hatodbaddhasya for hatodbandhasya of the mss. is found, in Cb. The dot indicating a double conjunct in a ms. is often mistaken for an anusvāra. 16 viprakāram: this wrong might have been the cause of the suicide.
- 17 panyasamsthāsamavāyah: Cb has 'disputes in trade and disputes about importance in partnerships' as two things. Cs follows with 'trade (by fraud etc.) and forming groups by violating seniority (samavāya).' This is doubtful. Either association or partnership in trade or rivalry in the market as a single idea seems meant.
 - 19 ādista ' ordered, ' i.e., commissioned or hired to do the murder.
- 28 vesam, as distinguished from vastram, seems to imply some special dress. 24 samyogam nivāsam etc.: these are those of the dealers, rather than those of the deceased.

dragged with a rope on the royal highway by a Candala; there is to be no cremation-rite for them nor obsequies by kinsmen.

- 27 If, however, some kinsman were to perform for them the rites in connection with the dead, he should meet with the same fate afterwards, or should be abandoned by his relations.
- 28 A person having dealings with an outcast loses caste himself after one year, by sacrificing for them, by teaching them or by entering into marriage relations with them; so does another having dealings with these.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SECTION 83 INVESTIGATION THROUGH INTERROGATION AND THROUGH TORTURE

1 In the presence of the robbed person and of witnesses, external and internal, he should question the accused about his country, caste, family, name, occupation, wealth, associates and residence. 2 And he should compare these with statements (of others). 3 Then he should question him concerning his movements on the previous day, and place of stay during the night up to the time of arrest. 4 In case of corroboration by persons proving his innocence, he shall be cleared of guilt; otherwise, he shall be put to torture.

26 rajjunā: Cs remarks that the masculine is archaic and adds that the reading was probably rajjvā vā. — tāmś Canḍālena is proposed for tām Canḍālena of the mss. As teṣām in the following line shows, the woman alone is not meant.

27 -kriyāvidhim: both kriyā and vidhi are not necessary. — tadgatim, i.e., having their bodies dragged through the streets and absence of rites. — svajanād vā pramucyate: vā seems to have the sense of ca. We expect pramucyata in the potential mood.

28 The stanza occurs in Manu, 11.180, with slight changes, also in Vasistha, 1.22, as a quotation. The readings here seem original, though the stanza may have been derived from some earlier source.

4.8

karma in this Chapter has the technical sense of 'torture.' It has been suggested that it means only 'corporal punishment' inflicted on the guilty, and not torture inflicted for getting a confession from a suspect (K. P. Jayaswal, Manu and Yāj-ñavalkya, pp. 86-87). But anuyoga 'questioning, investigation' cannot be understood with karma in that sense. The use of secret agents recommended as an alternative to karma (ss. 15-16,19) and the mention of vākyānuyoga as an alternative to it (s. 18) also imply the sense of torture for the sake of securing a confession.

1 sākṣiṇām: after this we have to supply samnidhau from the preceding compound. Meyer favours sākṣiṇam or sākṣiṇah; but it is the suspect who is to be interrogated, not the witnesses. 2 apadeśa scems used in the sense of 'state-

- 5 After three nights, the suspect shall not be liable to arrest, because of the inadmissibility of interrogation (after that interval), except when tools (of the crime) are found (with him).
- 6 For one calling another, who is not a thief, a thief, the punish ment shall be that for a thief, also for one hiding a thief.
- 7 One accused of (being) a thief shall be cleared of guilt, if implicated out of enmity or hatred. 8 For one keeping under restraint one cleared of guilt, the lowest fine for violence (shall be the punishment).
- 9 In the case of one about whom suspicion has arisen, he should produce tools, counsellors, accomplices, (stolen) articles and agents.
- 10 And he should compare his action by reference to his entry receiving of goods and division into shares (of the stolen goods).
- 11 In the absence of corroboration of these grounds (showing guilt), he should hold a person, though prattling, as not a thief. 12 For, it is observed that even one not a thief, meeting by chance thieves on their way, is arrested because of similarity with the thieves in dress, weapons or goods or on account of his being found near the thieves' goods, as for instance Ani-Māndavya declaring himself to be a thief though not a thief, because of the fear of the pain of torture. 13 Hence he should punish only such in whose case proof is fully obtained.
- 14 He shall not put to torture a person whose offence is trifling, or who is a minor or aged or sick or intoxicated or insane or overcome by hunger, thirst or travel, or who has overeaten or whose meal is un-
- ment, declaration,' as explained in 15.1.21. 4 apasārapratisamdhāne: sec 4.6.11.
- 5 anyatra upakaraṇadarśanāt can hardly mean 'because of the possibility of finding tools of theft elsewhere than with a thief' (Cs).
- 7 corena obviously is used for cauryena. apadistakah 'about whom a declaration is made (that he is a thief).' 8 parivāsayatah: this clearly refers to the investigating officer continuing to keep the person in custody.
- 9 nispādayet, i.e., should try to find such circumstantial evidence as possession of tools, etc. 10 karmanas ca: this refers to the acts of the suspect and his associates, viz., praveśa, dravyādāna and amśavibhāga. It would have been better if we had karmabhis ca. praveśa 'entry' into the house for theft. praveśa-should be read in the text as in Cb Cs in place of pradeśa.
- 11 vipralapantam, i.e., though he may himself declare himself to be a thief.
 12 In view of dršyate at the beginning of the s., it is proposed to drop drštah found in the mss. after grhyamāṇaḥ. upavāsena seems used in the literal sense 'staying near.' Aṇi-Māṇḍavya: Cf. the Mahābhārata, 1.101, where, however, there is no mention of the fear of torture, only observance of the vow of silence by the sage. 13 karaṇa: cf. 3.12.37,38.
- 14 āmakāšitam from Cb Cs 'whose meal is undigested' is preferable to ātma-kāšitam of the mss. which can only mean 'shining by himself, appearing by himself.' 15 prāpāvika is understood as in Meyer, who would, however, read

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digested or who is weak. 15 He should cause them to be secretly watched by persons of the same character, prostitutes, attendants at water-booths, givers of advice, accommodation and food to them. 16 In this way should be outwit them, or as explained in connection with misappropriation of entrusted articles.

- 17 He should put to torture one whose guilt is found to be probable, but under no circumstances a pregnant woman or a woman within one month of delivery. 18 For a woman, however, there is to be only half the torture, or only examination by interrogation.
- 19 For a Brahmin there is to be the use of secret agents if he is learned in the Veda, also for an ascetic. 20 In case of transgression of this (rule), the highest fine (shall be imposed) on one who gives and who causes him to give the torture, also for causing death by torture.
- 21 The ordinary fourfold torture is: six strokes with a stick, seven lashes with a whip, two suspensions from above and the water-tube.
- 22 In the case of very grave offenders, (there may be): nine strokes with a cane, twelve whip-lashes, two thigh-encirclings, twenty strokes with a naktamāla-stick, thirty-two slaps, two scorpion-bindings, and two hangings up, needle in the hand, burning one joint of a finger of one

prāpāpika. Cb Cs read prāvādika 'one who wrangles' or 'clever in languages,' which is not convincing. M reads prāvāpika; its meaning is uncertain. — kathā: with this, too, dātr is to be understood; that is rather unusual. kathā here may be advice or directions or information. The text does not seem quite all right. 16 nikṣepāpahāre, i.e., in 3.12.38-50 above.

- 17 āptadoṣam, i.e., when the presumption of guilt is strong, but there is no definite proof. 19 It seems that śrutavataḥ is to be construed with Brāhmaṇasya, and not to be understood independently. 20 kārayituḥ: this would be the higher officer, directing the operation.
- 21 vyāvahārika seems to convey the idea of 'normal, ordinary, usual.' dvau uparinibandhau: Cb has 'tying two hands above; and tying the head along with the hands.' It seems, however, that suspension from a height by a rope twice is all that is meant. udakanālikā 'pouring salt-water through the nose' (Cb Cs).
- 22 dvādaša kašāh is proposed for dvādašakam. The space after -kam in M suggested this. dvāvūruveṣṭau from Cb Cs is obviously the only reading possible. Cb Cs explain 'tying the feet with a rope, and tying the head along with that.' Giving the ūruveṣṭa twice is also possible. dvau vṛścikabandhau; Cb Cs explain 'tying the left hand and foot together at the back, and doing the same with the right hand and foot.' Tying both hands and feet at the back and doing this twice is also possible. ullambane ca dve: the ca here is strange. Cb Cs have 'hanging straight with hands tied, and the same with feet tied and upside down.' sūcī hastasya' pricking with a needle under the finger-nails '(Cb Cs). yavagūpītasya: understanding this independently, Cb Cs explain 'making a person drink gruel and then preventing him from passing urine.' It is not easy to see how the latter part of

who has drunk gruel, heating in the sun for one day for one who has drunk fat, and a bed of balbaja-points on a winter-night. 23 This is the eighteen-fold torture.

- 24 He should ascertain the tools, the amount, the (manner of) infliction, the determining and the limiting of it from the Kharapaṭṭa.
- 25 He should cause torture to be given on alternate days and one only on one day.
- 26 He should cause torture to be used collectively, separately or repeatedly in the case of one who is a former offender, who, after confessing, retracts, with whom a part of the (stolen) goods are found, who is arrested because of the act or with the article, who conceals the king's treasury or who is to be killed by torture at the king's order.
- 27 In all offences, a Brahmin is not to be tormented. 28 On his forchead shall be a branded mark of the guilty to exclude him from all dealings,—(the mark of) a dog in case of theft, a headless trunk in case of murder of a human being, the female organ in case of violation of an elder's bed, the vintner's flag in case of liquor-drinking.
 - 29 Proclaiming a Brahmin of sinful deeds and making the scar of the mark on him, the king should exile him from the country or settle him in mines.

the explanation is arrived at. It seems better to construe the expression with what follows. — snehapītasya is to be construed with the following (Cb Cs) rather than with the preceding (Meyer). 23 aṣṭādaśakam: Meyer finds the eighteen in s. 22, Cs in 21 and 22 together. The latter is decidedly better. But the fourteen in s. 22 are not easy to fix. Cb Cs have navavetralatādvādaśakam 'twelve strokes with a cane nine hastas long' as the first item in the s. But a cane 13½ feet long seems unlikely and the reading itself is doubtful. Perhaps, we have to count dvau or dva as two in the three cases (contrary to dvau in s. 21). One cannot be quite certain.

- 24 pradhāraṇam seems to refer to the determination of the suitability of the person for the torture. avadhāraṇam may refer to limiting or restricting the torture. kharapaṭṭād: Kharapaṭṭā appears to be the name of a work on tortures. According to Cs, it is the name of an author on the science of theft. Meyer suggests that we should read kharapāṭavād āyamayet 'should regulate according to the hardness or softness of the culprit.' That does not sound convincing.
- 26 pūrvakṛtāpadāna: cf. 4.6.2, also 2.36.36 etc. avastṛṇantam: this root seems to have the sense of 'to cover, conceal, i.e., to misappropriate.' Cf. 4.10.13 below.
- 27-28 Meyer thinks that these ss. are likely to be interpolations, suggested by Manu, 9.237 (where, however, branding is laid down for all varnas, not for Brahmins alone). It is true that these ss., which speak of punishment for offences, are not in keeping with the contents of the Chapter which are concerned with the interrogation of a suspect and other means of extracting a confession from him. The passage, therefore, may not be original, though the idea contained in these ss. and in the stanza that follows appears to be quite ancient.

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CHAPTER NINE

SECTION 84 KEEPING A WATCH OVER (OFFICERS OF) ALL DEPARTMENTS

- 1 The Administrator and the magistrates should first keep in check the heads of departments and their subordinates.
- 2 For an (officer) stealing an article of high value or a gem from mines or factories for articles of high value, simple death (without torture, shall be the punishment). 3 (For stealing) an article of low value or an implement from factories for articles of low value, the lowest fine for violence (shall be the punishment).
- 4 For one stealing from places (of production) of articles a king's commodity, above one māṣa in value up to one-fourth (of a pana) in value, the fine is twelve panas; up to two-quarters in value, twenty-four paṇas; up to three-quarters in value, thirty-six paṇas; up to one paṇa in value, forty-eight paṇas; up to two paṇas in value, the lowest fine for violence; up to four panas in value, the middle fine; up to eight panas in value, the highest; up to ten panas (and above) in value, death (shall be the punishment). 5 For misappropriation of forest produce, goods or tools from magazines, ware-houses, stores of forest produce and armouries, these same fines (shall be imposed) for articles half in value (of those above). 6 (For misappropriation) from the treasury, store-rooms and the Goldsmith's workshop, these same fines shall be doubled for articles one-quarter in value. 7 For thieves, in case of breaking open (the treasury etc.), death by torture (shall be the punishment). 8 Thus have been explained offences concerning the king's possessions.
- 9 But in the case of other properties, for an (officer) stealing secretly by day from a field, a threshing floor, a house or a shop, forest produce, ware or tool above one $m\bar{a}sa$ in value and up to one-quarter

4.9

For raksana, cf. 4.1 above.

- 1 It is clear again that the samāhartṛ with the pradeṣṭṛs working under him, is ultimately responsible for the maintenance of a clean administration. Even the judges are under his surveillance. Cf. 4.4 above.
- 4 Cf. 2.5.16, which shows some variations. These may be due to the fact that 2.5.16 is a very brief abstract of these detailed rules, perhaps also due to a difference in sources. 7 The s. is repeated in 2.5.20. It is not necessary to understand, with Meyer, that officers instigating robbers to break open stores, etc. are meant. Robbers themselves seem meant. 8 rājaparigraheşu, i.e., from koṣṭhāgāra, paṇyāgāra etc. just mentioned.
- 9 bāhyeşu: we have to supply parigraheşu, i.e., in the case of property not belonging to the state, but to the subjects. ā catuṣpaṇamūlyād: according to

(of a pana) in value, the fine is three panas or smearing him with cowdung and proclaiming his guilt; up to two-quarters in value, six panas (fine) or smearing with cow-dung and ashes and proclaiming his guilt; up to three-quarters in value, nine panas (fine) or smearing with cowdung and ashes and proclamation of his guilt or with a girdle of potsherds (round his body); up to one pana in value, twelve panas (fine) or shaving of the head and exile; up to two panas in value, twenty-four panas (fine) or driving him out (of the city) with a piece of brick after shaving him; up to four panas in value, thirty-six panas (fine); up to five panas in value, forty-eight panas; up to ten panas in value, the lowest fine for violence; up to twenty panas in value, two hundred panas (fine); up to thirty panas in value, five hundred panas (fine); up to forty panas in value, one thousand (fine); up to fifty panas in value (and above) death (shall be the punishment.) 10 For one stealing forcibly by day or at night during the (forbidden) watches, these same fines (shall be imposed) for articles half in value. 11 For one robbing forcibly, by day or night, with weapons, these same fines shall be doubled for articles one quarter in value.

- 12 For making counterfeit documents and seals of householders, superintendents, principal officers and the king, the punishment is the lowest, the middle, the highest (fines) and death (respectively), or in accordance with the offence.
- 13 If the judge threatens, upbraids, drives away or browbeats a litigant, he shall impose the lowest fine for violence on him, double that in case of verbal injury. 14 If he does not question one who ought to be questioned, questions one who ought not to be questioned, or after questioning dismisses (the statement), or instructs, reminds or prompts him, he shall impose the middle fine for violence on him.

Cs, in this and the higher cases, mundana and pravrājana with brickbats have to be understood, though not mentioned. That appears likely. 10 antaryāmikam, i.e., during the watches when movement is forbidden as in 2.36.34-35. The mss. read dviguņā in s. 10; it is proposed to transfer it to s. 11 in conformity with ss. 5-6 above.

- 12 mukhya 'a principal officer.' Cf. 5.1.3 etc. Restriction to 'village headman' (Cb Cs) is not right. svāmin is the king, hardly the samāhartr (Cb Cs).
- 13 abhigrasate 'swallows' is understood in Cs as 'receives money from'. That would appear to be a very serious offence, for which a light punishment is not likely. Cf. 4.4.6-7. The root may convey the idea of 'to over-awe, brow-beat' or 'to silence.' 14 prechyam may refer to the person who is to be questioned or the question that ought to be put. visrjati' dismisses' the statement made, rather than the person himself. pūrvam dadāti' gives the earlier part,' i.e., prompts. 15 dešam: see 3.1.15,19 chalena atiharati: cf. 3.20.22. apavāhayati' carries him away,' i.e., prevents his coming to the court. tārita' which is taken to the end,' i.e., completed. Manu 9.233 has the form tīrita. anušiṣṭa

15 If he does not ask for evidence which ought to be submitted, asks for evidence that ought not to be submitted, proceeds with the case without evidence, dismisses it under a pretext, carries away one tired with delays, throws out of context a statement which is in proper order, gives to witnesses help in their statements (or) takes up once again a case which is completed and in which judgment is pronounced, he shall impose the highest fine for violence on him. 16 In case the offence is repeated, double (the fine) and removal from office (shall be the punishment).

17 If the clerk does not write what is said, writes what is not said, writes correctly what is badly spoken, writes inaccurately what is well spoken, or modifies the sense conveyed, he shall impose the lowest fine for violence on him or (punishment) in accordance with the offence.

18 If the judge or the magistrate imposes a money fine on one not deserving to be fined, he shall impose on him double the fine imposed, or eight times the shortfall or excess (over the prescribed fine). 19 If he imposes corporal punishment (wrongly), he shall himself suffer corporal punishment or pay double the (normal) redemption-amount. 20 Or, he shall pay eight times the just claim which he disallows or unjust claim which he allows.

21 For the hindrance of sleep, sitting down, meals, answering calls of nature or movement and for binding, in a judge's lock-up or in a prison-house, the fines shall be three panas increased successively by three panas for him who does it and for him who causes it to be done.

'in which judgment is given'; cf. 3.1.43. 16 vyavaropanam: vi-ava appears better with ruh than vi-apa, in the sense of 'to pull down, remove, dismiss.'

- 17 The prepositions upa and ut convey opposite senses with the root likh.
- 18 hairanyadandam adandye is proposed for the readings of the mss., as being quite necessary for sense. hīnātiriktāṣṭagunam: if the fine imposed is less (hīna) or more (atirikta) than that prescribed by law, eight times the difference between the prescribed and the imposed fines is to be the fine for the erring judge or magistrate. 19 niṣkraya amounts are laid down in the next Chapter. 20 bhūtam artham etc.: cf. 3.11.45. artha refers to the amount involved in the suit.
- 21 It is proposed to read dharmasthiye cārake bandhanāgāre vā for the reading of the mss.; niḥsārayataḥ occurring in that reading is quite unlikely in this s. which refers to the offences of śayyārodha, āsanarodha etc. And the offence of niḥsāraṇa is far more serious, for which the fines mentioned in this s. would hardly appear adequate. samcārarodha- is read as proposed by Meyer. rodha is to be construed with each of the preceding words, while bandhana is to be understood independently. The fine for bandhana comes to 18 paṇas. kartuḥ kārayituḥ: the former would be the warder, the latter the prison superintendent. It seems that cāraka is a sort of lock-up where those convicted by the dharmastha are kept, while the bandhanāgāra is for criminals convicted by the pradeṣṭṛs. In either case, the convicts are kept there mostly because of their inability to pay the money fine or the redemption amount.

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- For the (jailor) setting free or allowing the escape of an accused from the lock-up (the punishment shall be) the middle fine for violence and the payment of the (amount in the) suit, from the prison-house (confiscation of) the entire property and death.
- 23 For the superintendent of the prison-house allowing movement to a prisoner without informing (the judge or magistrate) the fine is twenty-four paṇas, for using torture double (that), for making him submit to another position or withholding food and drink ninety-six paṇas, for tormenting or maiming him the middle fine for violence, for killing him one thousand (paṇas as fine).
- 24 For the (jailor) violating a married woman prisoner who is a slave or a pledge (the punishment shall be) the lowest fine for violence, the wife of a thief or a rioter the middle, an Ārya woman prisoner the highest. 25 Or, for a prisoner (doing this, there shall be) execution there and then. 26 He shall understand the same (punishment for the offence) in connection with an Ārya woman caught in the prohibited period (of the night), in connection with a female slave the lowest fine for violence.
- 27 For one helping a (prisoner) to escape from the lock-up without breaking it (the punishment shall be) the middle (fine), by breaking it death, from the prison-house (confiscation of) the entire property and death.
 - 28 In this manner the king should first correct those (officers) who deal in money matters by means of punishment; and they, being corrected, should correct the citizens and the country people by means of punishments.
- 22 abhiyogadānam seems to mean the payment of the amount in dispute including the fine imposed. bandhanāgārāt etc. is repeated in s. 27 below.
- 23 Cb Cs (also Meyer) construe anākhyāya with bandhanāgārādhyakṣasya and understand the offences as committed by the warders. cārayataḥ seems to refer to allowing freedom of movement short of setting the prisoner free. Cb understands 'making him render service.' karma as in 4.8.21-23 above. sthānānyatvam: this seems to imply not merely a change of place (for which sthānātaram would have been sufficient) but also a difference in status or class to which the transfer is made. utkoṭayataḥ has the sense of 'one who breaks or maims'; that is preferable to the reading utkocayataḥ in Cb Cs.
- 24 dāmarika: cf. damaragataka in 2.6.20. 25 tatraiva ghātaḥ: it seems that this would apply only in case of violation of an Ārya woman prisoner, not of a dāsī etc. 26 akṣaṇagṛhītāyām: for akṣaṇa see 2.36.34-35. Cb reads adhyakṣeṇa gṛhītāyām, but its comment is not clear. Similar punishments are laid down for guards misbehaving with women in 2.36.41.
- 27 Cb comment presupposes uttamah for vadhah. This s. seems to apply to outsiders, while s. 22 refers to prison officers.
 - 28 arthacarán : cf. 2.9.32.

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CHAPTER TEN

SECTION 85 REDEMPTION FROM THE CUTTING OF INDIVIDUAL LIMBS

- In case of the first offence of thieves at holy places, pick-pockets and those with raised hands, (the punishment shall be) the cutting off of the middle finger and thumb or a fine of fifty-four paṇas; in case of the second, the cutting off of five fingers or a fine of one hundred; in case of the third, cutting off of the right hand or a fine of four hundred; in case of the fourth, death as desired (by the magistrate).
- 2 In cases of theft of cocks, ichneumons, cats, dogs or pigs less than twenty-five panas (in value) or in case of killing (any of these, there shall be) a fine of fifty-four panas or the cutting off of the tip of the nose; half the fines for Candalas and forest-dwellers.
- 3 For carrying away deer, beasts, birds, wild animals or fish, caught in snares, nets or concealed pits, (the punishment shall be) that and an equal amount as fine. 4 In case of theft of deer or objects from deer-parks or produce-forests, (there shall be) a fine of one hundred.
- 5 In case of theft of deer or birds (intended) for show or pleasure or in case of killing these, the fine shall be double.
- 6 In case of theft of small articles belonging to artisans, artists, actors or ascetics, (there shall be) a fine of one hundred; for theft of large articles, two hundred, also for theft of agricultural goods.

4.10

niskrayah: it appears that the various types of corporal punishments prescribed for theft and similar offences came to be replaced by money fines, which are called 'redemptions' from the corporal punishments.

- 1 tīrthaghāta 'who lifts articles at sacred places on festive occasions' (Cb Cs) is more likely than 'cash-chest-breaker' (Meyer). tīrtha as 'cash' is doubtful. granthibheda: money was often tied in a corner of the upper garment; one who cuts open that and steals seems meant. ūrdhvakara: Cs has 'who breaks the upper part or roof of a house.' This is uncertain. Meyer suggests ūrdhvahara in the sense of a 'pick-pocket.' The basic idea may well be that of lifting up things 'with a raised hand.' sandamśa 'the thumb and the middle finger' as in Cp on 2.23.15. 'The thumb and the index finger' (Cb Meyer) is supported by the Mitākṣarā on Yāj. 2.274. paṇa refers to the five fingers of the hand. Cf. 2.14.14. Manu 9.277 and Yāj. 2.274 are exact paraphrases of this s. yathākāmī vadhaḥ, i.e., simple death or death by torture as the magistrate may wish.
- 2 himsā is 'killing' rather than mere injury. ardhadandāh: the singular would have been better, ardha does not apply to nāsāgracchedana.
- 8 ādāne, i.e., theft by one, other than the person who set the trap etc. 5 bimbavihāra-: Cs renders bimba by 'the variegated kṛkalāsa or chameleon,' which is very doubtful. Meyer suggests the idea of 'a show' in some sort of a zoo.

- 7 For one, who is not given permission to enter, entering a fort, or one going out through a hole in the city-wall taking an entrusted article with him, (the punishment shall be) the cutting of the sinews (of the feet) or a fine of two hundred.
- 8 For one stealing a cart, a boat or a small animal, (the punishment shall be) the cutting off of one foot or a fine of three hundred.
- 9 For one cheating with false cowrie-shells, dice, leather-straps, ivory-cubes or by sleight of hand, (the punishment shall be) cutting off of one hand or a fine of four hundred.
- 10 In case of aiding a thief or an adulterer, and for a woman caught in adultery, (the punishment shall be) the cutting off of ears and nose or a fine of five hundred; for a man, double (that).
- 11. For one stealing a big animal or one male or female slave, or for one selling articles from a corpse, (the punishment shall be) the cutting off of both feet or a fine of six hundred.
- 12 In case of striking with hands or feet persons of the highest varna and elders, and in case of mounting the royal carriage, riding animal and so on, (the punishment shall be) the cutting off of one hand and one foot or a fine of seven hundred.
- 13 For a Sūdra calling himself a Brahmin, for one concealing temple property, for one ordering what is treasonable and for one blinding both eyes (of another, the punishment shall be) blindness by means of poisonous collyrium or a fine of eight hundred.
- 14 For one setting a thief or an adulterer free, for one writing a royal edict with omissions or additions, for one kidnapping a maiden

That appears better. vihāra should be understood independently of that. — There is no comment on this s. in Cb.

- 7 akṛtapraveśasya: cf. 2.28.19 for kṛtapraveśa used of foreigners allowed to enter. nikṣepam: Meyer thinks of what is stolen and buried near the city-wall, to be taken away at night-time. That is possible, but the usual idea of what is entrusted to a person may also have been meant. kāṇḍarā: the lexicons give kaṇḍarā as the form in the sense of 'sinew, tendon.' Cb does show 'two tendons at the back of the foot.'
- 8 cakrayuktam: the reading cakrayuktām (Cb Cs) would be an adjective to nāvam which is impossible. For cakrayukta 'cart,' cf. 3.12.2.
 - 9 arālāśatākā -: see 3.20.10.
- 10 samgrhītāyāh: 'who is caught in adultery,' though in 4.12.30,31 the wordseems to have the sense of 'kept under guard.'
- 12 varnottamānām: Meyer thinks that this word is interpolated. Yāj. 2.303 has only guru. That seems possible. langhana is obviously 'striking with.' Yāj. has tādayituh.
- 13 avastṛṇataḥ: cf. 4.8.26. yogāñjanena: see 14.1.15 for collyrium causing blindness.

or a female slave together with money, for a fraudulent dealer, and for one selling unclean meat, (the punishment shall be) the cutting off of the left hand and both feet or a fine of nine hundred.

- In case of sale of human flesh, death (is the punishment).
- 16 For one stealing cattle, images, persons, fields, houses, money, gold, gems or crops belonging to a temple, (the punishment shall be) the highest fine or simple death.
 - 17-18 After taking into full consideration the person and the offence, the motive, seriousness or lightness (of the offence), the consequences, the present (effects), and the place and the time, the magistrate shall fix the highest, the lowest and the middle in the matter of punishment, remaining neutral between the king and the subjects.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

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SECTION 86 THE LAW OF (CAPITAL) PUNISHMENT, SIMPLE AND WITH TORTURE

- 1 For one killing a person (on the spot) during a scuffle, (the punishment shall be) death with torture. 2 In case of death within seven days simple death (shall be the punishment), within a fortnight the highest (fine), within a month five hundred, and the cost of treatment.
- 3 For one striking (another) with a weapon, the fine shall be the . highest (for violence). 4 If (that is done) in intoxication, the hand shall be cut off; if through delusion, a fine of two hundred (shall be imposed). 5 In case of death (resulting), death (shall be the punish-. ment).
- 14 sahiranyam: this is adverbial. It is not necessary to read sahiranyam as proposed by Meyer. hiranya is 'money,' not 'gold' in this text. Cf. 4.12.24. kūṭavyavahārinah: on the authority of Yāj. 2.297 Meyer thinks that we should read kūtasuvarņavyavahārinah. But all dealers who indulge in fraud may well have been meant. Yaj. is derived from this text; sometimes it adds, at other times it misunderstands. — vimāmsam as described in 2.26.12.
 - 16 manusya, i.e., slaves attached to temples.
- 17 anubandha can hardly mean 'motive' as in Manu, 8.126 (as Jayaswal, Manu and Yāj., 88-84, thinks). Cf. 9.7.14ff.
- 4.11

The citra vadha involves some sort of torture accompanying or leading to death. 2 samutthānavyayah: the expenses for treatment would have to be borne whether the man dies within seven days or a fortnight or a month after the fight. For the expression cf. 3.19.14,27.

4.11.6]

- 6 For one causing abortion with a blow the fine shall be the highest, with medicine the middle, by causing suffering (to the woman) the lowest fine for violence.
- 7 They shall impale on the stake those who beat a man or a woman with force, who rush upon them, who hold them down, who threaten (to kill), who attack them and who pierce them, also robbers on highways and house-thieves, and those who kill or steal an elephant, a horse or a chariot belonging to the king. 8 And if any one were to cremate or remove them (from the stake), he shall receive the same punishment or the highest fine for violence.
- 9 For supplying murderers or thieves with food, accommodation, tools, fire, or giving counsel or rendering service (to them), the fine shall be the highest; reprimand (only) in case of ignorance. 10 He should let go the sons and wives of murderers or thieves if not in concert, should seize them if in concert.
- 11 He shall cause to be slain by setting fire to hands and head one who covets the kingdom, who attacks the king's palace, who rouses foresters or enemies, or who causes rebellion in the fortified city, the country or the army. 12 He shall make a Brahmin (in such a case) enter darkness.
- 13 He shall cause to be slain by setting fire to the skinless head one who has killed his mother, father, son, brother, preceptor or an ascetic. 14 For reviling these, (the punishment shall be) the cutting of the tongue; for wounding a limb, he shall be deprived of the (corresponding) limb.
- 7 ghātaka: considering the other terms in the compound which show different forms of assault, ghātaka seems to mean simply 'who beats up, not actually 'who slays.'— abhisāraka from Cs is certainly preferable to adhīsāraka which hardly yields any sense. The former seems to mean 'who rushes at.'— nigrāhaka: Cs has 'who cuts ears and nose.' That appears to be Cb's explanation of avaghoṣaka; it does not show an explanation of abhisāraka. Perhaps it simply means 'who holds down or restrains' by force.— avaghoṣaka: the word does not seem right. Cs has 'who threatens that he would kill.' Meyer suggests avagoraka 'who threatens' or avaghoṭaka 'who hurls down.' The former is possible (cf. 3.19) but not quite certain. The different forms of attack cannot be clearly distinguished from one another.— pathivesma: Cb understands 'a shed by the road-side for giving water.'
- 11 antahpurapradharsakam: as antahpura refers to the royal apartments, the offence is political, not sexual. 12 tamah pravešayet seems to mean 'should make blind' (Meyer) rather than 'confine in a dark cellar for good' (Cs). Cf. Āpastamba, 2.10.27.16-17. It is possible that this s. is a marginal glass due to Āpastamba.
- 13 atvakchirahprādīpikam is understood as in Cb Cs. The head is skinned first and then set on fire. Meyer has 'burning the skinned hands tied over the head.' There is nothing to show the hands. 14 abhiradana is 'wounding' or 'breaking.'

- 15 For killing a person by accident, and in case of theft of a herd of cattle, (the punishment shall be) simple death. 16 And he should know a herd to contain ten (heads of cattle) at least.
- 17 For one breaking a dam holding water, drowning in water at the same spot (shall be the punishment), the highest fine for violence if it was without water, the middle if it was in ruins and abandoned.
- and a woman slaying a man, if not pregnant; if pregnant, at least a month after delivery. 19 He shall cause to be torn by bullocks a woman who kills her husband, an elder or her offsprings or who sets (a house etc.) on fire or gives poison or breaks into a house.
- 20 He shall cause to be burnt in fire one who sets on fire a pasture, a field, a threshing ground, a house, a produce-forest or an elephant forest.
- 21 He shall cause the tongue to be rooted out of one who reviles the king or divulges secret counsel or spreads evil news (about the king) and one who lieks anything in a Brahmin's kitchen.
- 22 He shall cause to be slain with arrows the stealer of weapons or armours, if he is not a soldier. 23 For the soldier, the highest fine (shall be the punishment).
- 24 Of one injuring the generating organ or testicles (of another) he shall cause these same (limbs) to be cut off.
- 25 For injuring the tongue or the nose, the cutting of the middle finger and the thumb (shall be the punishment).
 - 26 These painful punishments have been laid down in the texts of high-souled (authors); but in the case of crimes that are not painful, simple death is prescribed as lawful.

¹⁷ bhagnotsṛṣṭakam : cf. 3.9.38 ; 3.10.2.

¹⁹ pātayet: Cb Cs read pādayet explained as 'should cause to be trampled underfoot.' — Yāj. 2.278-279 reproduce these rules, but include dam-breaking with offences of s. 19, so that only females breaking dams can be understood, which is absurd and shows up the character of Yāj.

²⁰ Cf. 2.36.25.

²¹ Brāhmaṇamaḥāṇasāvalehinaḥ: Meyer thinks that this is an interpolation, since even Yāj. 2.302 does not reproduce this offence. That seems likely.

²⁵ samdamśa: see 4.10.1 above.

²⁶ mahātmanām: these are the author's predecessors, from whom he has derived his material.

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CHAPTER TWELVE

SECTION 87 VIOLATION OF MAIDENS

- 1 For one violating a maiden of the same varna who has not attained puberty, (the punishment shall be) the cutting off of the hand or a fine of four hundred. 2 In case she dies, death (shall be the punishment).
- 3 Of one violating a maiden who has attained puberty, the middle and index fingers shall be cut off or a fine of two hundred (imposed). 4 And he shall make good the loss to her father. 5 And he shall not have the right (to marry her) if she is unwilling. 6 If she is willing, (there shall be) a fine of fifty-four panas; half that, however, for the woman. 7 If she has been reserved by the dowry of another, (there shall be) the cutting off of the hand or a fine of four hundred, as well as the payment of the dowry.
- 8 A bride-groom not receiving the bride after the betrothal, when she has had seven menstrual periods, shall have the right (to her) by having relations with her, and he shall not make good the father's loss. 9 The (latter) forfeits his ownership by (his acts) making her periods vain.
- 10 It is no offence for a maiden having menstruation for three years to approach a man of the same varna, after that even a man not of the same varna provided she goes without her ornaments. 11 For taking her father's property, she shall be liable for theft.
- 12 If a man intending (a maiden) for another, secures her (for himself), the fine shall be two hundred. 13 And he shall not have the right (to her) if she is unwilling.

4.12

praky has obviously the sense of 'to violate, to deflower, to have sexual relations with.'

- 4 pitus cāvahīnam: this refers to the dowry. 5 prākāmyam refers to the freedom or right to marry her.
- 8 alabhamānah: Cs reads alabhamānām and explains 'if the girl does not find the man who wooed her, another man may have relations with her and do what he pleases.' This appears less likely. It is the groom-elect who would be given the liberty, because the girl's father is postponing the marriage. prākāmī refers to the right to marry, even if the father is unwilling. prakāmī (Cb) appears to be a more likely form. 9 rtupratirodhibhih: supply karmabhih. 'In consequence of robbers (pratirodhin) in the form of menstrual periods '(Cs) is fanciful. Cf. Manu, 9.93, which reproduces this s. in full.
- 10 tulyo gantum adosah: we expect tulyam. tatah param: how long she is to wait for tulya is not stated. Cf. Manu 9.90-92, which reproduce these rules, omitting, however, the reference to atulya.

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THE SUPPRESSION OF CRIMINALS

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- 14 For showing one maiden and giving another, the fine shall be one hundred if she is of the same varna, double (that) if she is of a lower varna.
- 15 For a (bride) not a virgin at the time of consummation, the fine shall be fifty-four panas, and (she) shall return the dowry and (marriage) expenses. 16 If, after maintaining that kind (of condition) she fails, she shall pay double. 17 For substituting other blood, the fine shall be two hundred, also for the man falsely accusing (the bride of loss of virginity). 18 And he shall lose the dowry and the expenses. 19 And he shall not have the right (to her) if she is unwilling.
- 20 A (maiden) deflowered by a woman shall pay a fine of twelve panas, if a willing party and of the same varna; the violating woman
- 13 na ca prākāmyam akāmāyām, i.e., the marriage would be void and the girl free to marry a different person altogether.
- 15 prakarmani etc.: this is understood as in Meyer, the idea being that if the girl is found not to be a virgin at the time of the consummation of marriage (prakarmani), she is to be fined 54 panas, and the husband is to get back the sulka and the marriage expenses. Cb Cs include avasthaya in this s. and explain 'for violating a virgin maiden who is betrothed (akumārī, i.e., dattā), the fine is fifty-four panas, and he shall give the dowry to the first groom and the marriage expenses to the marriage-negotiator or surety (avastha).' The difficulty is that the fine is obviously meant for the girl, as is shown by the genitive of akumāryāh; if the violator were intended, we would have had as usual akumārīm prakurvalah. Moreover, pratidadyāt implies that one who received the dowry is to return it; the girl's father is more likely in that case to be the person who would be asked to do that. Again in the next s. the double fine seems intended for the girl herself as is shown by the subject kṛtā. All of which shows that the offence thought of is one committed by the girl. Such an offence could be her being not a virgin. The fines, of course, may ultimately be supposed to be paid by the father. 16 This s. is understood to mean that if the girl maintains that she is a virgin, but if, on investigation, she is found not to be a virgin, she is to be fined 108 panas. paścatkrta is one who has failed to prove her case; cf. paścātkāra in 3.19.22. tajjātam ' of that kind ' may be understood to refer to the condition of virginity. avasthaya may be understood in the sense of ' having maintained,' though perhaps avasthapya in the causal would have been better. Meyer has 'if she makes herself a virgin again (paścāt kṛtā) with blood from that (tajjātam, tat being the female organ).' This is extremely doubtful. Cb Cs explain 'if she is afterwards (paścāt) accepted (kṛtā) by another person, then a double fine is be to paid.' It is not clear who is to pay the fine. There appears to be no reason why this third person who accepts the girl should be penalised. And the girl cannot be supposed to be fined in this s., when in the last s. the fine, according to Cb Cs, is meant for the violator. 17 anyaśonitopadhāne: this apparently refers to the girl's attempt to prove her virginity by soiling her garment with blood from another source (to indicate the rupture of the hymen). According to Cs, she does this to prove that she is violated and is not a virgin. — mithyabhisamsinah pumsah: this is obviously the husband who falsely accuses the wife of not being a virgin. 19 na ca prākāmyam, i.e., she shall be free to leave him and marry some one else; cf. s.13 above.

(shall pay) double. 21 If (the maiden was) unwilling, she shall pay a fine of one hundred and her dowry, for (the satisfaction of) her passion.

- 22 A maiden deflowering herself shall become the king's slave.
- 23 In case a maiden is violated outside the village and in case of a false accusation, the fine shall be double.
- 24 For one abducting a maiden by force, (the fine is) two hundred; if with gold (ornaments), the highest. 25 For many (persons) abducting a maiden, the fines shall be as prescribed for each one separately.
- 26 For one deflowering a courtesan's daughter, (the punishment shall be) a fine of fifty-four paṇas (and) a dowry to the mother sixteen times the rate for a visit. 27 For one deflowering the daughter of a male or a female slave, who is not a slave (herself), the fine is twenty-four paṇas and the payment of dowry and ornaments (for her). 28 For one violating a female slave due for redemption, the fine is twelve paṇas and the payment of clothes and ornaments.
- 29 For giving help or accommodation, the punishment shall be the same as for the offender.
- 30 The husband's kinsman or his servant should keep under guard the wife who misbehaves when the husband is away on a journey.
 31 Kept under guard, she should wait for the husband. 32 If the husband were to tolerate, both should be set free. 33 In case he does not tolerate, (the punishment shall be) the cutting off of the ears and nose for the woman, and the lover shall meet with death.
- 34 For one making out a paramour as a thief, the fine shall be five hundred; for one releasing him with money, eight times that (as fine).
- 35 Adultery (shall be understood as committed) when there is mutual caressing of the hair, or from indications of bodily enjoyment, or from (the opinion of) experts, or from the woman's statement.
- 21 The fine is for the *prakartrī*, to whom the ātmarāga refers. Cf. Manu, 8.369-370, which prescribe severe corporal punishment.
 - 24-25 Cf. Yāj. 2.287, which varies the punishment according to varna.
- 26 bhogah: cf. 2.27.10 ff. Sixteen times the rate for a visit is to be the amount of the śulka. 27 ābandhya: see 3.2.14,15. 28 niṣkrayānurūpām 'who is worthy of, i.e., due for redemption,' a rather unusual expression. For niṣkraya, see 3.13.17,21.
- 30 samgrhnīyāt: this obviously implies holding in confinement. Even the paramour is so held as shown by ubhayam in s. 32. Yāj. 2.301 is an exact reproduction.
- 34 abhiharataḥ 'carrying off,' i.e., trying to save him; as a thief he would get a lighter punishment. Perhaps we have to read abhivyāharataḥ 'calling, declaring.'— tadaṣṭaguṇaḥ: tad refers to the hiraṇya offered, not the fine of five hundred.

36 After rescuing a stranger woman, who was being carried off by enemy troops or foresters, or carried away by a current, or was abandoned in a forest or during a famine, or was left under the impression of her being dead, a man may enjoy her as agreed upon. 37 If she is superior in caste (to him) or is unwilling, or has children, he shall give (her back) for a ransom.

38-40 After having rescued a woman belonging to others from the hands of robbers, from the current of a river, from a famine, from a disturbance in the country, from a forest, or when she is lost or left as dead, a man may enjoy her as agreed, but not one who is saved through the power of the king or by her kinsmen, nor one higher (in caste) nor one unwilling, nor again one who already has children; such a one, however, he should restore (to her kinsmen) in return for a suitable ransom.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

SECTION 88 PUNISHMENT FOR TRANSGRESSIONS

- 1 For one making a Brahmin consume drink or food which is unfit for human consumption the fine shall be the highest, the middle for (making) a Kṣatriya (do so), the lowest for making a Vaiśya (do so), a fine of fifty-four paṇas for making a Śūdra (do so). 2 Those consuming (such things) of their own accord shall be exiled from the country.
- 3 In case of trespass in another's house by day (the punishment shall be) the lowest fine for violence, by night the middle. 4 For one entering with a weapon by day or by night, the fine shall be the highest, 5 A mendicant and a trader, an intoxicated and an insane person.
- 35 upalinganād: ef. 3.13.37. tajjātebhyah 'experts,' who know how to interpret gestures etc. (Cb), rather than 'marks produced by the act' (Meyer). The latter would not be different from upalingana. strīvacanād: strī is the woman concerned herself.
- 36 yathāsambhāṣitam: according to Cb Cs, the agreement is to make her the wife or slave. That need not necessarily be understood.
- 38-40 The stanzas repeat the ideas of ss. 36-37, adding the line na tu rājapratāpena etc. The line implies that if the rescuer happens to be a state servant or the woman's kinsman, he cannot claim this privilege. The stanzas seem derived from an earlier source and ss. 36-37 are a prose rendering of the same. apavāhayet 'have her carried away (by her kinsmen),' i.e., restore her to them.

4.13

1-2 apeyam abhaksyam does not seem to refer to food etc. forbidden in the Smrtis on sacramental grounds. That has mostly to do with Brahmins only. Yāj. 2.296 is an exact reproduction.

very close neighbours when threatened by force or in a calamity, and those whose entry is customary, are not to be punished except when prohibited. 6 For one climbing the enclosing fence of his own house after midnight (the punishment shall be) the lowest fine for violence, that of another's house middle, also for one breaking the hedge of a village park.

- 7 Traders in caravans may stay inside the villages when their valuables are made known (to village officers). 8 What is stolen or killed from among these, the master of the village shall make good, if it has not gone out at night. 9 What is stolen or killed between villages, the Superintendent of Pastures shall make good. 10 In regions without pastures, the officer for catching thieves (shall make good). 11 If they are unprotected even then, the (villages) shall allow a search according to the boundaries as fixed. 12 In the absence of a fixing of boundaries, a group of five or ten villages (shall allow the search).
- 13 In case of injury (caused) by making a rickety house, a cart with the pole at the head unsupported, a weapon without covering, an uncovered hollow or well or a concealed pit, he shall hold it to be a case of physical injury.
- 14 One shouting 'get out of the way 'when cutting a tree, leading by the rope an animal under training, using or riding the untamed among quadrupeds, throwing about pieces of wood, clods of earth, stones, sticks, arrows or arms, and in a collision in a carriage or with an elephant, is not to be punished.
- 15 One (desiring to be) killed by an enraged elephant shall give one drona food, a jar of wine, flowers and unguents and a piece of cloth for wiping the tusks. 16 Death by an elephant is equal to a bath
- 3 abhigamana obviously conveys the idea of trespass. 5 balād āpadi ca are to be construed with atisamnikṛṣṭāḥ, which refers to very close neighbours rather than close relations. 6 virātra here is obviously 'midnight.' Cf. 4.6.2.
- 7 There can be little doubt about grāmeṣvantaḥ being the correct reading, those in M and G₁ being corruptions of the same. 8 pravāsitam 'killed' rather than 'driven out,' as is shown by Yāj. 2.271. That seems also the meaning in ss.20, 21 below. grāmasvāmī: evidently some one like a jāgirdar or sardar is to be thought of. 'The village headman' is possible, but for that the usual word is grāmika. 9 grāmāntareṣu: this is the province of the vivītādhyakṣa; see 2.34.6. 10 corarajjuka is evidently some officer operating in regions outside villages and pasture-lands, i.e., in forest lands etc., his duty being the rounding up of robbers etc. 11 sīmāvarodhena: cf. 2.35.3. pañcagrāmī daśagrāmī vā: this is the jurisdiction of the gopa; cf. 2.85.2. It seems that we have to supply vicayam dadyuḥ rather than muṣitam dadyuḥ.
- 14 yāne hastinā ca samghaṭṭane: this does not seem quite right. We expect yānena like hastinā. Cf. Yāj. 2.208.

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at the end of the horse-sacrifice; hence this washing of the feet. 17 In case of death of one not desirous (of such a death), the highest fine (shall be imposed) on the driver.

- 18 For the owner not rescuing a person being injured by a horned or tusked animal of his, the lowest fine for violence (shall be the punishment); the middle if he was called to come to the rescue. 19 For one allowing horned or tusked animals to kill one another, the fine shall be that and as much again.
- 20 For one riding a temple animal, a stud bull or a cow not yet calved the fine shall be five hundred, for killing (these) the highest.
 21 In case of theft of small animals useful for their hair or milk or for riding or stud-purposes, the fine shall be that and as much again, also for killing these, except for rites in honour of gods and the manes.
- 22 In case of injury when the cart has the nose-strings (of the bullocks) cut or the yoke broken or when it moves crosswise towards (some one) or recedes backwards, or when there is a crowd of animals and men, the driver is not to be punished. 23 Otherwise he shall be liable to punishment as prescribed in case of injury to men and animals. 24 And in case of death of non-human animals, the payment of the animal (as well shall be enforced).
- When the driver is a minor, the owner if in the carriage is to be fined; if the owner is not there, the person in the carriage or the driver if he has attained majority. 26 The king shall confiscate a carriage in charge of a minor or one without a man in it.
- What a (magician) brings about to another by witcheraft and black magic, that shall be meted out to him. 28 The use of love-winning magic may be allowed towards a wife who does not like (her
- 15 dronānnam madyakumbham is emended from the readings of M and G₁.

 16 pādaprakṣālanam is an offering to a guest, of which water for washing the feet forms the starting point.
- 20 rṣabham ukṣāṇam: cf. 2.20.8, also 3.10.24. 21 anyatra deva- etc.: this means that the taking or killing of small animals not belonging to oneself is to be condoned, if that is done for religious purposes.
- 22 It is proposed to read yātā paśu- for yātapaśu or yānapaśu-. cakrayuktam cannot properly be construed with adandyah which requires a subject like yātā. The yoke etc. breaks and injury is caused while the cart is being driven and the driver has no control over the happening. 23 abhyāvahet: see 2.28.26. This verb also requires yātā as the subject.
- 25 prāptavyavahāro vā yātā is superfluous when bāle yātari is there. Perhaps
- it is a marginal gloss.

 28 dārārthino in the genitive singular is proposed to correspond to bhāryāyāḥ.

 28 lārārthino in the genitive singular is proposed to correspond to bhāryāyāḥ.

 In the alternative, we should have dārārthinā and bhāryayā in the instrumental in both cases.

husband) or towards a maiden by a suitor or towards the husband by the wife. 29 Else, in case of injury, the middle fine for violence (shall be imposed).

- 30 For one carnally approaching the sister of his mother or father, his maternal aunt, his preceptor's wife, his daughter-in-law, daughter or sister, (the punishment shall be) the cutting off of the generative organ and testicles and death (thereafter). 31 The woman, if willing, shall receive the same, also a woman having relations with a slave, servant or a pledged man.
- 32 For a Kṣatriya (having relations) with a Brahmin woman, not guarded, the fine shall be the highest, for a Vaiśya (confiscation of) the entire property; a Śūdra shall be burnt in a fire of straw.
- 33 For having relations with the king's wife, (the punishment) in all cases (shall be) cooking in a big jar.
- 34 For having relations with a Śvapāka woman, the man shall go to another land, with the mark of the headless trunk branded (on his forehead), or shall become a Śvapāka himself if he is a Śūdra.

 35 For a Śvapāka having relations with an Ārya woman there shall be death, for the woman the cutting off of the ears and nose.
- 36 For having relations with a woman who has left her home, the fine is twenty-four panas. 37 If willing she shall receive the same.
- 38 For enjoyment of a prostitute by force, the fine shall be twelve panas. 39 For many (men) enjoying (forcibly) one (prostitute by force), the fine shall be twenty-four panas for each one separately.
- 40 For one approaching a woman elsewhere than in the female organ the lowest fine for violence (shall be imposed), also for one misbehaving with a man.
 - 41 A fine of twelve *paṇas* is prescribed for the senseless wretch who carnally approaches lower animals, and double (that) for misbehaving with images of gods.
- 30 trilinga: Yāj. 3.232-3 has only linga. 31 tadeva apparently refers only to the punishment of death. Cs, however, includes trilingacchedana as well, understanding by it 'cutting of the organ and the two breasts.' That appears highly questionable. -bhuktā seems to imply the woman's consent.
- 32 aguptāyām: Meyer thinks that guptāyām alone would be correct. However Manu, 8.374-378, show that the former is quite likely.
- 34 Svapākatvam vā Śūdrah: this implies that there is no branding for the Śūdra, but there is a fall in the social scale for him.
- 36 pravrajitā: as the punishment is too light, the word can hardly refer to 'a nun'; it seems to mean 'who has left her home 'as in 2.23.2.
- 39 adhicaratām: we have probably to understand prasahya from the preceding s. with this.

THE SUPPRESSION OF CRIMINALS

14. 13. 43

- 42 In case punishment is inflicted on those not deserving to be punished, thirty times that as a fine for the king shall be placed in water for Varuna and given to Brahmins after that.
- 43 Thereby the sin of the king arising from the mistake in inflicting punishment is purified. For Varuna is the chastiser of kings who behave wrongly towards men.

Herewith ends the Fourth Book of the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭīlya 'The Suppression of Criminals'

⁴² tatah param shows that the Brahmins are to be the real recipients, the offering to Varuna being ceremonial.

⁴³ $r\bar{a}j\bar{n}\bar{a}m$ is from Cb Cs for $r\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ of the mss. It is true that $Varuno\ r\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ is a conception that goes back to the Vedas; but it seems better to have $r\bar{a}j\bar{n}\bar{a}m$ as the substantive for $vy\bar{a}carat\bar{a}m$, to be construed with $s\bar{a}st\bar{a}$.

BOOK FIVE

SECRET CONDUCT

CHAPTER ONE

SECTION 89 CONCERNING THE INFLICTION OF (SECRET)
PUNISHMENT

- I The 'weeding of thorns' from the fortified city and the country has been explained. 2 We shall now explain that from the king and his rulership.
- 3 The remedy against those principal officers, who live on the king by holding him in their power or who are in league with the enemy, is the employment of secret agents or winning over of seducible parties, as explained before, or secret instigation or spying, as we shall explain in (the section on) the capture of an enemy's town.
- 4 But against those treasonable principal officers, who cause harm to the kingdom, (and) who, being favourites or being united, cannot be suppressed openly, he should employ 'silent punishment,' finding pleasure in (doing his) duty.

The secret conduct (yogavṛtta) described in this Book is that of the king in the first two Chapters and that of the servants in Chapters 4 to 6. Chapter 3 does not fit in. Cb remarks that the title really is true of the First Chapter (5.1), but is applied to the whole adhikaraṇa, because that is the most important Chapter in it. Breloer (I, 77-78 n.) relates yoga to yogakṣema and understands the whole state mechanism as intended, Ch. 2 referring to state income and Ch. 3 to expenditure. The other chapters, however, hardly fit in.

5.1

- 2 rājarājyayoḥ: the offenders, viz., traitorous persons are like thorns to the king and his rulership. For rājya see 8.2.1.
- 3 avagrhya: cf. 1.8.21 etc. gūḍhapuruṣapraṇidhiḥ is described in 1.12, and kṛṭyapakṣopagrahaḥ in 1.13. yathā ca pāragrāmike vakṣyāmaḥ: the ca is unnecessary. upajāpa and apasarpa are in fact some of the ways recommended in the pāragrāmika section; see 13.1 and 13.3.
- 4 This s. refers to $r\bar{a}jyakantakas$, as the preceding one referred to $r\bar{a}jakantakas$. $d\bar{u}sy\bar{a}h$, literally 'who can be spoiled,' is used of treasonable persons or suspected traitors. Cs understands the idea to be 'who are to be somehow destroyed.'

- 5 A secret agent, after inciting a brother of the treasonable high officer, not honoured by him, should show him to the king. 6 The king should induce him to fight against the treasonable officer by granting the use of the treasonable man's property. 7 When he has acted with a weapon or poison, he should cause him to be executed on that very ground, declaring 'He is a murderer of his brother.' 8 By that are explained the pāraśava and the son of a female attendant.
- 9 Or, a brother, instigated by a secret agent, should demand inheritance from the treasonable officer. 10 As he lies down at the door of the treasonable man's house at night, or when he is staying elsewhere, an assassin, slaying him, should declare, 'This claimant of the inheritance is killed.' 11 Then, giving support to the slain man's party, the (king) should suppress the other.
- 12 Or, secret agents, staying near the treasonable officer, should threaten the brother claiming inheritance with death. 13 As he at night and so on, as before.
- 14 When of two treasonable officers, a son has relations with the father's wife or a father with the son's wife or a brother with that of a brother, a fight between the two started by a sharp pupil is explained by the preceding.
- 15 Or, a secret agent should instigate a son of the treasonable officer thinking highly of himself, (suggesting) 'You are really the king's son, kept here through fear of the enemy.' 16 When he believes that, the king should honour him in private, 'Though the time for installing you as the crown prince has come, I am not crowning you through fear of the officer.' 17 The secret agent should induce him to murder the officer. 18 When he has acted, the (king) should cause him to be executed on that very ground, declaring 'He is a parricide.'
- 5 asatkṛtam by his brother, the traitorous officer. Cb reads satkṛtam, but the actual comment implies the reading asatkrtam. 6 atisargena, i.e., by promising the grant of his property after the officer's death. 7 tatraiva, i.e., on the charge of fratricide. 8 pāraśavah: see 3.7.21.
- 10 upaśayānam seems to include the idea of fasting also besides staying at the door till the demand is granted. 11 upagrhya is quite necessary for the sense; ri after upa- in the mss. has evidently got in through a scribal error. For upagrah, cf. 7.2.19 etc. Cb shows parigrhya which also yields the sense required.
 - 13 iti samānam, i.e., as in ss. 10-11.
- 14 adhicarati: cf. 4.13.30 etc. kāpaṭika: see 1.11.2-4. pūrveṇa vyākhyātah, i.e., a tiksna kills one in the name of the other, who is then charged with
- 15 upajapet is preferable to upacaret. The former is commonly used with sattrī.

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- 19 Or, a female mendicant (agent), having won the confidence of the wife of the treasonable officer by means of love-winning potions, should cheat (them) by the use of poison.
 - 20 Thus end the stratagems through kinsmen.
- 21 He should despatch the treasonable high officer with a weak army containing assassins, for destroying foresters or an enemy's town or for establishing a district officer or a frontier officer in a region separated by a wilderness or for suppressing the domain of a city-officer that has risen in revolt or for seizing a caravan-route on the frontier along with land easily recoverable (by the enemy). 22 In the fight, taking place by day or night, assassins or agents appearing as highway robbers should kill him, announcing 'He was killed during the attack.'
- 23 Or, when he has gone to a fair or on a pleasure-trip, the (king) should invite treasonable officers to see him. 24 These, entering together with assassins with concealed weapons, shall allow a search of their persons in the middle hall for being allowed to enter inside. 25 Then the assassins, seized by the door-keepers, should say, 'We are engaged by the treasonable officers.' 26 After proclaiming that, they should kill the treasonable men. 27 In place of the assassins, others (i.e., criminals) should be executed.
- 28 Or, going on a pleasure-trip outside (the city), he should honour the treasonable men by giving them quarters near him. 29 A woman of bad character, appearing as the queen, should be caught in their quarters at night and so on, as before.
- 30 Or, he should request the treasonable officer for food by praising 'Your cook or food-preparer is good,' or for a drink, when out on a journey some time. 31 Mixing both those with poison, he should urge the two themselves to taste them first. 32 Having announced that, he should cause them to be slain as poison-givers.
- 19 sāmvadanikībhiḥ is necessary in view of the form samvadana adopted elsewhere; see 4.4.14. samvāsya, literally 'having made her live with herself,' refers to winning of confidence. rasena: the poison is administered to the husband in the belief that it is a love-potion.
- 20 āpyaprayogah a trick in which use is made of a kinsman of the suspected traitor.
- 21 sārthātivāhya is usually the escorting of caravans and the fee charged for it; cf. 2.34.12. Here the caravan-route seems to be meant. pratyādeya is territory which, even if seized by one, can be easily recovered by one's enemy; cf. 9.4.5-6.
- 23 yatra may be a religious fair or a military expedition. The former seems intended here.
- 29 devīvyañjanā vā duḥstrī: vā is unnecessary. Meyer suggests prāduṣkṛtā strī 'a bad woman' or 'a decorated woman,' or kācit strī 'some woman' in place of vā strī. samānam pūrveṇa, i.e., he should be slain as devīkāmuka.

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- 33 Or, an agent appearing as a holy man should make the (officer), if he is given to black magic, believe 'You will attain your desires by eating one of the following: a lizard, a tortoise, a crab or an ox with broken horns, which is endowed with auspicious marks.' 34 When he agrees, he should get him killed in the course of the rite by poison or iron clubs, announcing, 'He was killed by a mishap in the rite.'
- 35 Or, an agent appearing as a physician, after establishing a malignant or incurable disease for the treasonable person, should cheat him with poison in the preparations of medicine or food.
- 36 Or, agents employed as cooks or food-servers, should cheat the treasonable person by means of poison.
 - 37 Thus ends (the topic of) suppression by secret means.
- 38 As to suppression of two treasonable persons, however: 39 He should despatch one treasonable person himself accompanied by a weak army and assassins to where the (other) treasonable person is to be suppressed, (saying) 'Go, raise an army or money in that fortified city or region; or, extract money from the favourite; or, kidnap the favourite's daughter; or, carry out any one of the undertakings, viz., building a fort or an embankment, making a trade-route, settling on new land, starting mines, raising material-forests or elephant-forests; or, carry out the work of a provincial officer or frontier officer; and whoever prevents you or does not give you help should be imprisoned.' 40 In the same way he should send word to the others, 'The transgression of so and so should be prevented (by you).' 41 When he may be disputing on these occasions for strife or on account of hindrances in his work, assassins should secretly kill him by bringing down their weapon (on him). 42 For that offence, the others should be punished.
- 43 Or, when strife ensues or is raised by assassins on occasions of injury to property, implements, crops or vehicles in connection with boundaries of villages, fields, threshing-floors or houses in treasonable cities, villages or families, or on occasions of shows, ceremonies or festivals, the assassins should bring down their weapons and say 'Thus are dealt with those who dispute with this person.' 44 For that offence the others should be punished.
- 33 -prāśanena is from Cb Cs; though it is not altogether satisfactory, it is preferable to -prakāśanena of the mss. The latter may mean 'exhibiting', i.e., placing at the cross-roads or some such thing. Cb explains prāśana by 'eating the remnants of the meat offered in a sacrificial fire in the cremation ground.'
 - $35 \quad daurātmika$ ' malignant ' as adj. to $vy\bar{a}dhi$ is unusual.
- 43 $d\bar{u}sy\bar{u}n\bar{u}m$ qualifies $pur\bar{u}n\bar{u}m$ etc. Cs makes out the dispute to be between $d\bar{u}sya$ on the one hand and pura etc. on the other. That appears less likely. —

- 45 Or, assassins should set fire to the fields, threshing-floors or houses, or bring down their weapons on the kinsmen, relations or draught animals of those treasonable persons whose mutual quarrels are deep-rooted, and say, 'We were engaged by so and so.' 46 For that offence the others should be punished.
- 47 Or, secret agents should induce treasonable officers in the fortified city and in the country to be one another's guests. 48 There poison-givers should give poison. 49 For that offence the others should be punished.
- 50 Or, a female mendicant (agent) should suggest to a treasonable chief in the country, 'The wife, the daughter-in-law or the daughter of (that) treasonable chief in the country is in love with you.' 51 When he consents, she should take his ornaments and show them to the master, saying, 'That chief, puffed up with youth, has designs on your wife, daughter-in-law or daughter.' 52 (In) the quarrel between the two at night and so on, as above.
- 53 As to treasonable (vassals) surrendering with troops, however,—the crown prince or the commander-in-chief should do some wrong and, after going away, show fight. 54 Then the king should despatch (against him) the treasonable vassals themselves with a weak army containing assassins and so on,—all the stratagems as above. 55 And among their sons surviving them, he who is not disloyal should get the patrimony.
- 56 In this way, the kingdom continues in the succession of his sons and grand-sons, free from dangers caused by men.
 - 57 He should employ 'silent punishment' towards his own party or that of the enemy, without hesitation, being possessed of forbearance in respect of the future and the present.

 $s\bar{i}m\bar{a}$ is a boundary between villages, while $mary\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ is a boundary between fields, houses etc. Cf. 3.9.10-23.

- 45 sambandhin, as distinguished from bandhu, is a relation by marriage.
- 47 $\bar{a}vesanika$ 'who lives in the residence,' is obviously 'a guest.' $durgad\bar{u}sya$ as guests of $r\bar{a}sirad\bar{u}sya$ and vice versa are to be understood.
- 50 -mukham in the text is a misprint for -mukhyam. 51 svāmine, i.e., to the husband, father-in-law or father as the case may be. abhiman: cf. 1.6.5 etc.
- 53 dandopanata ordinarily would mean 'who has submitted to force'; but 7.3.23-26 show that dandopanata involves the surrender of one's troops. apakrtya from Cb Cs is clearly necessary for upakrtya of the mss. 55 anuksi here is 'to survive,' but in 13.5.17 it seems to have the sense of 'to brood over (the death of), to think constantly of.'
 - 56 asya refers to the king, hardly to the vassal of the preceding ss.
- 57 āyatyām ca tadātve ca kṣamāvān, i.e., showing forbearance, bearing in mind future consequences and immediate results.

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CHAPTER TWO

SECTION 90 REPLENISHMENT OF THE TREASURY

- 1 The (king) without a treasury should collect a treasury, when difficulties concerning money have arisen.
- 2 He should demand a third or a fourth part of the grains from a region, whether big or small in size, that is not dependent on rains and yields abundant crops; from a middling or inferior one, according to yield. 3 He should not make a demand on (a region) useful for building a fort or embankment or trade-routes or new settlements or mining or material forests or elephant forests, or on (a region) small in size which is on the frontier.
- 4 He should provide one making a new settlement with grains, cattle, money and other things.
- 5 He should purchase for money a fourth part of the grains after allowing for seeds and livelihood. 6 He should exempt forest produce

5.2

- 1 pratyutpannārthakrcchrah 'who is in difficulties in respect of money or some object to be achieved (artha).' Cf. 7.8.5. Breloer (I, 78-81), arguing that this Chapter describes only normal sources of revenue, not special levies, considers this s. as without any significance for the rest of the Chapter; in the alternative, he proposes to translate 'in times of peace, he should provide for a treasury against times of distress (with -krechram as adjective to kośam).'. The translation appears quite unlikely, as is the reading -krechram. To his question, how can the king collect treasury when there is general distress, the answer is that there is no reference to any general distress here. The king's treasury is depleted because of some undertaking like war etc., and it has to be replenished for some other undertaking. It is not only money that constitutes the kośa; it consists of ratna, sāra, phalgu and kupya, as 2.11.1 shows, where there is no mention of cash. Stores, in fact, form an integral part of the treasury. It is true that ss. 4-7 mention monetary help given by the king; that is possible because the king, though lacking in kośa in the full sense of the term, may have some cash with him. And artha in arthakrcchra need not refer to cash only. In any case, it is not possible to agree that the Chapter refers to normal sources of revenue. The various dubious ways of making collections described in ss. 31-68 can hardly be regarded as normal ways of collecting revenue.
- 2 It is better to read adevamātṛkam (with the avagraha) as in 6.1.8. tṛtīyam caturtham vā: as E. H. Johnston (JRAS, 1929, 97) has pointed out, we have to think of levies from the stocks with the cultivators, not a share of the crops as land revenue. The latter is bhāga; here we have amśa, besides yāceta. sāra, i.e., quality of the soil and the amount of its yield. 3 pratyantam...na yāceta: the reason is, the frontier people, if disgruntled because of the levy, may go over to the neighbouring king.
- 4 Cf, 2.1.13 above. The purpose of the new settlements is to increase agricultural revenue. The state is not absolutely bankrupt and is in a position to provide even cash for the purpose,

and the property of a Brahmin learned in the Vedas. 7 Even that he may purchase so as to favour them.

- 8 Or, in case that does not serve the purpose, officers of the Administrator should cause preparation of the fields for sowing to be made by farmers in summer. 9 At the time of (sowing) seeds, they should make a deed of (the grant of) seeds, laying down a penalty double that which may be lost through negligence. 10 When the crops have ripened, they should prevent the taking of green or ripe (grains), except handfuls of vegetables or grains plucked by hand for the purpose of worship of gods and manes and for charity or for the sake of cows. 11 And they should leave remnants of the heap for mendicants and village servants.
- 12 For one appropriating his own crops, compensation for loss shall be eight-fold. 13 For one stealing another's crops, the penalty for grains shall be fifty-fold, if he is of the same class; death, however, if he is an outsider.
- 14 They should take a fourth part of grains, a sixth part of wild produce and of goods made of silk-cotton, lac, linen, barks, cotton, wool and silk, medicines, perfumes, flowers, fruits and vegetables, also of wood, bamboos, meat and dried meat, one half of ivory and skins.

 15 For one selling these without permission, (the punishment shall be) the lowest fine for violence.
 - 16 Thus ends (the topic of) making demands on farmers.
- 8 tasya akarane, i.e., when these measures do not bring in the necessary grains in the stores. The idiom is unusual. samāhartṛpuruṣāḥ, i.e., the gopas and the sthānikas. See 2.35.1-6. Cb has sītādhyakṣa and others. Breloer (I, 78-89), holding that all land belongs to the state, thinks that the sītādhyakṣa works under the samāhartṛ. udvāpam: as Johnston (JRAS, 1929, 99) says this refers to preparation of the land for sowing. He thinks that clearing fresh land is also intended; that, however, seems doubtful. 9 bījakāle bījalekhyam kuryuḥ: Breloer explains 'when seedlings appear, the officers of the samāhartṛ are to make a survey.' This appears doubtful. bījalekhya only shows that the state has a record of the amount of seeds given and has thus an idea of the crops expected. kaṭabhaṅga 'corn plucked by the hand.' 11 Cf. 2.24.30.
- 12 pratipātah: cf. 2.26.8. The compensation is for loss suffered by the state which is entitled to a larger share of the crops than the usual one-sixth. 13 'sītātya-yah: cf. 2.22.14, which has reference to normal times. svavargasya, i.e., if he is himself a farmer.
- 14 grhn iyuh: the subject may be sam ahartrpurus ah, though some of the items mentioned are unconnected with farming. 15 tad may refer to dant ajinam only; the inclusion of the other items is, however, also possible.
- 16 For pranaya as a special levy, cf. Rudradāman's Junagadh Inscription, where it is used beside kara and visti.

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- 17 Dealers in gold, silver, diamonds, gems, pearls, corals, horses and elephants shall pay a tax of fifty. 18 Dealers in yarn, cloth, copper, steel, bronze, perfumes, medicines and wines shall pay a tax of forty. 19 Dealers in grains, liquids and metals and those carrying on trade with carts shall pay a tax of thirty. 20 Traders in glass and major artisans shall pay a tax of twenty. 21 Minor artisans and keepers of harlots shall pay a tax of ten. 22 Dealers in articles of wood and bamboo, stoneware, earthenware, cooked food and green (vegetables), shall pay a tax of five. 23 Actors and prostitutes shall pay half their wage.
- 24 They shall recover a tax in cash from those skilled in work, and shall not overlook any offence of theirs. 25 For, these might sell (something) by representing it as not belonging to them.
 - 26 Thus ends (the topic of) making a demand on dealers.
- 27 (Owners of) cocks and pigs shall give half; small animals one-sixth; cows, buffaloes, mules, donkeys and camels one-tenth.
- 28 Keepers of harlots should replenish the treasury through female servants of the king, possessed of great beauty and youth.
 - Thus ends the making of demands on breeders of animals.
 - The (demand) is to be made once only, not twice.

17 pañcāśatkarāh seems to mean 'paying a tax of fifty (paṇas).' Meyer understands 50% of the profit as tax. There is, however, no reference to profit or percentage. Cb Cs have '1/50th (of profit? or of commodities?) ' under the influence of Manu, 7.130, which, however, refers to normal times. 21 bandhakīpoṣakāḥ from Cb Cs seems necessary. Cf. s. 28. vardhakiposakāh of the mss. is unlikely. Meyer suggests vardhakitakṣakāḥ; but either would be included in mahākāru or kşudrakāru. 23 vetanārdham, i.c., half their monthly wage; half the annual income is hardly conceivable.

- 24 hiranyakaram karmanyan, the reading proposed, alone yields a reasonable sense. The idea is, those skilled in work or efficient (karmanya, cf. 5.3.6) are likely to cheat the state; so they must be made to pay the cash tax; ā-hr to make one pay, to extort. With akarmanyan Cs (following Cb) explains 'should make those not engaged in work (i.e., living by selling grass, water etc., -Cb) pay a levy in cash, viz., one varāta (one kāṇa, -Cb) per head.' This coin is unknown to the text. And s. 25 with its hi cannot be understood with this explanation. 25 aparigrhitam 'not possessed or owned by themselves (but belonging to some one else).' Cf. parigraha 'possessions'. Cb Cs read aparagrhitam' taken by others.' — an iti before abhinīya would be better. Pleading that the goods do not belong to them, they evade the tax.
 - 27 ardham, i.e., half the stock of fowl etc.
- 28 bandhakīpoṣakāḥ: in s. 21 these contribute from their own income, while here they help indirectly in raising money.
- 29 yonipoşaka: Meyer compares asatīpoşaņa in Hemacandra's Yogaśāstra, 3.111, which includes the keeping of animals as well as of prostitutes. Cf. asaījaņaposaņayā in the Jaina Canon.

- 31 Or, in case that does not serve the purpose, the Administrator, pointing to some work to be done, should ask citizens and country people for contributions. 32 And secret agents should then first give large amounts. 33 Referring to that, the king should ask the citizens and country people (for corresponding contributions). 34 And sharp pupils should reproach those who give little.
- 35 Or, he should ask money of the rich according to their wealth, or according to benefits (conferred on them), or whatever they may offer of their own will. 36 He should bestow on them position, umbrella, turban or decorations in consideration for money.
- 37 Administrators should bring (to the treasury) the property of heretical corporations or the property of temples not intended for use by a Brahmin learned in the Vedas, declaring that it was deposited with a person who is dead or whose house is burnt.
- 38 The Superintendent of Temples should collect the treasures belonging to temples in the fort and in the country in one place, each separately, and bring them (to the treasury) in the same manner.
- 39 Or, after raising at night a god's temple or a sanctuary of a holy person as a miraculous happening, he should live on fairs and festive gatherings (at the place). 40 Or, he should proclaim the presence of a divinity by means of a tree in a sanctuary-park endowed with flowers and fruits out of season. 41 Or, agents appearing as holy men, after showing danger from an evil spirit in a tree demanding the tax of a human being, should ward it off for the citizens and the country people for money. 42 Or, in a well connected by a subterranean
 - 31 tasyākaraņe: see s. 8 above.
- 36 sthāna 'position' is evidently in state service. A mere title does not seem meant.
- 37 kṛtyakarāḥ: the context suggests the obvious meaning of 'administrators.' These appear to be state officers, or at least amenable to state influence. dagdhagṛhasya: the idea is, the property was supposed to have been kept in the house and burnt along with it, being of course secretly removed to the treasury. The reading dagd'ahṛdayasya is impossible. There is no question of a man's heart burning in torture, as Meyer thinks.
- 38 yathāsvam ekastham, i.e., the property of durgadevatās in one place and that of rāstradevatās in another. tathaiva, i.e., as in s. 37; which makes upaharet necessary in place of apaharet of the mss. Cb reads āharet.
- 39 aupapādikam 'that has suddenly arisen.' The vā should have come before instead of after this word, for the option is between daivatacaitya and siddhapunyasthāna, either of which could be aupapādika. Cs, with bhaumavādikam, explains 'associated with the rumour that it has appeared out of the ground at the holy place.' This is hardly satisfactory. Cb has the same reading, but its explanation contains no reference to bhūmi. 41 manuṣyakaram, i.e., demanding the tax of one human

passage, he should show a cobra with a number of hoods in return for a a gift of money. 43 In a sanctuary hole or an ant-hill hole, (he should point to) the manifestation of a snake in an image of a cobra concealed inside, and after 'arresting its consciousness' by means of food, should show it to the credulous. 44 To those who do not believe, he should administer poison when they are sipping water or washing themselves and declare it to be a curse of the divinity, or should cause a person condemned to death to be bitten.

- 45 Or, he should replenish the treasury by (offering) remedies against occult manifestations.
- 46 Or, an agent appearing as a trader should trade with plenty of goods and assistants. 47 When he has amassed wealth by entrusted deposits and loans against the value of goods, he should get him robbed at night. 48 By this are explained the Examiner of Coins and the Goldsmith.
- 49 Or, an agent appearing as a trader, with well-known dealings, should secure on loan or hire a large number of gold and silver articles on the occasion of a festive party. 50 Or, in a festive gathering he should obtain plenty of money and gold as a loan by a display of his entire goods, and also (collect) the price of each article. 51 Both these, he should cause to be stolen at night.

being per day. 42 surungā is for a person who remains concealed there for manipulating the many-headed cobra to show that it is alive. 43 It is proposed to read antaśchannāyām for antaśchidrāyām. The nāgapratimā is concealed in a hole in the caitya or in an ant-hill hole. There is little sense in making the image of the cobra have holes inside (antaśchidrā). Cs, however, has 'in a cobra image sufficiently hollow inside (antaśchidrā) to allow a real snake to remain inside,' reading the words at the end of the last s., instead of at the beginning of this s. Cb reads the words in this s. and understands that a live serpent is shown in the hollow of the nāga-image. There seems little point in keeping a snake image as well as a live snake in it. — sarpadarśanam: Meyer proposes to read sarpam only; that does not seem necessary. Even with the former we may understand rūpayitvā or the like. — āhāreṇa: Cs understands some magical rite. 'Food' might also do. — pratibaddha 'arrested, stopped.'

45 yogadarśana 'an occult or miraculous manifestation.' The s. is repeated in 13.2.38.

47 panyamūlye: this seems to provide the security for the deposits and loans secured; it does not appear to be another means of becoming upacita, as Meyer thinks. In that case, it would have been in the instrumental, like nikṣepaprayogaiḥ. 48 The rūpadarśaka collects coins for inspection, and gets himself robbed; so does the Goldsmith with the citizens' gold and silver.

the Goldsmith with the clothers gain provides security for the loan. — prati50 sarvapanyasamdohena: this again provides security for the loan. — pratibhāṇḍamūlyam can hardly mean 'capital for counter-wares (to be brought from bhāṇḍamūlyam can hardly mean 'capital for counter-wares (to be brought from bhāṇḍamūlyam can hardly mean's security for the loan. — pratithe following the security for the loan. — pratithe sarvapanyasamdohena: this again provides security for the loan. — pratithe sarvapanyasamdohena: this again provides security for the loan. — pratithe sarvapanyasamdohena: this again provides security for the loan. — pratithe sarvapanyasamdohena: this again provides security for the loan. — pratithe sarvapanyasamdohena: this again provides security for the loan. — pratithe sarvapanyasamdohena: this again provides security for the loan. — pratithe sarvapanyasamdohena: the sarvapanyasamdohena can hardly mean 'capital for counter-wares (to be brought from bhāṇḍamūlyam can hardly mean's sarvapanyasamdohena); as Meyer thinks. 51 ubhayam, i.e., the ṛṇa and the mūlya.

- 52 Or, after infatuating men suspected of treason with women appearing as pious ladies, and catching them in the houses of those same women, they should confiscate their entire property.
- 53 Or, when a dispute has arisen between members of treasonable families, poison-givers, who are employed there, should give poison. 54 For that offence, the others should be deprived of their property.
- 55 Or, a person condemned to death should demand of a treasonable person, on a credible pretext, a commodity or entrusted money or a loan given or an inheritance. 56 Or, he should address the treasonable person as a slave, or his wife, daughter-in-law or daughter as a slave or as wife. 57 As he lies down at the door of the treasonable person's house or when he stays elsewhere, an assassin, slaying him, should declare 'This fellow, longing for property, has been killed.' 58 For that offence, the others should be deprived of their property.
- 59 Or, an agent appearing as a holy man, after luring a treasonable person with magical lores, should say to him, 'I know the rite for inexhaustible wealth, for opening the doors of the king's palace, for winning a woman's heart, for causing disease to the enemy, for securing a long life or for getting a son.' 60 When he consents, he should cause him to make an offering of plenty of wine, meat and perfumes in a sanctuary at night time. 61 And from a place, where money consisting of a single coin is buried beforehand (and) where a limb of a corpse or the corpse of an infant may have been placed, he should show him the money and say, 'This is too little.' 62 (He should add) 'For plenty of money, offering must again be made; hence, with this very money you yourself purchase to-morrow plenty of articles of offering.' 63 He should be arrested while purchasing articles of offering with that money.
 - 52 sādhvī may convey the idea of a nun.
 - 54 paryādātavyāh: cf. 2.9.24.
- 57 arthakāmukah is an emendation from Meyer for ittham kāmukah of the mss. The latter would not include the cases mentioned in s. 55; and even s. 56 does not show kāmukatva in all cases. artha as 'object, property' would do in all cases. Cf. 5.1.10 above.
- 59 akṣayahiranyam is also an emendation by Meyer; it is necessary as an adjective to karma. 61 ekarūpam: Meyer thinks that this is a false coin. That is possible, because the person is to be arrested while making purchases with that coin. Meyer, in fact, suggests the reading kūṭarūpam. pretāngam etc. is there only to mark the place where the coin is buried before. 63 gṛhyeta: the arrest may be because of the false coin or perhaps also because the purchases are supposed to show that the person is engaged in the practice of black magic (which is an offence; cf. 4.4.14-16).

- 64 Or, (a treasonable person) should be charged by a female agent appearing as a mother, saying, 'You have killed my son.' 65 During his night sacrifice or a sacrifice in a forest or when sport in a forest has started, assassins, killing a condemned man due for execution, should smuggle him in.
- 66 Or, an agent working as a servant of the treasonable person should throw in a false coin in the money received as wages and point that out.
- 67 Or, an agent appearing as a workman should, while working in the house, place the implements of a thief or a maker of false coins there, or an agent appearing as a physician (should place) poison there in the guise of medicine.
- 68 Or, a secret agent close to the treasonable person should communicate through a sharp pupil (the presence of) articles for coronation and a letter from an enemy (secretly) planted there and should mention their purpose.
- 69. Thus he should behave towards treasonable and unrighteous persons, not towards others.
 - 70 He should take from the kingdom fruits as they ripen, as from a garden; he should avoid unripe (fruit) that causes an uprising, for fear of his own destruction.
- 64-65 The reading adopted was on the basis of avakupitā in G₂, with māṭrvyañjanā emended from māṭrvyañjanāyā. But avakupitā is obviously due to the copyist of that transcript. It seems better to adopt the readings of Cb Cs with māṭrvyañjanayā in the instrumental and avarūpitaḥ in the sense of 'shown up, i.e., accused.' The text should be read accordingly. sansiddham is to be understood as an adjective to abhityaktam in the sense of 'ready' for execution. It seems that vanayāge is due to dittography. atinayeyuḥ, i.e., secretly plant the corpse in the sacrifice, to make it appear as the 'son' killed by the dūṣya. The 'son' is supposed to be intended as a victim in the occult rite.
- 67 garam agadāpadešena, which is shown by Meyer's translation, is clearly necessary. gadam agadā- or garam agarā- are both unlikely. The poison implicates the dūṣya as a poison-giver.
- 68 abhişekabhāṇḍam: this is supposed to be for the coronation of the enemy, with whom the dūṣya is to be charged with being in league. In all these cases, the confiscation of the property of the dūṣyas is to be understood. That would help in replenishing the treasury.
 - 69 This is an important safeguard against arbitrary extortions.
- 70 ātmaccheda- from Cb Cs is clearly preferable to āmaccheda- of the mss. The danger is of the king himself being destroyed in a possible revolt (kopa).

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CHAPTER THREE

SECTION 91 CONCERNING THE SALARIES OF (STATE) SERVANTS

- In accordance with the capacity of the fortified city and the countryside, he should fix (wages for) the work of servants at one quarter of the revenue, or by payment to servants that enables the carrying out of works. 2 He should pay regard to the body (of income), not cause harm to spiritual good and material advantage.
- 3 The sacrificial priest, the preceptor, the minister, the chaplain, the commander-in-chief, the crown prince, the king's mother and the crowned queen should receive forty-eight thousand (paṇas). 4 With this much remuneration, they become insusceptible to instigations and disinclined to revolt.
- 5 The Chief Palace Usher, the Chief of Palace Guards, the Director (of labour corps), the Administrator and the Director of Stores should receive twenty-four thousand. 6 With this much, they become efficient in their work.
- 7 The princes, the mothers of princes, the commandant, the city-judge, the Director of Factories, the council of ministers, the provincial officer and the frontier officer should receive twelve thousand. 8 For, with this much, they help in strengthening the entourage of the master.
- 9 Heads of banded troops, commandants of elephants, horses and chariot corps, and magistrates should receive eight thousand. 10 For, with this much, they are able to carry their groups with them.

5.3

- 1 samudayapādena is from Cb Cs for -vādena, which makes little sense. -lābha is what is received by the servant; cf. 2.6.23 and Breloer referred to there. 2 śarīram, i.e., āyaśarīram, (2.6.1-9). The idea of 'body politic' (Meyer) does not seem intended.
- 3 aṣṭacatvārimśatsāhasrāh: this is obviously a year's salary in paṇas. N. N. Law (IHQ, V, 780 ff.) thinks of monthly salaries. That is possible only if a copper paṇa is understood; but a copper paṇa is not known to this text. It seems better to understand bharaṇena instead of bharaṇe. With the latter, nāṇāsvādyatvam is left, explained as 'having many kinds of tasteful dishes' (Cs). That does not appear a happy idea. The expressions seem to have in view the advantage to the state rather than to the recipients. anāspadyatvam (anāspadatvam might perhaps have been better) refers to these persons being not susceptible to enemy instigations, just as akopakam refers to their being not likely to rise in revolt. anāsvādya (with its passive sense) cannot be understood in the sense of 'not given to misappropriation' as suggested by 2.9.32.
- 5 praśāstṛ: for this and other officers mentioned in these ss., see 1.12.6. The rāṣṭrapāla, mentioned only here, seems to be an officer in charge of a province or a district; cf. 5.1.21,39. 8 paribandha seems to mean 'entourage, retinue.'

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- 11 Superintendents of infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants and Guardians of material and elephant forests should receive four thousand.
- 12 The chariot-fighter, the elephant trainer, the physician, the horse-tamer and the carpenter and breeders of animals should receive two thousand.
- 13 The fortune-teller, the sooth-sayer, the astrologer, the narrator of Purāṇas, the charioteer and the bard, the chaplain's men and all superintendents should receive one thousand.
- 14 Foot-soldiers trained in the (fighting) arts and the group of accountants, clerks and others should receive five hundred.
- 15 But actors should receive two hundred and fifty, and makers of musical instruments should receive double the wage of these.
 - 16 Artisans and artists should receive one hundred and twenty.
- 17 Servants, valets, attendants and guards of quadrupeds and bipeds and foremen of labourers should recieve a wage of sixty, also riders, bandits and mountain-diggers supervised by Āryas, as well as all attendants.
- 16 Teachers and learned men should receive an honorarium as deserved, a minimum of five hundred and a maximum of one thousand.
- 19 The average envoy should receive ten paṇas per yojana, a double wage beyond ten (yojanas) up to one hundred yojanas.
- 10 svavargānukarṣiṇaḥ, i.e., able to secure the loyalty and obedience of their subordinates.
- 12 rathika: cf. 2.33.6. Cb here has 'chariot-fighter.' vardhaki seems to be the officer mentioned in 10.1.1,17. yoniposakāh: cf. 5.2.29. These here appear in state employ; 5.2.29 does not visualise that.
- 14 % silpavantah should be understood with $p\bar{a}d\bar{a}t\bar{a}h$, since % lpins are separately mentioned in s. 16 below.
- 15 tūryakara seems to be the maker of musical instruments, though a player on musical instruments is not unlikely. Cb comment shows 'chief (pradhāna)' in explanation of this word.
- 17 It is proposed to add a ca after sarvopasthāyinaḥ and read a stop here. The upasthāyinaḥ, who can only be attendants, cannot be brought into relation with pūjāvetanam; only the ācāryāḥ and vidyāvantaḥ can be thought of as receiving it. Nor can sarvopasthāyinaḥ be brought into relation with ācāryāḥ. āryayukta seems to mean working under the supervision of Āryas, ārohaka etc. being themselves non-Aryans. ārohaka may mean 'a rider' or 'a climber.' māṇavaka: see 4.5 above; here these are to be supposed as being in state service.
- 19 daśapaniko etc.: if dūta is an ordinary messenger, the rates, as Meyer says, would appear exorbitant. He proposes to read daśayojane for yojane, i.e., 10 paṇas for the first 10 yojanas and 20 up to 100 yojanas. This also is unlikely. Perhaps the dūta is the envoy of 1.16, madhyama being the parimitārtha of 1.16.3. The rates

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- 20 The 'king' should receive three times the fee of those equal in learning at the Rājasūya and other sacrifices.
 - 21 The king's charioteer should get one thousand.
- 22 Sharp pupils, monks fallen from vow, and agents appearing as householders, traders and ascetics should get one thousand.
- 23 Village servants, secret agents, assassins, poison-givers and female mendicants should get five hundred.
- 24 Those moving about for spying should get two hundred and fifty or should have their wage increased according to their efforts.
- 25 Supervisors of groups of one hundred and one thousand (troops) should carry out the payment of food and wages to them, give directions and order their dispersal. 26 There is to be no dispersal in the case of royal property and guarding the fortifications in the city and the country. 27 They shall have permanent heads and many (such) heads.
- 28 Of those dying while on duty, the sons and wives shall receive the food and wages. 29 And their minor children, old and sick persons should be helped. 30 And he should grant them money and do honour on occasions of death, illness and birth ceremonials.
- 31 If he has a small treasury, he should give forest produce, cattle and fields and a little money. 32 Or, if he has undertaken the settlement of new lands, he should give only money, not a village, in

given here would cover the travelling expenses for the envoy and his retinue. The envoy is usually of the rank of a minister; it is possible that he would be entitled to his regular salary, over and above these expenses. — \bar{a} yojanaśatād: evidently a distance of 100 yojanas or about 900 miles was the maximum that was considered likely.

- 20 rājā is the adhvaryu priest who deputises for the ruler during a long sacrificial session, as shown by Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra, 20.2.12.3 and Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, 15.4. Cf. Kane, HD, III, 28.
- 21 $s\bar{a}rathih$: this does not seem to have anything to do with the kratus of the last s., as Cb Cs think.
 - 23 grāmabhṛtaka, i.e., washerman, barber, etc. (Cb).
 - 24 cārasamcārinah, i.e., the lower staff of the spy establishments. Cf. 1.12.7-14.
- 25 vikṣepam 'dispersal' seems to refer to discharge, not to transfer to another place. Cf. especially 7.9.22 ff. Troops are to be thought of even here. Cb has 'vikṣepa, i.e., assigning suitable work.' 26 Cb has avikṣepe 'when there is no work.' 27 Cf. 2.4.29,30.
- 30 pretavyādhita- etc.: this also seems to refer to those of the karmasu mṛta, hardly to those of all state servants.
- 32 grāmasainjāta- etc.: The idea is to prevent old established dealings from being disturbed by the new owners. Money is given, so that new villages may be founded instead. Cb seems to mention as the reason the possibility that if the

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order that transactions that have taken place in the village may be stabilised.

- 33 In this manner he should fix different (amounts of) food and wages for regular and casual servants according to their skill and work.
- 34 Fixing one ādhaka for a (servant with a) wage of sixty, he should fix food in accordance with the cash wage.
- 35 Infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants should carry out practice in their arts outside (the city) at sun-rise, except on juncturedays. 36 The king should constantly attend to that, and should frequently inspect their arts.
- 37 He should allow weapons and armours that are stamped with the king's insignia to be brought into the armoury.
- 38 (People) shall move about unarmed, except those permitted with a sealed licence. 39 He shall pay double what is lost or destroyed. And he shall keep an account of what has perished.
- 41 Frontier officers should seize the weapons and armours of caravan traders or allow them to pass after sealing them.
- 42 Or, when deciding on an expedition, he should make the army ready. 43 Then agents appearing as traders should give all goods to the soldiers at the time of the expedition to be recovered double (later). 44 Thus is made the secret sale of the king's goods as well as the recovery of wages.

village were required to give something (to the new owner) business in it might come to a stop.

- 33 abhṛta are those not in regular service.
- 34 sastivetanasya ādhakam kṛtvā: this seems to mean that to a servant entitled to a wage of 60 paņas a year, a ration of one ādhaka of grains is to be given as part payment per day, the cash wage being correspondingly reduced; cf. 2.24.28. And apparently this is restricted to menials entitled to this wage only, hardly to those with 48,000 a year, for example. One could understand 1 ādhaka of grains per day as payment in lieu of the entire 60 panas per year. But bhakta alone without some cash payment is unlikely. It is not possible to regard 1 ādhaka of grains as the equivalent of a wage of 60 (copper) panas a month (Kane, HD, III, 124 ff). There is no copper pana in this text. Moreover, 1 ādhaka of grains would just about suffice for only four meals of a single individual. Cf. 2.15.43.
 - 35 Ss. 35-44 and 47 are not relevant to the topic of this Chapter.
- 37 This s. should have been included in 2.18. pravesayet: the subject is
- 38 aśastrāh: this apparently refers to ordinary citizens, not to soldiers. āyudhāgārādhyakṣaḥ.
- 39, 40 The subject is again āyudhāgārādhyakşaḥ.
- 43 yātrākāle is to be construed with dadyuh. dvigunapratyādeyāni: the agreement is to receive double the normal price of the article at the end of the expedition. The soldiers would apparently agree because they want to provide for their

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- 45 Looking after income and expenditure in this manner, he does not suffer a calamity of the treasury and the army.
 - 46 Thus (are explained) different rates of food and wages.
 - 47 And secret agents, prostitutes, artisans and actors as well as elders of the army should ascertain, with diligence, the loyalty or disloyalty of soldiers.

CHAPTER FOUR

SECTION 92 CONDUCT (PROPER) FOR A DEPENDENT

- 1 One, conversant with the ways of the world, should seek service with a king, endowed with personal excellences and the excellences of material constituents, through such as are dear and beneficial (to the king). 2 Or, he should have recourse to even one lacking in material constituents, if he thinks, 'Just as I am desirous of service, so is he desirous of training and is endowed with qualities of one easily approachable,' but never one lacking in personal excellences. 3 For, one lacking in qualities of the self, comes to an end even after receiving mighty sovereignty, as a result of contempt for the political science or as a result of association with harmful persons.
- 4 After securing an audience with a (king) endowed with qualities of the self, he should give a test in the (political) science. 5 For, he attains stability of position by not contradicting (the science). 6 Questioned about matters requiring intelligence, he should state what is associated with spiritual and material benefit in the present and in future (and) what is possible (of achievement), like an expert, without being afraid of the assembly.
- 7 If approved, he should stipulate, 'You should not question those, who are not distinguished, concerning spiritual and material well-

families during their absence, and payment is not to be made immediately. Evidently, if the soldiers were to die in the expedition, their relatives would be held liable for the double charge. 44 vetanapratyādānam: this is in the form of the extra price charged, which could come only from the soldiers' salaries.

46 -vikalpah: perhaps we should read -kalpah ' the law of, rules about.'

5.4

anujīvin is principally an aspirant to ministership.

- 1 For ātmasampad see 6.1.3-6, and for dravyaprakṛtisampad 6.1.8-11. 2 ābhi-gāmikaguṇa: see 6.1.3. 3 anarthya: see 1.7.2, also 8.3.15.
- 5 avisamvādāt: the avisamvāda is with the śāstra (Cs) rather than with the king (Meyer). 6 samartham, i.e., capable of being carried out. Cb comment shows sambandhārtham, what is relevant.'

being, nor inflict punishment on those who are associated with powerful (persons) nor inflict punishment on the instant on those associated with me; you should not harm my party, my livelihood and my secrets; and by signs I shall prevent you from inflicting punishment under the influence of passion or anger.'

- 8 If appointed, he should, with permission, enter the place indicated, and should sit at the (king's) side neither very near nor far, on another seat. 9 He shall not indulge in bellicose talk, nor make statements that are uncultured or not based on personal knowledge or untrustworthy or untrue, nor indulge in loud laughter when there is no joke nor break wind or spit with a sound. 10 He should avoid a secret talk with another, a quarrelsome remark during a discussion among men, a dress fit for a king or that of gaudy men or clowns, an open request for some jewel or a special favour, contracting one eye or lip, knitting of eye-brows and cutting short a remark when (another person is) speaking, opposition to those associated with the powerful, association, working for a common objective and union with women, persons (frequently) meeting women, envoys of neighbouring princes, persons belonging to the party of the inimical, persons dismissed and harmful persons.
 - 11 He should declare without loss of time what is in the king's interest, in the company of those dear and beneficial (to the king) what is in his own interest, at the proper place and time what is in the interest of another, (always) what is connected with spiritual and material well-being.
- 7 avišista 'not distinguished' for learning or experience and hence not competent to advise on dharma and artha. balavatsamyukteşu dandadhāranam: we have to supply na kuryāḥ. Meyer supplies kuryāḥ and proposes abalavat- 'you must punish criminals before they attain prominence (avišisteşu), before they are associated with the mighty.' This is quite unlikely. matsamyoge tadātve ca etc.: this is to be understood together 'no punishment for my people at once'; 'no punishment for my associates and no instantaneous punishment' is possible, but seems less likely.
- 8 Cb reads āyuktapradiṣṭāyām. It seems that āyuktaḥ should be read instead of ādiṣṭaḥ. samnikṛṣṭaḥviprakṛṣṭaḥ is from Cs for samnikṛṣṭaḥ viprakṛṣṭaḥ of the mss. In fact the sense requires asamnikṛṣṭaḥ aviprakṛṣṭaḥ 'not too near nor too far,' as in Cb. parāsanam: Cs reads varāsanam and places it at the beginning of the next s. But then it has to be construed with na kuryāt, which is far from happy. Cb has the same punctuation with parāsanam 'a seat intended for some one else.' 10 dvandvakathanam 'quarrelsome talk,' rather than 'talk between two'; cf. dvandvin 1.13.2. atišaya seems to refer to some special favour as Meyer says. avakṣipta: cf. 1.10.2,5. saṃghāta 'union' is more intimate than ekārthacaryā 'working for a common object.' All three, pratisaṃsarga etc., are to be construed with each of strībhiḥ, strīdarsibhiḥ etc. 'The strīs would appear to be those in the harem.

- 12 When asked, he should declare what is agreeable and beneficial, should not declare what is harmful but agreeable; or, he may, with permission, declare in private what is disagreeable but beneficial, when the (king) is prepared to listen.
- 13-14 Or, when making a reply he should remain silent and should not mention enemies and others. Those cast out from his affection may, though competent, become even disagreeable (to him), and harmful persons are known to have become favourites as they act according to their knowledge of his inclinations. He may laugh at laughable things, and avoid frightful laughter.
- 15 He should turn away from another frightful (words by the king), and should not himself use frightful words to another, and should tolerate (such words) addressed to himself, being full of forbearance like the earth.
- 16 For, self-protection must always be first secured by the wise (person); for, the conduct of those serving a king has been stated to be like (remaining) in fire.
- 17 Fire, when it reaches another, may burn a part or (at most) the whole body; but a king might kill one along with sons and wife or might cause one to prosper.

CHAPTER FIVE

SECTION 93 CONCERNING PROPER BEHAVIOUR (FOR A COURTIER)

- 1 When assigned work, he should show income cleared of expenses.
 2 And he should specify a business that is inner or outer, open or secret, urgent or brooking delay, by saying 'This is of this nature.'
- 3 He should not humour him by (false) praises when he is addicted to hunting, gambling, wine or women. 4 And, remaining near, he
- 13-14 The second half of st. 13 and the first half of st. 14 form a single śloka and are quoted as such in the Daśakumāracarita, VIII. It is possible that there has been some disarrangement of the lines in the text here. prativākye 'when giving a reply 'rather than 'when a reply is being given by the king.' abhihāsyeşu is from Cb Cs for alihāsyeşu, which yields little sense.
 - 15 ghoram, i.e., ghoravacanam by the king.
- 17 param gatah 'when it reaches another' may also mean 'when it reaches its maximum' (Meyer).

5.5

- 2 $\bar{a}bhyantaram$, i.e., pertaining to the city or the palace and $b\bar{a}hyam$, i.e., pertaining to the outlying regions. See 9.5 below.
- 3 nainam anuvarteta is proposed for caivam anuvarteta or caivanuvarteta. Considering the next s. and the general spirit of this section, it is little likely that advice

should endeavour to wean him from the vice, and should guard him from enemy's instigations, cheating and fraud.

- 5 And he should observe his gestures and expressions. 6 For, a wise man shows, with his gestures and expressions, a reversal of the pairs of feelings, viz., liking and hatred, joy and distress, resoluteness and fear, for concealing his secret counsel.
- 7 The (king) is pleased at his sight, accepts his statement, gives him a seat, gives an audience in private, does not over-suspect on an occasion of suspicion, takes pleasure in his talk, pays regard to him in matters that are to be communicated, tolerates wholesome words spoken, appoints him to a task with a smile, touches him with the hand, does not ridicule him in a praiseworthy matter, speaks of his virtues in his absence, remembers him during meals, goes with him on a pleasure trip, helps him in a calamity, honours those devoted to him, tells him his secret, increases his honour, does what is advantageous to him, wards off what is harmful, thus is known when the king is satisfied (with him).
- 8 These same reversed (are signs) of a dissatisfied (king); and we shall state more (such signs): 9 Anger at sight of him, not listening to and prohibition of his statements, not giving him a seat and not looking at him, change in complexion and voice, contraction of one eye, eye-brow or lip, appearance without cause of sweat, sighs or smile, consultation with another, going away suddenly, making another prosper, scratching the ground or limbs, goading another (against him) showing contempt for his learning, varṇa or country, censure of those with a like offence, censure of every single offence, praise of those against him, not paying regard to his good deeds, mentioning his evil deeds, paying attention at the back, extreme indifference, telling him a falsehood, and a difference in the behaviour towards him of those who frequently see the king.

would be given to humour the king in his vices; the reverse is far more likely. And evam or eva in the other readings has no significance.

- 5 ingitākārau: see 1.15.7-9. 6 vyavasāya has almost the sense of 'courage,' being the opposite of bhaya. prājāah is as suggested by Meyer. The reading of the mss. is obviously corrupt.
- 7 ślāghye nopahasati: Cs reads ślāghyena upahasati 'when a praiseworthy thing is done by the minister, he jokes in his presence'; this appears to be Cb's explanation too. But it appears less likely. Meyer proposes aślāghye nopahasati or ślāghye ślāghate marmani nopahasati; neither seems necessary. tadbhaktīn, i.e., those loyal to the minister.
- 9 paramantranam is from Meyer for parimantranam, though Cs gets the same meaning 'talking with another' from the latter. Meyer also suggests aparimantranam 'not talking with him,' as supported by the Kāmasūtra. pratido-

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- 10 And he should observe the change in behaviour even of non-human beings. 11 'He is sprinkling (water) from on high,' with this (thought) Kātyāyana left (his king's service); 'The heron (is flying) towards the left,' with this Kaṇinka Bhāradvāja (left); 'Ah, grass,' with this Dīrgha Cārāyaṇa (left); 'The garment is cold,' with this Ghoṭamukha (left); 'The elephant has sprinkled water,' with this Kiñjalka (left); 'He has praised the chariot and horse,' with this Piśuna (left); at the barking of the dog, the son of Piśuna (left).
- 12 And in case of deprival of emoluments and honour, leaving (the service of the king is recommended). 13 Or, knowing the master's character and his own offence, he should remedy it. 14 Or he should approach his ally who may be close to him.
- the removal of his offence towards the master; then he should return again while the king is alive or when he is dead.

şanindā seeems to be due to dittography. There is no comment on it in Cb.
 — pṛṣṭhāvadhānam 'paying attention at the back (and not in front where the minister is).' — atityāgaḥ, i.e., having nothing to do with him.

11 ayam uccaih siñcati: according to Cb, followed by Cs, the minister found the gardener watering from on high instead of from the usual low level and thus making him wet; that served as a warning that the king wanted to kill him, because he thought that the minister had divulged a secret. This sounds plausible though the warning may only be about the king's displeasure. — krauñco 'pasavyam: this is even ordinarily an evil omen; the details in Cb Cs need not be necessarily accepted. - Kaninko Bhāradvājah: it is possible that this Bhāradvāja is the same as the author of a work on the Arthaśāstra frequently quoted in this text. Kanińka Bhāradvāja's discourse on politics is found in the Mahābhārata, 12.138. - trņam iti Dirghas Cārāyaṇah: it seems that grass appeared in a place where it was not expected and that set the minister thinking. According to Cb Cs, the king sent a plateful of food covered with grass; that would be too obvious an indication of displeasure. The story narrated in the Nandī Sūtra does not appear intended here. - sītā śātī: a cold garment when a warm one was expected apparently set the minister thinking. — hastī pratyaukṣīt: the unusual occurrence of an elephant sprinkling him with water set the minister thinking. -- rathāśvam prāśamsīt: the praise of the chariot and horse by the king is understood as a hint that the minister should depart. - Piśunah: cf. 1.8.11. Piśuna is the name of Dusyanta's minister in the Sākuntala. - pratiravane śunah: the barking of the dog is taken as a hint of the king's displeasure. - Piśunaputrah: he may be the son of the Piśuna mentioned earlier.

- 12 This s. is not to be construed with the preceding s., and hence the emendations in the Punjab text are unacceptable. avakṣepa 'deprival' rather than mere 'diminution.' 14 upakṛṣṭam 'near (to the king)' both figuratively and literally.
- 15 $j\bar{v}a$ as adjective 'living' is known to the Rgveda ($j\bar{v}a\bar{j}yotiras\bar{i}mahi$, 7.32.26). Cb Cs read $j\bar{v}ved$ for $j\bar{v}ve$. The latter, however, appears better.

CHAPTER SIX

SECTION 94 CONTINUANCE OF THE KINGDOM SECTION 95 CONTINUOUS SOVEREIGNTY

- The minister should take steps in case of a calamity of the king in the following manner:
- 2 Even before there is fear of the danger of (the king's) death, he should, by winning the support of those dear and beneficial (to the king), establish audience (with the king) at intervals of one month or two, under the pretext that 'The king is engaged in a rite for removing the troubles of the country or for destroying enemies or for securing long life or for getting a son.' 3 He should show, at a time when the appearance cannot be distinguished, a person appearing like the king to the subjects and to the envoys of allies and enemies. 4 And he should hold suitable conversation with them through the minister. 5 And through the Chief Usher and the Chief of Palace Guards, he should cause the king's daily duties to be carried out as described (before). 6 And towards those who do harm, he should cause disfavour or favour to be shown as it may be pleasing to the subjects, favour only towards those who have conferred benefits.
- 7 He should cause the treasury and the army to be collected in one place, in the fortified city or on the frontier, in charge of trustworthy men, also (bring together) members of the (royal) family, princes and principal officers under some pretext.
- 8 And if any principal officer, with a (strong) party, stationed in the fort or a forest, were to show hostility, he should get him won over. 9 Or, he should send him on an expedition full of dangers or to an ally's family.

5.6

The two sections are closely related; the dividing line between them, which is not quite distinct, may be found at s. 22.

- 1 rājavyasanam, i.e., a serious illness or death of the king. Mostly, death is thought of.
- 2 upagraha 'winning over,' i.e., securing the support of. 3 rājavyañjanam, i.e., some one who is the king's double. arūpavelāyām is proposed in conformity with 7.17.41; the actual comment in Cb supports the emendation. The meaning is 'at a time when the form cannot be clearly seen,' i.e., when it is dark. 4 He, i.e., the person appearing like the king. 5 For dauvārika and āntarvamšika, see 1.12.6. yathoktam, i.e., as described in 1.19.
 - 7 kulya is independent of kumāra, not an adjective to it.
- 8 $upagr\bar{a}hayet$: this seems to mean 'should have him won over 'as in s. 13 below, hardly 'should have him seized or imprisoned 'as in 2.28.20,

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- 10 And he should cause that vassal, from whom he apprehends danger, to be brought under control under the pretext of a festival, a wedding, an elephant hunt, a horse-sale, or grant of land, or through his own ally. 11 Then he should enter into a treaty that would be inviolable. 12 Or, he should bring about enmity (of the vassal) with forest chiefs or enemies. 13 Or, he should win over a pretender from his family or a prince in disfavour by (the promise of) a part of (his) territory.
- 14 Or, winning the support of members of the (royal) family, princes and principal officers, he should show a prince as already crowned.
- 15 Or, he should cause the administration to be carried on by weeding out the thorns of the kingdom in the manner described in (the section) 'Infliction of (secret) Punishment.'
- 16 If, however, any principal officer or any one of the vassals were to rise in revolt, he should invite him, saying, 'Come here, I shall make you the king,' and get him killed. 17 Or, he should get rid of him by (using) 'Remedies against Troubles.'
- 18 Or, after gradually transferring the burden of the kingdom to the crown prince, he should announce the calamity of the king.
- 19 In case the calamity has befallen the king in enemy territory (during war), he should secure a treaty with the enemy through an ally posing as a foe and retire. 20 Or, he should place one of the vassals in his fort and retire. 21 Or, after crowning the prince, he should fight back. 22 Or, if attacked by the enemy, he should use 'Remedies against Troubles' as described.
- 23 'In this way the minister should secure continuous sovereignty,' says Kautilya.
- 11 adūsyam seems to mean 'which cannot be violated'; it may also mean 'which would not make him treasonable.' takulīnam aparuddham vā: cf. 1. 10.3. These cannot be members of the dying king's family as Meyer thinks.
- 14 abhişiktam eva, i.e., already crowned before the news of the king's death is announced.
 - 15 dāṇḍakarmikavat, i.e., as in 5.1. above.
- 16 A $v\bar{a}$ would seem necessary after anyatamah. 17 \bar{a} patpratik \bar{a} rena, i.e., as in 9.5 below.
 - 18 rājyabhāram āropya: this is without crowning him as king.
- 19 mitrena amitravyañjanena: such an ally is able to secure better terms from the enemy. 20 asya, i.e., śatroh. This implies that a fort of the enemy was captured before the king's death. 21 kumāram abhisicya; this is done in the enemy's fort.

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- 24 'Not so,' says Bhāradvāja. 25 'When the king is dying, the minister should make members of the family, princes, and principal officers fight against one another or against (other) principal officers. 26 When any one fights, he should get him slain by a rising of the subjects. 27 Or, getting rid of members of the family, princes and principal officers by silent punishment, he should seize the kingdom himself. 28 For, for the sake of the kingdom, the father fights with sons and the sons with the father, what to say then of the constituent, namely, the minister, the one support of the kingdom? 29 He should not disdain that when it has come to him of its own accord. 30 "A woman approaching of her own accord curses if discarded," such is a saying among the people.
 - 31 'Time comes but once to a man waiting for an opportunity; that time is difficult for that man to get again when he wants to do his work.'
- 32 'This incites subjects to revolt, is unrighteous and uncertain as to result,' says Kautilya. 33 He should place on the throne a prince possessed of qualities of the self. 34 In the absence of one so endowed, he should call together high officers and, introducing a prince not addicted to vice or a princess or the queen enceinte, should say, 'This
- 23 evam ekaiśvaryam etc. shows that the preceding ss. are also concerned with 'continuity of sovereignty,' and the two prakaranas can hardly be separated.
- 24 Bhāradvājah: he is a ruthless and cynical teacher; cf. 1.17.4-6. 25 pramriyamāne vā: Meyer suggests that vā may be understood as eva, or that mṛte may be supposed to have dropped out before it or that vā shows an alternative in Bhāradvāja's work, from which we have here an extensive quotation. The last suggestion seems reasonable. kulyakumāramukhyān: it seems that the original reading was kulyakumārān only, as is shown by mukhyesu that follows. 28 abhidruhyanti, i.e., become enemies and fight. ekapragrahah: cf. 1.10.3. The amātya thought of in this Chapter is the chief minister. 29 tat, i.e., rājyam. 30 strī: rājyaśrī is figuratively a woman. 31 This stanza marks the end of the quotation from Bhāradvāja's work; an iti after it would have been better. Cb mentions the stanza as a śloka of Bṛhaspati. It is found with slight variations in the Mahābhārata, 12.104.20 and in the Tantrākhyāyika, 3.74.
- 32 The difficulty posed by Bhāradvāja saying 'not so' to Kautilya's opinion (s. 24) and Kautilya then refuting the former's opinion may be eased by supposing that naivam in s. 24 is not from Bhāradvāja's work, but is put in his mouth only for emphasis, or that naivam has reference to all that is stated in ss. 1-22 which was emphasis, or that naivam has reference to all that is stated in ss. 1-22 which was emphasis, or that naivam has reference to all that is stated in ss. 1-22 which was emphasis, or that naivam has reference to all that is stated in ss. 1-22 which was emphasis, or that naivam has reference to all that is stated in ss. 1-22 which was emphasis, or that naivam has reference to all that is stated in ss. 1-22 which was emphasis, or that naivam has reference to all that is stated in ss. 1-22 which was emphasis, or that naivam has reference to all that is stated in ss. 1-22 which was emphasis, or that naivam has reference to all that is stated in ss. 1-22 which was emphasis, or that naivam has reference to all that is stated in ss. 1-22 which was emphasis, or that naivam has reference to all that is stated in ss. 1-22 which was emphasis, or that naivam has reference to all that is stated in ss. 1-22 which was emphasis, or that naivam has reference to all that is stated in ss. 1-22 which was emphasis, or that naivam has reference to all that is stated in ss. 1-22 which was emphasis, or that naivam has reference to all that is stated in ss. 1-22 which was emphasis, or that naivam has reference to all that is put in his mouth only for that naivam has reference to all that is put in his mouth only for that naivam has reference to all that is put in his mouth only for that naivam has reference to all that is put in his mouth only for that naivam has reference to all that is put in his mouth only for that naivam has reference to all that is put in his mouth only for that naivam has reference to all that is put in his mouth only for that naivam has reference to all that is put in his mouth only for that naiv
- 34 vyasaninam, which Ch Cs read for avyasaninam, seems hardly likely in the context.

is a trust with you; pay regard to his father as well as to your goodness and noble birth; he is only an emblem, you alone are masters; or, what (else) should be done?' 35 When he says this, secret agents (among them) should say, 'Who else but this king, with you to guide him, would be able to protect the four varnas?' 36 Saying 'So be it,' the minister should invest with authority the prince or the princess or the enceinte queen and should introduce (him or her) to kinsmen and relations and to the envoys of allies and enemies.

- 37 He should cause an increase in the provisions and salaries of ministers and soldiers, and say, 'When grown up, this (prince) will again give a rise.' 38 Thus he should speak to the principal officers in the fort and the country, and to parties of allies and enemies (he should speak) as deserved.
 - 39 And he should strive to give training to the prince.
- 40 Or, after getting an offspring begotten on the princess by a man of the same caste, he should crown him. 41 Through fear of change of the mother's mind, he should keep near her a member of the family with small spirit and a young boy with auspicious marks. 42 And during the (monthly) periods he should guard her.
- 43 And he should not cause any excellent object of pleasure to be made for his own use. 44 For the king, however, he should cause belongings like carriages, riding animals, ornaments, dresses, women and houses, to be provided.
 - 45 And when he has attained youth, he should ask for rest, to find out his inclination; he should leave him if he is not satisfied and continue to guard him if he is satisfied.
 - 46 Or, if he has fallen from favour, he should repair to a forest or engage in a long sacrificial session after instructing select secret retinue to guard the prince.
- 40 kanyāyām etc.: this would operate when there is no prince. 41 mātuḥ: this is the kanyā of the last s. The danger is that she may waver and find some lover, ignoring the interests of the state and her own young prince. kulyam alpasattvam, apparently as a check on the princess without involving any risk of himself enticing her. chātram ca: in view of the ca, this is different from the kulya, being apparently 'a young boy' intended as a companion to the young prince. Cb seems to understand a Brahmin boy, the excuse for keeping him being worship of the gods. upanidadhyāt is used in the literal sense. 42 rtau etc.: this is to prevent another offspring, now that the continuity of the line is assured.
 - 44 parivāpa 'personal belongings'; cf. 3.6.6.
 - 45 yauvanastham from Cb Cs is obviously necessary.
- 46 sāra 'of the best kind, select'; Cb renders it by 'pitṛpaitāmaha, hereditary.' parigraha clearly is 'an attendant, servant.' arucyatām gataḥ 'come to be disliked' by the prince.

- 47 Or, if the king is under the influence of principal officers, he, well conversant with the science of politics, should enlighten him through historical and mythological tales, with the support of those dear (to the king).
- 48 Or, putting on the appearance of a holy man and resorting to secret practices, he should get hold of the king and after getting hold of him should employ 'the Infliction of Punishment' against the treasonable.

Herewith ends the Fifth Book of the Arthaśāstra of Kauţilya 'Secret Conduct'

48 siddhavyañjanarūpaḥ: rūpa does not seem quite necessary. — yogam, i.e., secret practices.

BOOK SIX

THE CIRCLE (OF KINGS) AS THE BASIS

CHAPTER ONE

SECTION 96 EXCELLENCES OF THE CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS

- 1 The king, the minister, the country, the fortified city, the treasury, the army and the ally are the constituent elements (of the state).
 - 2 Among them, the excellences of the king are:
- 3 Born in a high family, endowed with good fortune, intelligence and spirit, given to seeing elders, pious, truthful in speech, not breaking his promise, grateful, liberal, of great energy, not dilatory, with weak neighbouring princes, resolute, not having a mean council (of ministers), desirous of training, these are the qualities of one easily approachable.
- 4 Desire to learn, listening, learning, retention, thorough understanding, reflecting, rejecting (false views) and intentness on truth, —these are the qualities of intellect.

The Sixth Book deals with the circle of kings (mandala) and their constituents Cb Cs explain mandalayonih as 'the mandala, which is the yoni, i.e., basis of the six measures (sādgunya).' That is supported by 7.1.1. The description of the mandala in this Book serves as an introduction to the next Book which deals with sādgunya. The expression, as a Tatpuruṣa compound, might also mean 'the source, i.e., the basic elements of the circle.'

6.1

- 1 G_1 and M_1 both have the faulty -dandadurgāni, which shows that the two are derived from the same exemplar.
- 3 avisamvādakaḥ 'one who does not contradict, i.e., is consistent or acts as he speaks.' śakyasāmantaḥ: as 7.10.9-10 show, śakya has the sense of durbala, the point being that the neighbouring princes are not a source of trouble. By śakya, Cb understands pīḍanīya, karśanīya and ucchedanīya of 6.2.16. Cb reads dṛḍhabhaktiḥ for dṛḍhabuddhiḥ. akṣudra- seems to refer to the quality of the ministers, hardly their number.
 - 4 Cf. 1.5.5.

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- 5 Bravery, resentment, quickness and dexterity, these are the qualities of energy.
- 6 Eloquent, bold, endowed with memory, intellect and strength, exalted, easy to manage, trained in arts, free from vices, able to lead the army, able to requite obligations and injury in the prescribed manner, possessed of a sense of shame, able to take suitable action in calamities and in normal conditions, seeing long and far, attaching prominence to undertakings at the proper place and time and with appropriate human endeavour, able to discriminate between peace and fighting, giving and withholding, and (observance of) conditions and (striking at) the enemy's weak points, well-guarded, not laughing in an undignified manner, with a glance which is straight and without a frown, devoid of passion, anger, greed, stiffness, fickleness, trouble-someness and slanderousness, sweet in speech, speaking with a smile and with dignity, with conduct conforming to the advice of elders, these are personal excellences.
 - 7 The excellences of a minister have been stated before.
- 6 svavagrahah 'easy to control' is usually used of an enemy or a servant; cf. 1.9.1. In the case of the master, it may convey the sense of 'easy to lead or guide (along the right path)', as suggested in 1.7.8. - avyasanah: Cb Cs read vyasane and construe it with dandanāyī. But leadership of the army at all times is definitely a better idea. And freedom from vyasanas would be an independent qualification. Perhaps avyasanī should be read. — dandanāyī is 'able to lead the army', hardly 'inflictor of punishment'; in the latter sense, the root used is pra-nī. dṛṣṭapratīkārī: as Cb Cs explain, dṛṣṭa is śāstradṛṣṭa, as laid down in the science of politics. Meyer has 'who knows how to requite etc.'; but for this drstapratīkārah would be necessary. With the suffix -in, drsta can only be an adjective to pratīkāra in a Karmadhāraya compound. — āpatprakrtyor viniyoktā 'who makes appropriate use of, i.e., takes suitable action in calamities and normal times.' - desa $k\bar{a}la$ - etc. : Cb Cs understand importance attached to each of deśa, $k\bar{a}la$, $puruṣak\bar{a}ra$ and kārya separately. It seems better, however, to understand importance given to kārya, which is done at the proper place and time, with requisite human effort. samdhivikrama- etc.: Cb Cs regard samyamapana as a single idea, 'collection of treasury as in Chapter 5.2 (pana as coins?) without creating disaffection among the subjects (samyama as absence of troublesomeness?).' This is doubtful. As Meyer says, there are three contrasted pairs, the second being tyāga and samyama, and the third pana and paracchidra; between each pair, the king must be able to distinguish or discriminate (vibhāgin). tyāga refers to giving something to the enemy etc., samyama to withholding it. pana refers to the terms of a treaty, i.e., the observance of the terms, and paracchidra implies the idea of striking at the enemy's weak point, even by violating the terms of a treaty. - samvitah refers primarily to the guarding of the mantra. - ajihma- etc. : we have to understand ajihma and abhrukuti as describing the ikṣaṇa. Cb understands ajihma as describing bhrukuți. That also is possible. — upatāpa is harassment of the subjects, as in Cb Cs. - śaklah outside the compound, as in Cb Cs, is better, though the compound smitodagrābhibhāṣī is a bit odd. Meyer suggests śaktaḥ smitavādī agrābhibhāṣī. But neither śaktah nor agrābhibhāṣī appears likely.

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- 8 Possessed of strong positions in the centre and at the frontiers, capable of sustaining itself and others in times of distress, easy to protect, providing excellent (means of) livelihood, malevolent towards enemies, with weak neighbouring princes, devoid of mud, stones, salty ground, uneven land, thorns, bands, wild animals, deer and forest tribes, charming, endowed with agricultural land, mines, material forests and elephant forests, beneficial to cattle, beneficial to men, with protected pastures, rich in animals, not depending on rain for water, provided with water-routes and land-routes, with valuable, manifold and plenty of commodities, capable of bearing fines and taxes, with farmers devoted to work, with a wise master, inhabited mostly by the lower varnas, with men loyal and honest, - these are the excellences of a country.
 - 9 The excellences of a fort have been stated before.
- 10 Acquired lawfully by the ancestors or by oneself, consisting mostly of gold and silver, containing various kinds of big jewels and cash, (one) that would withstand a calamity even of a long duration in which there is no income, - these are the excellences of a treasury.
- Inherited from the father and the grandfather, constant, obedient, with the soldiers' sons and wives contented, not disappointed during marches, unhindered everywhere, able to put up with troubles, that has fought many battles, skilled in the science of all types of war and weapons, not having a separate interest because of prosperity and adversity shared (with the king), consisting mostly of Ksatriyas, these are the excellences of an army.
 - 7 purastāt: in 1.9.1 above.
- 8 sthānavān: sthāna obviously refers to positions of strength, such as a fort etc. - āpadi is to be construed with the preceding (Meyer) rather than with the following svāraksah (Cb Cs). — kantaka may be understood in the figurative sense of the Fourth Book or in the literal sense. - adevamātrkah 'not depending on the god (of rain)', having perennial sources of water supply, such as rivers etc. dandakara- etc.: danda ean hardly be 'army' (Meyer). Cf. 1.13.3,8. — abāliśasvāmī: on the strength of Kāmandaka, 4.54, Meyer would read bāliśasvāmī 'having foolish lords.' But svāmin clearly refers to the king himself and not to other landlords (Kāmandaka has nāyaka); and even foolish landholders would hardly be an excellence in a janapada. Cf. 7.10.23-25. — avaravarna primarily refers to the Sūdras. Cf. 2.1.2.
 - 9 purastāt: in 2.3 above.
- 10 anāyatim: this is an adjective to āpadam. For āyati 'income, revenue', cf. 2.9.10,11 etc.
- 11 bhṛta are the hired soldiers; cf. bhṛtabala 9.2.3 etc. pravāseṣu avisamvāditah ' not contradicted in long marches,' i.e., not frustrated or disappointed during such marches. Cf. 10.3.38. This appears to be the explanation in Cb, though its text shows the reading pravāsesvapi sampāditah. Cs explains this as 'receiving its customary comforts even during marches.' - advaidhya may mean 'having no

- 12 Allied from the days of the father and the grandfather, constant, under control, not having a separate interest, great, able to mobilise quickly, these are the excellences of an ally.
- 13 Not of royal descent, greedy, with a mean council (of ministers), with disaffected subjects, unjust in behaviour, not applying himself (to duties), vicious, devoid of energy, trusting in fate, doing whatever pleases him, without shelter, without a following, impotent, ever doing harm (to others), these are excellences in an enemy. 14 For, an enemy of this type becomes easy to exterminate.
 - 15 Excluding the enemy, these seven constituent elements have been described with each one's excellences manifest; those, when they operate, become subordinate to the excellences of the king.
 - 16 A king endowed with personal qualities endows with excellences the constituent elements not so endowed. One not endowed with personal qualities destroys the constituent elements that are prosperous and devoted (to him).
 - 17 Then that (king) not endowed with personal qualities, with defective constituent elements is either killed by the subjects or subjugated by the enemies, even if he be ruler up to the four ends of the earth.
 - 18 But one possessed of personal qualities, though ruling over a small territory, being united with the excellences of the constituent elements, (and) conversant with (the science of) politics, does conquer the entire earth, never loses.

separate interests of its own ' or ' not resorting to duplicity or double-dealing '; the former seems meant. Cf. s. 12 below and 7.9.43.

- 12 Cf. 7.9.38 and 7.9.9 ff.
- 13 ayuktah seems 'one not applying himself' diligently to his duties (utthāna-hīna,—Cb), rather than 'one without servants' or 'improperly behaved.'—agatih 'without support when being exterminated' (Cb).—ananubandhah: this may mean 'having no following' or 'having no connections.' anubandha in this text usually refers to what follows from something, a consequence. Cf. 9.7.14.
- 15 It seems best to look upon $ukt\bar{a}h$ as the predicate for the first half, as in Cb Cs; in the second half $pratyangabh\bar{u}t\bar{a}h$ may be regarded as the predicate, with $prakrt\bar{a}h$ in the sense of 'which function or operate' understood as descriptive of the constituent elements. The idea seems to be that the other constituents are dependent on the king and his qualities.
- 16 Breloer (III, 269 n. 2) thinks that the word ātmavān indicates that the verses are derived from Brhaspati.
- 17 duṣṭaprakṛtiḥ: in the context, prakṛti is a constituent element (Cs), rather than 'nature' (as in Meyer) or 'subjects,' though in prakṛtibhiḥ in the second half, subjects are clearly to be thought of. cāturantaḥ: cf. 1.6.4.

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CHAPTER TWO

SECTION 97 CONCERNING PEACE AND ACTIVITY

1 Peace and activity constitute the source of acquisition and security. 2 Activity is that which brings about the accomplishment of works undertaken. 3 Peace is that which brings about security of enjoyment of the fruits of works.

4 The source of peace and activity is the six-fold policy.
5 Decline, stability and advancement are the consequences of that (policy).

6 (Acts) of human agency are good policy and bad policy; of divine agency good fortune and misfortune. 7 For, it is acts of human and divine agency that make the world go. 8 That caused by an unseen agency is the divine (act). 9 In that, the attainment of the desired fruit is good fortune; of undesired (fruit), misfortune. 10 That caused by a seen agency is the human (act). 11 In that, the coming into being of well-being is good policy; (its) ruin, bad policy. 12 That can be thought about; the divine is incalculable.

13 The king, endowed with personal excellences and those of his material constituents, the seat of good policy, is the would-be conqueror. 14 Encircling him on all sides, with territory immediately next to his is the constituent called the enemy. 15 In the same manner, one with territory separated by one (other territory) is the constituent called the ally.

16 A neighbouring prince possessed of the excellences of an enemy is the foe; one in calamity is vulnerable; one without

6.2

The Section, though named *samavyāyāmikam*, actually describes the nature of the circle of kings. That is because peace and activity in a state, which are necessary for its well-being, depend on its relations with the circle of neighbouring states.

- 2 yogārādhanaḥ: this can hardly mean 'exertion and making it fruitful' (Meyer); it seems to mean 'what secures the acquisition or accomplishment (of the works).' So kṣemārādhanaḥ is hardly 'peacefully making it fruitful' (Meyer).
 - 5 udayāh 'fruits,' i.e., consequences.
- 6 mānuṣam: supply karma. 7 yāpayati, i.e., keeps it going. 9 aya as 'goop fortune' seems restricted to this science. Cf. Raghuvamśa, 4.26.
- 14 samantato manḍalībhūtā: this would imply not one king, but all those whose territories are continguous to that of the vijigīṣu; they are his aris. It is to be noted that in 15.1.51-52, where this passage is quoted, we have prathamā prakṛtiḥ, dvitīyā and tṛtīyā in place of vijigīṣuḥ, ariprakṛtiḥ and mitraprakṛtiḥ here. What is more, those terms are there called svasamjñāḥ 'one's own technical terms.' Apparently, the numerical terms were first thought of by Kauṭilya. But he has used them only on a few occasions, as in 7.6.1 and 7.7.1. Cf. also 7.18.1-2.

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support or with a weak support is fit to be exterminated; in the reverse case, fit to be harassed or weakened. 17 These are the different types of enemies.

- 18 Beyond him, the ally, the enemy's ally, the ally's ally, and the enemy's ally's ally are situated in front in accordance with the proximity of the territories; behind, the enemy in the rear, the ally in the rear, the rear enemy's ally and the rear ally's ally (one behind the other).
- 19 One with immediately proximate territory is the natural enemy; one of equal birth is the enemy by birth; one opposed or in opposition is the enemy made (for the time being).
- One with territory separated by one other is the natural ally; one related through the mother or father is the ally by birth; one who has sought shelter for wealth or life is the ally made (for the time being).
- 21 One with territory immediately proximate to those of the enemy and the conqueror, capable of helping them when they are united or disunited and of suppressing them when they are disunited, is the middle king.
- 22 One outside (the sphere of) the enemy, the conqueror and the middle king, stronger than (their) constituents, capable of helping the enemy, the conqueror and the middle king when they are united or disunited and of suppressing them when they are disunited, is the neutral king.
- 16 anapāśrayaḥ: the shelter is either a fort or an ally. viparyaye, i.e., when he has a strong support.
- 18 pārṣṇigrāhaḥ 'the heel-catcher', who attacks in the rear when one is fighting in front. ākranda may contain a reference to 'crying out for help' on the part of the vijigīṣu. So āsāra 'ally' has reference to 'moving forward' for helping or rescuing.
- 19 Cb Cs regard prakrtyamitra and tulyābhijana as two types of sahaja enemy; that is doubtful in the absence of a ca or a vā. And the literal sense of sahaja would restrict the term to the tulyābhijana only. This term seems to refer to some member of the same royal family as the vijigīṣu.
 - 20 As before, Cb Cs regard prakrtimitra also as a type of sahaja ally.
- 21 For the madhyama and udāsīna, cf. N.N. Law (IHQ, IX, 770-783). As he points out, these two are powerful rulers who could easily upset the balance of power in the circle of kings.
- 22 -madhyānām bahiḥ prakṛtibhyo balavattaraḥ: the comment in Cb omits the reference to madhyama and understands daṇḍa and kośa by the prakṛtis. Cs understands 'outside the constituents of'; for this, bahiḥ should have come after prakṛtishyaḥ; and 'outside the contituents' does not make much sense. Meyer has bhyaḥ; and 'outside the contituents' is understronger than the outer prakṛtis'; but such a description of the prakṛtis is unstronger than the outer prakṛtis'; but such a description of the prakṛtis is unstronger than the outer prakṛtis'; but such a description of the prakṛtis is unstronger than the outer prakṛtis'; but such a description of the prakṛtis is unstronger than the outer prakṛtis'; but such a description of the prakṛtis is unstronger than the outer prakṛtis'; but such a description of the prakṛtis is unstronger than the outer prakṛtis is unst

- 23 These are the constituents (of the circle of kings).
- 24 Or, the conqueror, the ally and the ally's ally are the three constituents of this (circle of kings). 25 They, each individually united with its five constituent elements, the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury and the army, constitute the eighteen-fold circle. 26 By that is explained a separate circle (for each of) the enemy, the middle and the neutral kings. 27 Thus there is a collection of four circles.
- 28 There are twelve constituents who are kings, sixty material constituents, a total of seventy-two in all. 29 Each of these has its own peculiar excellences.
- 30 Power and success (are to be explained). 31 Power is (possession of) strength. 32 Success is (obtaining) happiness.
- 33 Power is three-fold: the power of knowledge is the power of counsel, the power of the treasury and the army is the power of might, the power of valour is the power of energy.
- 34 In the same way, success is also three-fold: that attainable by the power of counsel is success by counsel, that attainable by the power of might is success by might, that attainable by the power of energy is success by energy.
- 35 Thriving with these, the (king) becomes superior; reduced (in these), inferior; with equal powers, equal. 36 Therefore, he should endeavour to endow himself with power and success, or, if similar, (to endow with power and success) the material constituents in accordance with their immediate proximity or integrity. 37 Or, he should endeavour to detract (these) from treasonable persons and enemies.
- 38 Or, if he were to see, 'My enemy, possessed of power, will injure his subjects with verbal or physical injury or appropriation of their property, or, when endowed with success, will become negligent

to contain a reference to his being outside the group of kings. He is the most powerful monarch thought of.

- 24 In these ss. we have a different arrangement of the twelve kings forming the circle. The text follows the earlier arrangement; pārṣṇigrāha, ākranda, etc. are frequently mentioned, the allies etc. of the madhyama or udāsīna hardly ever.
- 30 śaktih siddhiś ca: these are adhikāraśabdas as in Cs; they cannot be construed with sampadah (regarded as genitive singular) as in Meyer or with tāsām of the preceding s.
- 35 $jy\bar{a}y\bar{a}n$ etc.: the comparison is with the enemy, the $vijig\bar{\imath}su$'s rival. 36 $s\bar{a}dh\bar{a}rano\ va$: this refers to the $vijig\bar{\imath}su$ and his enemy being both endowed with personal excellences. The sense of 'common, mediocre' is possible, but seems less likely. 37 apakrastum: the object is $\acute{s}aktim\ siddhim\ ca$.

because of (addiction to) hunting, gambling, wine or women, thus with subjects disaffected or (himself) become weakened or remiss, he will be easy to overpower for me; or, being attacked in war, he will remain in one place or not in his fort, with all his troops collected together, thus with his army brought together, (and himself) separated from his ally and fort, he will be easy to over-power for me; or, he will render help to me when I am attacked by a strong king, (thinking) " the strong king is desirous of exterminating my enemy elsewhere; after exterminating him, he might exterminate me," or (help me) when my undertakings have failed; 'and when seeking to seize the middle king (the enemy's help is needed); - for these and other reasons, he may wish power and success even to the enemy.

- 39 Making the kings separated by one (intervening territory) the felly and those immediately proximate the spokes, the leader should stretch himself out as the hub in the circle of constituents.
- 40 For, the enemy situated between the two, the leader and the ally, becomes easy to exterminate or to harass, even if strong.

Herewith ends the Sixth Book of the Arthasastra of Kautilya 'THE CIRCLE (OF KINGS) AS THE BASIS'

38 There are three situations visualised in the thoughts of the vijigişu, the fourth madhyamalipsāyām being added after that. - vāgdanda - etc.: these are kopaja vyasanas; cf. 8.3.23. — mrgayā - etc.: these are kāmaja vyasanas; cf. 8.3.38. - sarvasamdoha refers to collecting the whole army together in one place. ekastho 'durgastho $v\bar{a}$: the avagraha is clearly necessary as in Meyer's translation; that is shown by -durgaviyuktah that follows. - balavān vā etc. contain the enemy's thoughts in his own words, which the vijigīṣu can surmise. balauān rājā is a third king, the satru in the enemy's thoughts being the vijigisu. — mām ucchindyat is as proposed by Meyer. With na before these words as in the mss. we may have 'he may not exterminate me.' But without na the sense becomes more emphatic. — madhyamalipsāyām ca: it is the vijigīşu who wishes to overcome the madhyama king; for that he would require the enemy's help; hence he wishes śakti and siddhi to the enemy. The expression cannot be construed with vipannakarmārambhasya vā etc. in the preceding clause, as in Cs. lipsā is not 'expectation of help from'; it is desire to seize or overcome'; cf. 7.1.32, also 7.18.5ff. For madhyamalipsā sec 7.13.26.

- 39 netā is the same as the vijigīşu. nābhim: Cf. Raghu. 9.15.
- 40 madhye hyupahitah from Cb Cs is obviously the only correct reading.

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THE SIX MEASURES OF FOREIGN POLICY

CHAPTER ONE

- SECTION 98 ENUMERATION OF THE SIX MEASURES OF FOREIGN POLICY
- SECTION 99 DETERMINATION OF (MEASURES IN) DECLINE, STABLE CONDITION AND ADVANCEMENT
- 1 The circle of constituent elements is the basis of the six measures of foreign policy.
- 2 'Peace, war, staying quiet, marching, seeking shelter and dual policy constitute the six measures,' say the teachers.
- 3 'There are (only) two measures,' says Vātavyādhi. 4 'For, out of peace and war the six measures come into being.'
- 5 'These are really six measures, because of differences in the situations,' says Kautilya.
- 6 Among them, entering into a treaty is peace. 7 Doing injury is war. 8 Remaining indifferent is staying quiet. 9 Augmentation (of powers) is marching. 10 Submitting to another is seeking shelter.

The Seventh Book deals with the use of the six measures that can be adopted by a state in its relations with foreign states. *guna* has the technical sense of a measure to be adopted as a policy.

7.1

The two Sections are to be found in ss. 1-19 and 20-38 respectively.

- 1 prakṛtimanḍalam, i.e., the twelve kings and their constituents as mentioned in 6.2.13-29.
- 3 Vātavyādhih: see 1.7.20. 4 The idea is that peace and war are the basic policies, the others being only variations of these. There is some truth in this point of view.
- 5~ $avasth\bar{a}bhed\bar{a}t,$ i.e., the different situations warrant a six-fold division. Cf-Kāmandaka, 11.40.
- 6 paṇabandhaḥ 'the framing of terms or conditions,' i.e., entering into a formal treaty with specific clauses. 9 abhyuccayaḥ: the cause is used in place of its consequence (marching). 11 saṃdhivigrahopādānam: as is clear from the

11 Resorting to peace (with one) and war (with another) is dual policy. 12 These are the six measures of foreign policy.

13 When in decline as compared to the enemy, he should make peace. 14 When prospering, he should make war. 15 (When he thinks) 'The enemy is not able to do harm to me, nor I to him,' he should stay quiet. 16 When possessed of a preponderance of excellent qualities, he should march. 17 Depleted in power, he should seek shelter. 18 In a work that can be achieved with the help of an associate, he should resort to a dual policy. 19 Thus are the measures established.

20 Of them, he should follow that policy by resorting to which he may be able to see, 'By resorting to this, I shall be able to promote my own undertakings concerning forts, water-works, trade-routes, settling on waste land, mines, material forests and elephant forests, and to injure these undertakings of the enemy.' 21 That is advancement. 22 Perceiving 'My advancement will be quicker or greater or leading to a greater advancement in the future, the reverse (will be) that of the enemy,' he should remain indifferent to the enemy's advancement. 23 In case the advancement takes the same time or bears an equal fruit (for both), he should make peace.

24 He should not follow that policy by resorting to which he were to see the ruin of his own undertakings, not of (those of) the other (party). 25 This is decline. 26 Perceiving 'I shall decline after a longer time or to a lesser extent or in such a way that I shall make

text, this is peace with one king and war with another; cf. s. 37 below. See K. Nag (Les Théories Diplomatique etc., p. 78). Cs has in this s. 'peace outwardly, but war secretly', but has the former explanation in s. 37. Meyer accepts the view that dvaidhībhāva is duplicity, making peace for the time being with a view to making better preparations for war against the same enemy. The text does not seem to support that explanation.

18 sahāyasādhye kārye: the help sought is from one who is ordinarily the vijigīṣu's enemy; but his help is necessary for getting the better of another enemy; hence the treaty with the former and war with the latter. Cf. 7.7.1-2 below.

20 durgasetu-etc.: Meyer thinks that agriculture is missing here from the usual list of the eight-fold karma. He would therefore read karṣa for karma or add kṛṣi after setukarma. Despite Manu, 7.154, however, that is unacceptable, because karma, as fully described in 7.12, does not include kṛṣi. 22 vṛddhyudayatarā (adjective to vṛddhiḥ) 'which brings about a greater advancement (for the vijigīṣu) in the future.' For vṛddhyudaya, see 9.4.20. 23 tulyakālaphalodayāyām vā: in the future shows the option between tulyakālā and tulyaphalodayā in the it seems that vā shows the option between tulyakālā and tulyaphalodayā in the compound. A single idea 'which requires the same time for the appearance of the result' (as in Meyer) does not seem meant in view of āśutarā and bhūyastarā used separately above.

26 vrddhyudayataram is adverbial,

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a greater advancement, the enemy (will decline) in the reverse manner,' he should remain indifferent to his decline. 27 In case the decline lasts for the same period or leads to equal results (for both), he should make peace.

- 28 The policy, following which he were to see neither the advancement nor the decline of his own undertakings, constitutes stable condition. 29 Perceiving 'I shall remain stable for a shorter period or in such a way that I shall make a greater advancement, the enemy (will do so) in the opposite way,' he should remain indifferent to his stable condition. 30 'In case the stable condition lasts for the same period or leads to equal consequences (for both), he should make peace,' say the teachers. 31 This is not disputed, says Kautilya.
- 32 Or, if he were to see, 'Remaining at peace, I shall ruin the enemy's undertakings by my own undertakings bearing abundant fruits; or, I shall enjoy my own undertakings bearing abundant fruits or the undertakings of the enemy; or, by creating confidence by means of the peace, I shall ruin the enemy's undertakings by the employment of secret remedies and occult practices; or, I shall easily entice away the persons capable of carrying out the enemy's undertakings by (offering) a greater remuneration from my own undertakings, with facilities of favours and exemptions; or, the enemy, in alliance with an extremely strong king, will suffer the ruin of his own undertakings; or, I shall keep prolonged his war with the king, being at war with whom he is making peace with me; or, he will harass the country of the king, who is in alliance with me (but is) hostile to me; or, his country, laid waste by his enemy, will come to me, so that I shall achieve advancement in my undertakings; or, the enemy, with his

31 vibhāṣitam: Cb Cs have 'viśeṣena bhāṣitam', i.e., stated with any special distinction. K. Nag (op. cit., p. 78) has 'unreasonable.' Meyer has 'option, alternative' as in grammar, the idea being, sthānam upekṣeta and samdhim upeyāt come practically to the same thing. vibhāṣita may also mean 'contradicted, disputed.'

32 yogopaniṣatpraṇidhibhiḥ: Meyer understands praṇidhi in the sense of 'a spy' (so Nag, p. 79). But the word by itself does not convey that sense. It is to be construed with yoga and upaniṣad in the sense of 'employment, use.' — -saukar-yam is adverbial. Cs treats it as an adjective to -janam. Meyer proposes to join this expression to the following compound phalalābha- etc. — balinā 'timātreṇa: Cs has 'with a very rich king, by offering him excessive tribute (atimātreṇa).' But atimātreṇa seems to be adverbial, going with balinā (or balavatā, the other v. l.). — parataḥ pravṛttakarmārambho vā: this describes the vijigīṣu, who wants to start some undertaking away from the enemy's territory, but near the territory of some other king. tābhyām samhitaḥ has reference to peace with the enemy and this other king (near whose territory the vijigīṣu is actīve). Meyer construes parataḥ pravṛtta-etc. with the preceding (karmasu na me vikrameta) and translates tābhyām by 'in either eventuality.' This is far from happy. Nag (op. cit., p. 80) has 'with the

undertakings ruined (and himself) placed in a difficult situation, would not attack my undertakings; or, with my undertakings started elsewhere, I shall achieve advancement in my undertakings, being in alliance with both; or, by making peace with the enemy I shall divide from him the circle (of kings) which is attached to the enemy, (and) when divided, I shall secure it (for myself); or, by giving support to the enemy by favouring him with troops when he seeks to seize the circle, I shall create hostility towards him, (and) when he faces hostility I shall get him destroyed by that same (circle),' he should secure advancement through peace.

- 33 Or, if he were to see, 'My country, consisting mostly of martial people or fighting bands, or secure in the protection of a single entrance through a mountain-fort, a forest-fort or a river-fort, will be able to repulse the enemy's attack; or, taking shelter in an impregnable fort on the border of my territory, I shall be able to ruin the enemy's undertakings; or, the enemy, with his energy sapped by the troubles caused by a calamity, has reached a time when his undertakings face ruin; or, when he is fighting elsewhere, I shall be able to carry off his country,' he should secure advancement by resorting to war.
- 34 Or, if he were to think, 'The enemy is not able to ruin my undertakings nor am I able to ruin his undertakings; or, (when) he is in a calamity, or (engaged) as in a conflict between a hound and a boar, I shall advance (myself), being intent on carrying out my own undertakings,' he should secure advancement by staying quiet.
- 35 Or, if he were to think, 'The ruin of the enemy's undertakings can be brought about by marching, and I have taken steps to secure the

two adversaries of my enemy'; but it is difficult to see who these two adversaries of the enemy could be. - dandānugrahena cannot mean 'by favours or punishment' (Nag, op. cit., p. 80). This is lending of troops to the enemy so as to encourage him to fight the mandala to his own ultimate ruin. - lipsā 'desire to seize, dominate or control.'

- 33 The difference between ayudhīya and śreņī seems to be that the former do not form a close-knit group or band like the latter. - śailavana- etc.: the fort itself constitutes the one entrance into the country (eka-dvāra). - apavāhayitum: cf. 2.1.1; 8.2.8 etc. It can hardly mean 'to attack' (Cs).
- 34 vyasanam asya and kalahe are the two occasions when the vijigişu can carry out his own works and augment his own power. The kalaha is between his enemy and some other king; it is a life and death struggle, but whatever its outcome, the vijigīşu stands to benefit. Cf. 9.2.6. The kalaha is not between the vijigīşu and the enemy (as in Cs). How can the vijigişu carry out his works if he is engaged in a life and death struggle? Meyer proposes to read kalaho 'a calamity which I cause to him (vyasanam asya) is like a hound and boar fight.' But if the vijigişu were to be active in causing such a calamity, that would not be in consonance with the advice to stay quiet. — vā (after -nuṣṭhānaparo) shows the option to the situation in na me śaktah parah etc.

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protection of my own undertakings,' he should secure advancement by marching.

- 36 Or, if he were to think, 'I am not able to ruin the enemy's undertakings nor to avert the ruin of my own undertakings,' he should seek shelter with a strong king and by carrying out his own undertakings, should seek to progress from decline to stable condition and from stable condition to advancement.
- 37 Or, if he were to think, 'I shall promote my own undertakings by peace on one side and ruin the enemy's undertakings by war on the other side,' he should secure advancement through a dual policy.
 - 38 Situated in the circle of constituent elements, he should, in this manner, with these six measures of policy, seek to progress from decline to stable condition and from stable condition to advancement in his own undertakings.

CHAPTER TWO

SECTION 100 CONDUCT WHEN SEEKING SHELTER

- 1 If there is equal advancement in peace or war, he should resort to peace. 2 For, in war there are losses, expenses, marches away from home and hindrances. 3 By that is explained (preference for) staying quiet, as between staying quiet and marching.
- 4 As between dual policy and seeking shelter, he should resort to dual policy. 5 For, he who resorts to the dual policy, giving prominence to his own undertakings, serves only his own interests, while he who takes shelter (with another) serves the interests of the other, not his own.
- 6 He should seek shelter with one whose strength is superior to the strength of the neighbouring (enemy). 7 In the absence of one
- 36 balavantam: some mss. show the faulty balavantam; Meyer therefore thinks that balavantam is more likely. balavantam, however, seems all right.
- 37 ekataḥ...ekataḥ, i.e., with one enemy and with another. This is not duplicity or double-dealing with the same king.

7.2

The 100th Section really begins at s. 6. The earlier ss. dealing with relative superiority among the six measures form a sort of an introduction.

- 2 -pratyavāyāḥ: Meyer regards kṣaya, vyaya and pravāsa as three 'hindrances.' pratyavāya may, however, be understood independently of the three. Cf. 7.8.2.
- 6 sāmantaḥ is the neighbouring enemy, whose growing power makes the vijigīṣu seek shelter. 7 adṛṣṭaḥ, i.e., himself remaining away from the enemy, not surrendering his person. 8 anyatra arivigṛhīṭāt: the idea seems to be that when the

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enthe superior in strength to him, he should seek shelter with the (enemy) himself and, remaining out of sight, should try to serve him with any one of the (three): treasury, army and territory. 8 For, union with one superior in strength is a great danger to kings, except when he is at war with an enemy.

- 9 If this be impossible, he should behave like one submitting with troops. 10 And when he sees that the enemy is afflicted by a fatal disease or is facing an internal revolt or a growth in power of his enemy or a calamity of his ally and (sees) thereby his own advancement, he should go away under a plausible pretext of illness or the performance of a religious duty. 11 Or, if he is in his own territory, he should not go to him. 12 Or, if near him, he should strike in his weak points.
- 13 Or, if situated between two stronger kings, he should seek shelter with one capable of protecting him, or with one whose intervening weak neighbour he may be, or with both. 14 He should resort to the potsherd-treaty, declaring one (to the other) as plotting to seize his patrimony. 15 Or, he should employ dissension between the two by falsely implicating one against the other, and (use) silent punishment when they are in discord.
- 16 Or, if situated at the side of two strong kings, he should take steps against immediate danger. 17 Or, taking shelter in a fort, he should resort to the dual policy. 18 Or, he should act on motives for resorting to peace or war. 19 He should give support to the

strong king is at war with some one else, he would remain grateful for the support given by the weak king and not treat him with contempt or in a high-handed manner.

- 9 asakye is from Cb Cs for asakyo. For the latter, asakto is conceivable, but asakye is better. The idea is 'when the strong neighbour cannot be made to accept danda etc. without the surrender of his person.' Meyer translates 'towards an enemy who cannot be so managed'; but a locative absolute might appear better. dandopanatavat, i.e., as in 7.15.21 ff. 12 chidresu can hardly mean 'by means of secret coups' (Nag, op. cit., p. 82).
- king, who would consequently refrain from totally exterminating him. Cb Cs read anantardhih and explain 'who may be next to him, not separated from him.' That does not seem very likely. 14 kapālasamśrayah: this appears to be a reference to the kapālasamdhi of 7.3.30, in which the weak king is advised to avoid meeting the exorbitant demands made on him under the pretext that his undertakings are ruined. The expression can also mean 'resorting to the begging bowl', in which case ubhau vā may be included in this s. from the last, as Cb seems to do. mūlarefers to the base, i.e., the kingdom, also the capital. apadiśan involves the idea of a false declaration. 15 -apadeśa again implies a false implication.
- 16 pārśvasthaḥ, as contrasted with madhyagataḥ of s. 13. 17 dvaidhībhūtaḥ, i.e., making peace with one and fighting with the other. 18 samdhivigrahakramahetu-bhiḥ: the reference is to 7.1.32, 33. krama serves little purpose; it seems to stand for ātiṣṭhet of that passage. Cb comment presupposes samdhivikramahetubhiḥ and

treasonable officers, the enemies and forest chiefs of both. 20 Going over to one of these two, he should strike in the other's calamity with these same (treasonable officers, etc.).

- 21 Or, if pressed by both, he should resort to the circle (of kings) for shelter, or find shelter with the middle or the neutral king. 22 Together with him, he should support one and exterminate the other, or (exterminate) both.
- 23 Or, if exterminated by both, he should find shelter with the justly behaved from among the middle king, the neutral king or kings belonging to their parties. 24 From among those equally just, (he should resort to that king) whose constituents would give him happiness or by staying with whom he would be able to raise himself or where his ancestors may have been accustomed to go or he may have close connections (or) where there may be many or very powerful friends.
 - 25 He to whom he may be dear or he who may be dear to him, which one among these two (should he approach for shelter)? He should go to him to whom he may be dear. This is the best course for seeking shelter.

CHAPTER THREE

SECTION 101 ADHERENCE TO POLICIES BY THE EQUAL,
THE WEAKER AND THE STRONGER (KINGS)
SECTION 102 PEACE-TREATIES BY THE WEAKER KING

1 The conqueror should employ the six measures of policy with due regard to his power. 2 He should make peace with the equal and the stronger; he should make war with the weaker. 3 For, going to war with the stronger, he engages as it were in a fight on foot

that was obviously the original reading. 20 gacchan 'going to', i.e., joining hands with. It can hardly mean 'engaging in fight' (Cs); anyataram and anyatarasya do not refer to the same king, but to the two powerful kings, like itaram and itarasya in s. 14. Meyer's proposed yacchan (for gacchan) in the sense of 'restraining' is not very likely.

- 21 upahatah is as proposed by Meyer for upahitah. The latter can hardly mean 'pressed, harassed', which is the sense required.
- 23 tatpakṣīyāṇām: tat refers to the madhyama and the udāsīna. 24 bhūyām-syatiśaktimanti is as proposed by Meyer for bhūyāmsīti śaktimanti; the iti in the latter is little likely. Perhaps we should read only bhūyāmsi śaktimanti.
- 25 We have to supply āśrayaṇīyaḥ at the end of the first half. The question is, when a choice for purposes of saṁśraya is available between yasya asau priyaḥ and yaḥ asya priyaḥ, whom should he prefer? The answer given is, he should go to the former.

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nd he with an elephant. 4 And (at war) with the equal, he brings about loss on both sides, like an unbaked jar struck by an unbaked jar. 5 (At war) with the weaker, he attains absolute success, like a stone with an earthen vessel.

- 6 If the stronger were not to desire peace, he should resort to the conduct of one submitting with troops or measures recommended for the weaker king.
- 7 If the equal were not to desire peace, he should do harm to him in return to the extent that he may have done to him. 8 For, heat is the means of joining together. 9 Metal that is not heated does not become joined with metal.
- 10 If the weaker were to remain submissive in all respects, he should make peace with him. 11 For, heroism born of grief and resentment makes one fight bravely like a forest fire. 12 And he becomes the object of favour of the circle (of kings).
- 13 If, when at peace, he were to see, 'The enemy's subjects who are greedy or impoverished or rebellious, do not come over (to me) through fear of being seized again (by the enemy),' even the weaker should make war.
- 14 If, when at war, he were to see, 'The enemy's subjects, greedy, impoverished or rebellious, do not come over, being frightened of war,' even the stronger should make peace, or should allay the fear of war.
- 15 Even in case of simultaneity of calamities, if he were to see, 'I am in a greater calamity; the enemy, in a lighter calamity, will easily

7.3

The two Sections are found in ss. 1-20 and 21-36 respectively; the latter is entirely

- 2 samdhīyeta: the passive is without significance. 5 ekāntasiddhim: Meyer justifies the reading ekāntah siddhim ('the exclusive king, i.e., alone, single-handed, attains success') on the ground that the text recommends war only as a last resort. But apart from the very unlikely rendering of $ek\bar{a}ntah$, the war with $h\bar{i}na$ is actually recommended in s. 2 and this s. merely explains why it should be undertaken.
 - 6 dandopanatavrttam as in 7.15.21 ff. ābalīyasam yogam as in Book 12.
- 13 apacaritāh is the only correct reading, as shown by 7.5.12-15 and s. 14 below. It means 'disaffected, rebellious.' prakrti refers to the subjects, particularly to principal officers and men. — pratyādānabhayāt: the idea is that these would-be seceders from the strong king's side do not go over to the weak king when there is peace between them, for they are afraid that the strong king would easily capture and punish them; in war, however, their going over would strengthen the weak king in his fight with their former master. The $v\bar{a}$ after this word has little significance; a $m\bar{a}m$ or $m\bar{a}$ should be understood after it, as in the next s.
 - 14 vigrahodvignā vā: here, too, vā serves little purpose.

overcome his own calamity and attack (me),' even the stronger should make peace.

- 16 If by resorting to peace or war, he were not to see the weakening of the enemy or increase in his own strength, then even the stronger should stay quiet.
- 17 If he were to see the enemy's calamity to be irremediable, then even the weaker should march against him.
- 18 Even the stronger, whose immediate calamity is irremediable, should seek shelter.
- 19 If he were to see success in his work by peace in one place and war in another, then even the stronger should resort to the dual policy.
 - 20 Similar is the use of the six measures by the equal.
 - 21 With regard to that, however, the special points are:
 - 22 A weak king, over-run by a strong king who has set his armies in motion, should quickly submit, seeking peace with (the offer of) his treasury, army, himself or territory.
 - 23 That he himself has to wait upon (the enemy) with a stipulated number of troops or according to the strength of the army, this treaty is known as 'one with himself as prey.'
 - 24 That the commander-in-chief or the (crown) prince has to wait upon (the enemy), this would be 'the treaty through another
- 15 pratikrtya vyasanam from Cb Cs is quite obviously necessary for prakrtyavyasanam of the mss.
- 18 apratikāryāsannavyasano $v\bar{a}$: Because of $v\bar{a}$ we may understand two kinds of calamities, apratikārya and āsanna, in the compound; or, we may understand the āsannavyasana to be apratikārya. The latter appears better, $v\bar{a}$ being then understood as being without much significance. It cannot indicate an option to the last s., as the two ss. refer to two different kings.
- 20 samasya: this can hardly mean 'sarvasya' (Cs) in view of sama- in the title of the Section. Meyer's 'taking together' (gerund from sam-as) is also unlikely. With evam understood as 'in this same manner' there need be no difficulty.
- 21 tatra has reference to sādgunyopayoga and has nothing to do with sama. prativisesah: the special case is that of the weak king forced to surrender to the strong king.
- 22 -dandātma-: ātmopanatasamdhi is not separately treated in the sequel; it is included in the dandopanatasamdhi.
- 23 dandasya vibhavena 'in accordance with the strength of the army 'implies that a large part of the army is to be surrendered. The expression can hardly mean 'with the entirety of his army' (Meyer). upasthātavyam implies that the king is to surrender in person. Hence the name ātmāmiṣa 'with himself as the prey or victim.'

7.3.29

person,' not through himself, hence one in which he himself is saved.

- 25 Either himself or the army has to go elsewhere alone; this treaty is 'with persons unseen,' in which the army chiefs and he himself are saved.
- 26 In the first two (treaties), he should bring about a marriage alliance of the chiefs; in the last, however, he should secretly get rid of the enemy. These are treaties with troops submitted.
- 27-28 The release of the rest of the constituents by handing over the treasury would become the treaty 'purchase.' And the same, when it is to be delivered in parts many times, at one's convenience, should be known as the treaty 'support'; the tribute restricted as to time and place, would be support.
- 29 Tolerable because of payment of a bearable amount in future, even because of a marriage alliance, it would be the 'golden treaty', bringing about union through (mutual) confidence.
- 24 puruṣāntarasaṁdhiḥ: this treaty seems also called puruṣasaṁdhi: cf. 12.1.26. Cb seems to regard ātmarakṣaṇa as the name of the treaty.
- 25 ekena, i.e., either the king alone or the army alone. anyatra, i.e., not where the enemy is stationed or operating, but elsewhere, though that is to serve the enemy's interest. svayam daṇḍena vā: in the former case, the king in person goes with a small army; in the latter case, the army is sent under the senāpati or the kumāra. adṛṣṭapuruṣaḥ, so called because the king in one case and the senāpati etc. in the other are not within sight of the enemy, as they operate elsewhere independently. For adṛṣṭa, cf. 7.2.7. Cb seems to look upon daṇḍamukhyātmarakṣaṇa as the name of the treaty.
- 26 mukhyastrībandhanam: the mukhya would appear to be the senāpati and kumāra of s. 24, hardly the king himself, strībandhana is obviously a marriage alliance with the strong king. sādhayed gūḍham implies assassination. daṇḍopanata: in view of kośopanata and deśopanata that follow, this means 'in which the army is surrendered,' though the idea of 'subdued by force' is sometimes to be understood by this expression.
- Meyer understands these words of the parikraya sandhi, 'it can be entered into when it appears good to him.' This is hardly likely. 28 skandhopaneyo: this may mean 'to be carried on the shoulder.' It seems, however, that skandha as 'branch' has reference to parts or instalments in which the tribute is to be paid; thus Cb. atyayah syād upagrahah: Cs regards atyaya as the name of another sandhi. However, there are only four kośopanata sandhis (s. 31). Meyer understands two types of upagraha, viz., skandhopaneya and atyaya. It seems, however, stands two types of upagraha, viz., skandhopaneya, the instalments being that the second half only explains the term skandhopaneya, the instalments being that the second remains the serving as 'a support' or 'help' to the upagraha conveys the idea of instalments serving as 'a support' or 'help' to the weak king. Cb looks upon upagraha and atyaya as two varieties of parikraya, referred to by pūrvayoh in s. 30.

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- 30 The reverse would be the 'potsherd' (treaty), so called because of excessive payments received. In the first two (treaties), he should deliver forest produce, or elephants and horses that are poisoned.
- 31 In the third, he should pay the amount; in the fourth, he should tarry telling him of the decline of undertakings. These are treaties with treasury submitted.
- 32 The saving of the rest of the constituents by the surrender of a part of his territory is the 'directed' treaty, desirable in the case where one wishes to injure through secret agents and robbers.
- 33 The surrender of lands from which all riches have been removed, with the exception of his base, is the 'exterminated' treaty, desirable in the case where one hopes for a calamity for the enemy.
- 34 The saving of lands by the surrender of the produce is the 'hire' treaty; that with the produce completely surrendered from lands is the 'ruinous' treaty.
- 29 āyatyām 'in future' to be construed with viṣahyadānāt (Meyer) rather than with ksamah (Cs).
- 30 viparītaḥ implies not only atyādāna, but also immediate payment (as opposed to āyatyām). kapālaḥ evidently has reference to the king being beggared by the payment. atyādānābhibhāṣitaḥ: Cb Cs read -dabhāṣitaḥ ' not recommended in the śāstra because of excessive levies.' This is unlikely, as the treaty is actually mentioned, and s. 36, which is a summing up, makes no exceptions. vā garānvitam from Cb Cs is supported by 12.1.25.
- 31 ariham: Cb Cs have ardham in the sense of 'some part.' But since the payments in this treaty are reasonable, and the relations are cordial, artha as the whole amount appears preferable. kathayan etc. is to be construed with tisthet caturtie as in Meyer, and not with the preceding.
- 32 $g\bar{u}dhastenopagh\bar{a}tina\dot{p}$: Meyer's 'who would secretly destroy robbers' is little likely. As the idea is to harm the enemy to whom the land is ceded, $g\bar{u}dha$, i.e., $g\bar{u}dha$ puruşa and stena would appear to be the means of doing so.
- 33 mūla- the 'base' is the weak king's capital. ucchinna may have reference to the lands being deprived of riches.
- 34 phalātimukto bhūmibhyaḥ: this seems to mean 'in which the produce is completely given away from the lands.' Cb Cs read phalātibhukto and explain 'in which more than the actual produce of the lands is promised'; this is not convincing. Meyer translates, with that reading, 'bound up with an over-feeding on the produce'; but the enjoyment of more than what the lands produce would appear to be a doubtful idea. The former reading seems better. Meyer does not find a new samdhi in the second half, only a further description of avakraya. But s. 35 implies four desopanata samdhis. paridūṣaṇaḥ is as proposed by Meyer for paradūṣaṇaḥ. The reading is found in Cb. The names of the treaties have the weak king's standpoint in view or mention their effect on him and do not refer to the enemy directly.

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- 35 He should resort to waiting in the first two, in the last two, however, to 'practices of the weaker king', taking the produce (himself). These are treaties with territory surrendered.
- 36 These three types of treaties by the weaker king recommended for use at the proper place and time in accordance with one's own undertakings, should be entered into as 'practices of the weaker king.'

CHAPTER FOUR

SECTION 103 STAYING QUIET AFTER MAKING WAR

SECTION 104 STAYING QUIET AFTER MAKING PEACE

SECTION 105 MARCHING AFTER MAKING WAR

SECTION 106 MARCHING AFTER MAKING PEACE

SECTION 107 MARCHING TOGETHER (WITH OTHER KINGS)

- 1 Staying quiet and marching in peace and war are (now) explained.
- 2 Remaining still, staying quiet and remaining indifferent are synonyms of staying quiet. 3 The distinction, however, is: when there is (only) a part of the excellences present, it is remaining still; staying quiet is for attaining one's own advancement; non-employment of the means is remaining indifferent.
- 4 When the enemy and the conqueror, desirous of over-reaching each other, are unable to injure each other, staying quiet after making war or after making peace (is recommended).
- 35 purvau paścimau: the accusatives are strange, when locatives are expected. Perhaps pūrve paścime is to be read, as referring to the avakraya and the paridūṣaṇa only; in the case of ādiṣṭa and ucchinna, the steps to be taken are already stated in gādhasteno- and paravyasana- etc. respectively. — ādāya can hardly be 'presenting it to the enemy '(Cs). ādāya phalam is to be construed with the preceding and not with desopanatasamdhayah, as Meyer does, 'these are desopanata treaties in which the produce is carried away.'

36 ābalīyasikāḥ 'associated with ābalīyasa, the practices of the weak king 'as in Book 12.

7.4

The five short Sections are to be found in ss. 1-12, 13, 1-17, 18 and 19-22 respectively.

- 1 vyākhyātam: the sense required is that of vyākhyātavyam; for the policies stated are being explained in this Chapter.
- 3 gunaikadeśe: guna clearly means the 'excellence' of the constituents, as in 6.1.15 and 7.1.16. It can hardly mean 'the policy of asana' (Cb Cs); nor can the expression mean 'remaining in one particular kind of political behaviour' (Meyer). The idea is when one is weaker, sthāna is recommended. In āsana, one is equal.

- 5 Or, when he were to see, 'With my own troops or the ally's troops or forest troops, I can weaken the equal or stronger king,' then he should make war and stay quiet after taking precautions in the outer regions and in the interior.
- 6 Or, when he were to see, 'My constituents, full of energy, united and thriving, will carry out their works unhindered or will destroy the works of the enemy,' then he should make war and stay quiet.
- 7 Or, when he were to see, 'The enemy's subjects, rebellious, impoverished, greedy, or harassed by (the enemy's) own troops, robbers or foresters, will come to me of their own accord or through instigations; sources of livelihood in my state are flourishing, those of the enemy ruined, (hence) his subjects stricken by famine will come to me; sources of livelihood in my state are ruined, those of the enemy flourishing, my subjects will not go over to him (only if there is war), and after making war I shall plunder his grains, cattle and cash; or, I shall keep out the enemy's goods that are harmful to my own goods, or highly valuable goods will come to me from the enemy's trade-route, when he is at war, (and) will not go to the other; or, when at war, he will not suppress his traitors, enemies or forest-tribes, or will be involved in war with these same; marching against my ally having the nature of a true ally, he will obtain abundant wealth in a short time, with small losses and expenses or excellent land which can be easily seized; or, wishing to march with all troops mobilised in disregard of me, he must not somehow be allowed to march,' then in order to hinder the advancement of the enemy and to affirm his valour, he should make war and stay quiet. 8 'Turning back, he might swallow him up,' say
- 4 atisandhānakāmayoḥ is as proposed by Meyer for iti (end of s. 3) sandhānakāmayoḥ. The actual comment in Cb presupposes the emended reading. The conqueror and the enemy cannot be described as sandhānakāma, when vigṛhya āsana is also recommended, nor does it fit in with upahantum aśaktayoḥ. The corruption is easily explained.
- 5 kṛtabāhyābhyantarakṛtyaḥ: Cb Cs understand kṛtya as likely seceders as in 1.13 and 14. But kṛta would be unusual with it; upagṛhīta would have been used in that case.
- 6 svakarmāṇi: M has svakarmaṇi; but if the locative were intended, we should expect svakarmasu.
- 7 netaram: the itara is the enemy, though we should expect para. Perhaps we should read netarathā. mitram mitrabhāvi is defined in 7.9.43. bahvalpakālam: Meyer has 'in a longer or shorter time'; it seems, however, that bahu goes with artham, though we expect bahum in that case. gunavatīm ādeyām vā: vā shows the option to artham, not an option between gunavatīm and ādeyām. For ādeya, see 9.4.5. katham na yāyāt is rather awkward as put in the vijigīṣu's thoughts. Either katham yāyāt or nā yāyāt would have been better. pratāpārtham is more applicable to the last case than to the others. 8 tameva etc.: the discussion has reference to the last case (sarvasamdohena etc.) only. grasate:

the teachers. 9 'No,' says Kautilya. 10 He would only cause a weakening of the (conqueror, if he is) not in a calamity, but when augmented by the (acquisition of the) enemy's prosperity, (he would cause) extermination. 11 (If he acts) thus, the vulnerable foe of the enemy would render help to him, being not destroyed. 12 Therefore, he should make war on one acting with all troops mobilised, and stay quiet.

- 13 In cases the reverse of the motives for staying quiet after making war, he should make peace and stay quiet.
- 14 When grown in power on the occasions for staying quiet after making war, he should make war and march, except when the enemy has mobilised all his troops.
- 15 Or, when he were to see, 'The enemy is in a calamity; or, a calamity of his constituent cannot be remedied by the remaining constituents; or, his subjects, harassed by his own army, or disaffected with him, are easy to entice, being weakened, without energy or divided among themselves; the enemy has his draught-animals, men, stores and fortifications reduced in consequence of fire, floods, disease, epidemic or famine,' then he should make war and march.
- 16 Or, when he were to see, 'My ally in front and my rear ally have brave, prosperous and devoted subjects, the enemy, the rear enemy and the rear enemy's ally have subjects the reverse of this, I shall (therefore) be able to march after engaging the enemy's ally in a fight with my ally or my rear enemy in a fight with my rear ally,' then he should make war and march.
- 17 Or, when he were to see that the fruit can be attained by a single person within a short time, then he should make war on the rear enemy and his ally and march.

we expect graseta. Possibly that was the original reading. 10 paraviddhyā: the para is the enemy of the vijigīṣu's enemy against whom the latter proposes to march with all troops. Meyer translates the s. thus, 'the conqueror should cause only the weakening of the enemy, if he is not in a calamity; if strengthened by complete prosperity (with the reading parividdhyā) he should exterminate him.' This is quite unlikely. It constitutes no reply to the teachers. 11 cvam, i.e., when the vijigīṣu has declared war. — parasya yātavyah is the enemy of the vijigīṣu's enemy.

- 13 According to Cb, in vigṛhyāsana the enemy's undertakings are to be destroyed and one's own furthered; in saṃdhāyāsana only one's own undertakings are to be furthered.
- 14 sarvasamdohavarjam: this is the last case of s. 7; in that case, there is to be no marching, only staying quiet.
- 16 pārṣṇigrāhaḥ etc.: for these kings, see 6.2.18 above. mitreṇa āsāram: the āsāra is the enemy's āsāra or helpmate; from the vijigīṣu's stand-point he is the arimitra, with territory beyond that of the mitra. Even from the enemy's stand-point, he is really his ākranda, not āsāra. But the latter is a general term for an ally.

- 18 In the reverse cases, he should make peace and march.
- 19 Or, when he were to see, 'It is not possible to march alone, but it is necessary to march,' then joining forces with confederates, equal, weaker or stronger (than himself), he should march, for a stipulated share if in one place, for an unstipulated share if in more than one place. 20 In case there is no confederacy with them, he should request for troops from one of them in return for a fixed share. 21 Or, (the troops) should be hired by (a promise of) marching together (with them), with a fixed share when the gain is certain, with a portion of the gain when it is uncertain.
 - 22 A share in conformity with troops is of the first type, in conformity with efforts is best; or plunder, as obtained (by each), (should be the share), or a share in conformity with the amount lent.

CHAPTER FIVE

SECTION 108 CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING AN ATTACK ON A VULNERABLE KING AND THE (NATURAL) ENEMY

SECTION 109 CAUSES LEADING TO DECLINE, GREED AND DISAFFECTION AMONG THE SUBJECTS

SECTION 110 REFLECTION ON CONFEDERATED ALLIES

1 In case the calamities of two neighbouring princes are alike, (should one march) against the vulnerable king or the enemy? — in such a case, he should march against the enemy; after subduing him, against the vulnerable king. 2 For, the vulnerable king might give

17 ekahāryam, i.e., obtainable without the help of the mitra or ākranda. — pārṣnigrāhāsārābhyām vigṛhya: the reason for not taking the help of allies appears to be to avoid any sharing of the spoils of the expedition.

18 samdhāya yāyāt: this is downright duplicity, making peace and then attacking the enemy when he is least expecting such an attack.

19° ekatra seems to refer to an expedition for a single specific objective, while anekatra refers to more than one objective requiring fighting in many places. 20 nivista 'laid down, fixed.' 21 sambhūyābhigamanena vā nirvisyeta: the subject is daṇḍaḥ. The idea in sambhūyābhigamana seems to be that when hiring the troops the vijigīṣu agrees to march with them along with his own troops and not to send them alone on the expedition. Cs understands a promise to march in future with the other king when the latter wants his troops. With the reading nirdisyeta, Meyer translates 'a share should be fixed as the price for the joint expedition.' The reading itself is doubtful. The difference between ss. 19 and 21 is that in the former there is no hiring, but a confederacy of kings who join forces and receive agreed shares.

22 pūrvaḥ seems to convey the idea of lowest. — prakṣepa 'investment' is the kośa or money lent for the expedition. Though the text does not make it clear, it is possible that the second half mentions the madhyama kind of amśa.

him help in subduing the enemy, not the enemy in subduing the vulnerable king.

- 3 (Should one march) against a vulnerable king in a serious calamity or the enemy in a light calamity? 'He should march against the one in a serious calamity, because of ease (in subjugating),' say the teachers. 4 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 5 He should march against the enemy with a light calamity. 6 Even a light calamity becomes dangerous to him when attacked. 7 True, even a serious (calamity) becomes more serious (in that case). 8 But the enemy with a light calamity, if not attacked, might easily overcome his calamity and go to the rescue of the vulnerable king, or might attack in the rear.
- 9 In case there are many vulnerable kings at the same time, (when the choice is) between one in a serious calamity but justly behaved and one in a light calamity but unjustly behaved or with disaffected subjects, he should march against the one with disaffected subjects.

 10 The subjects help the king who is justly behaved but suffering from a serious calamity, when he is attacked; remain indifferent to one unjustly behaved, suffering from a light calamity; but if disaffected, exterminate even a strong king. 11 Therefore, he should march only against one with disaffected subjects.
- 12 (When the choice is) between one with impoverished and greedy subjects and one with rebellious subjects, 'He should march against the one with impoverished and greedy subjects; for, impoverished and greedy subjects easily yield themselves to instigations or harassment, not the rebellious who can be overcome by the suppression of their leaders,' say the teachers. 13 'No,' says Kautilya. 14 For, impoverished and greedy subjects, when devoted to their master, remain steadfast in what is beneficial to the master or make the instigations futile, on the principle, 'Where there is love, all qualities

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The three Sections are to be found in ss. 1-18, 19-37 and 38-49 respectively.

- 1 yātavya is a neighbouring prince who is in a calamity; cf. 6.2.16. 2 amitrasiddhau is not to be understood as a locative absolute, but as meaning in the conquering of the enemy.'
 - 8 vā after pārṣṇim is quite necessary as in Cs.
- 9 There are three alternatives, the third viraktaprakṛti apparently not suffering from any calamity. 11 As between the guruvyasana nyāyavṛtti and laghuvyasana anyāyavṛtti, s. 10 suggests that the latter should be preferred for an attack.
- 12 apacarita is stronger than virakta; the subjects are not only disaffected but also rebellious. pīdām upagacchanti, i.e., they can be easily harassed. 14 anurāge sārvaguņyam is apparently a maxim quoted in support of the statements made. Cf. 8.2.24 below.

(are present).' 15 Hence he should march only against one with rebellious subjects.

16 (When the choice is) between a strong king unjustly behaved and a weak king justly behaved, he should march against the strong king unjustly behaved. 17 The subjects do not help the strong unjust king when he is attacked, they drive him out or resort to his enemy. 18 But the subjects support in every way the weak but just king when he is attacked or follow him if he has to flee.

19-26 For, by discarding the good and favouring the wicked, and by starting unrighteous injuries not current before, by discontinuing customary practices that are righteous, by indulgence in impiety and suppression of piety, and by doing acts that ought not to be done and by ruining rightful acts, and by not giving what ought to be given and securing what ought not to be given (to him), and by not punishing those deserving to be punished and punishing those not deserving to be punished, by seizing those who ought not to be seized and not arresting those who ought to be seized, and by doing harmful things and destroying beneficial things, and by failing to protect from thieves and by robbing (them) himself, by ruining human exertions, by spoiling the excellence of works done, by doing harm to principal men and by dishonouring those worthy of honour, and by opposing the elders, by partiality and falsehood, by not requiting what is done and by not carrying out what is settled, through the negligence and indolence of the king and because of the destruction of well-being, — (through these causes) decline, greed and disaffection are produced among the subjects.

27 Subjects, when impoverished, become greedy; when greedy they become disaffected; when disaffected they either go over to the enemy or themselves kill the master.

17 nis-pat 'to flee' is common in this text.

19-26 The causes of impoverishment etc. of subjects seem to have been incorporated in a metrical form since early days; hence the stanzas in the middle of the Chapter. — himsānām: this refers to injuries in general, not merely actual killing. 22 upagrāha, as the opposite of anabhigraha, clearly means 'seizing, arresting', as pointed out by Meyer. Cb has 'agrāhya, i.e., thieves etc. and upagrāha, i.e., favouring them.' 24 guṇadūṣaṇaiḥ: dūṣaṇa seems to be 'spoiling, ruining', not merely 'censuring.' 25 Cb has bhṛtyānām for vṛddhānām. — apratikāra conveys the idea of failure to requite (what is done by some one for you). — sthitasya 'of a settled custom, such as the Sakra-festival' (Cb Cs). sthita, however, may mean 'what is agreed upon'; cf. yathāsthitakārī, s. 39 below. 26 ca should preferably be read for vā as in Cb.

- 28 Therefore, he should not allow these causes of decline, greed and disaffection among the subjects to arise, or, if arisen, should immediately counter-act them.
- 29 (Which are worst), subjects that are impoverished or greedy or disaffected? 30 The impoverished, through fear of harassment or extermination, prefer an immediate peace or fight or flight. 31 The greedy, dissatisfied because of greed, willingly respond to the enemy's instigations. 32 The disaffected rise in revolt when there is an enemy attack.
- 33 Among them, the exhaustion of money and grains is destructive of everything and difficult to remedy, the diminution of draught-animals and men can be remedied with money and grains. 34 Greed, restricted to a part, being confined to the principal men, can be directed to spend itself on the enemy's possessions or can be removed. 35 Disaffection can be overcome by suppression of the leaders. 36 For, subjects, without leaders, become easy to rule, not susceptible to instigations by others, become, however, incapable of putting up with troubles. 37 But those divided into many groups by the favouring of the leaders of the subjects, become protected and able to put up with troubles.
- 38 Even among confederated allies, he should consider the grounds for making peace or war and march after joining forces with those possessed of power and uprightness. 39 For, the powerful king is capable of attacking in the rear or rendering help in the expedi-

30 yuddham: this is preferred apparently to escape harassment by their own king. — rocayante: the sense of the causal does not seem intended.

34 aikadeśiko mukhyāyattah: the idea is, only a part of the populace is affected by greed; the greed of the mukhyas alone has any bearing on state policy. Meyer would read amukhyāyattah 'not dependent on the leaders, (but a natural tendency of the average citizen)'; that seems hardly likely. — ādātum: this seems to refer to giving satisfaction to the greedy by giving them something. Meyer thinks of taking the greedy in service. 35 anāpatsahās tu: Meyer construes these words with the next s. and translates 'those that are unable to bear calamities would become divided because of the seizure (pragraha) of leaders of common people, well-protected and able to bear troubles.' This is quite unlikely in view of another tu after pragrahaih and the meaning assigned to pragraha. Cf. also 7.11.19. 37 bahudhā bhinnā: each leader with his followers is separately shown favour, so that there is no unity among the disaffected parties. — Meyer thinks that of the three troubles, ksaya, particularly of grains and money, is regarded as the worst, the other two being remediable. According to Cs each later trouble is more serious than the preceding one. That is right so far as danger to the state is concerned.

38 śaktiśaucayuktaiḥ is proposed for -yuktau of the mss. Cb Cs read -yuktau; but the plural seems necessary in view of the many confederates. sambhūyaḥ in the text is a misprint for sambhūya. 39 pārṣṇigrahane: the pārṣṇi is that of the vijigīṣu; by taking him along, a potential threat is averted. pārṣṇi of the intended victim of the expedition is possible, but that would be included in yātrāsāhāyyadāna

tion, the upright one carries out what is settled, in success as well as in failure.

- 40 Among them, as between marching after joining forces with one stronger king or two equals, it is better (to march) with two who are equals. 41 For, with a stronger, he moves over-powered by him; with two equals, with a greater (possibility of) over-reaching. 42 For, they are easy to divide from each other, and if one (of them) becomes treacherous, he is easy to restrain for the two or to seize through dissensions.
- 43 As between one equal and two weaker kings, it is better (to march) with two weaker kings. 44 For, they carry out two tasks and remain under control.
 - 45 However, when the undertaking has succeeded,

he should secretly go away under some pretext from the stronger who has achieved his object, if he is not upright; in the case of the upright, however, he should wait till he is sent away.

- 46 Or, from a dangerous situation he should move away with effort, after removing his women-folk. For, even from the equal who has achieved his object there might be danger to the trusting one.
- 47 And even the equal who has achieved his object tends to be stronger, and when augmented in power, untrustworthy; prosperity tends to change the mind.

and would not have been separately mentioned. Cs has 'in keeping off the enemy in the *vijigīṣu*'s rear', which is hardly likely. — *-sthila-* is 'what is settled, agreed upon' at the start of the expedition, hardly 'what is just' (Cs) or 'what is right' (Meyer).

- 41 atisamdhānādhikye vā: we have to supply carati. The vā serves little purpose Meyer, however, proposes atisamdhāna (=ne) ādhikye vā 'by over-reaching or by becoming superior.' This does not seem meant, as in the next s. there is no reference to the vijigīṣu becoming more powerful. Cb Cs construe the expression with what follows 'or, when he gets superiority through resort to subterfuge, the two can be easily divided.' This ignores the hi in the next s. 42 bhedopagraham copagantum seems to refer to the capture of the king through dissensions in his ranks.
- 45 kṛtārthājjyāyaso from Cb Cs is obviously quite necessary for kṛtārthā jyāyaso of the mss. Cf. 7.8.31. aśuceh is to be construed with the first half as in Cb Cs. Meyer construes it with what follows 'from the dishonest, who shows himself honest in his conduct,' which is hardly possible.
 - 46 sattrād: for sattra 'ambush' as a dangerous situation, cf. 10.3.24.
- 47 jyāyastve cāpi etc.: Meyer understands 'being raised to a superior position (jyāyastve), he becomes changed in mind (with viparikalpate as the reading).' But samo 'pi parikalpate is obviously a better reading, despite the presence of another api in the same half.

- 48 Even if he receives a small share or even no share from a superior, he should go away with a contented face; then striking at him when in his power, he should recover double.
- 49 But the leader, when he has himself achieved his object, should send away the confederated allies; he should, if need be, forgo (his dues), not score (over them). Thereby he would be liked by the circle (of kings).

CHAPTER SIX

- SECTION 111 CONCERNING THE MARCH OF TWO (KINGS) WHO HAVE ENTERED INTO A TREATY OF ALLIANCE
- SECTION 112 TREATIES WITH STIPULATIONS, WITHOUT STIPULATIONS AND WITH DESERTERS
- 1 The conqueror should over-reach the second member (of the circle of kings) in this manner. 2 He should induce the neighbouring king to march after entering into a treaty, 'You march in this direction, I shall march in that; the gains shall be equal.' 3 In case the gains are equal, there should be peace, if unequal, fight.
- 4 A treaty is with stipulations or without stipulations. 5 'You march to this region, I shall march to this,' this is treaty with stipulations as to place. 6 'You operate for this length of time, I shall operate for this length of time,' this is treaty with stipulations as to time. 7 'You carry out this much work, I shall carry out this much work,' this is treaty with stipulations as to objects to be achieved.
- 8 If he were to think, 'The enemy will march against a region, with a mountain-fort, a forest-fort or a river-fort, separated by a forest, with supplies of grains and men and allied troops cut off, deficient in
- 48 anke prahrtya: pragrhya is an unlikely reading. anka conveys the idea of 'one's control, one's power'; cf. ankam upasthita 7.18.40, and anke kuryāt 1.17.10. The idea is, when the strong king comes under his power some time, he should strike. Cb Cs render anka by randhra.
 - 49 netā is the pijigīşu; cf. 6.2.39.

7.6

The two Sections may be said to extend over ss. 1-3 and 4-41 respectively; but they are really very closely connected.

1 dvilīyām prakṛtim, i.e., arim; cf. 6.2.14. 2 sāmanta is again the ari. — samhitaprayāṇe: the vijigīṣu and the ari make a treaty for a common expedition against some other king or kings. 3 vaiṣamye: according to Cb Cs, the vijigīṣu has got more out of the expedition; he attacks because he is now superior. It may also be that it is the ari who has got more; hence the recommendation to fight him. If the vijigīṣu has got more, he has thereby already over-reached the enemy, and there would be no need to fight. See, however, s. 12 below.

fodder, fuel and water, unknown, far distant, or with natives hostile, or one in which land is not available for the operations of the army, (and) I (shall march) against a region the reverse of this,' in such a situation he should enter into a treaty with stipulations as to place.

- 9 If he were to think, 'The enemy will operate at a time when there is excessive rain, heat or cold, when there is plenty of illness, when food and other articles of use are exhausted, which is a hindrance to the operations of the army, which is too short or too long for accomplishing the work, (and) I at a time the reverse of this,' in such a situation, he should enter into a treaty with stipulations as to time.
- 10 If he were to think, 'The enemy will achieve an object, easily recoverable (from him), causing revolt among the subjects, taking a long time, involving heavy losses and expenses, insignificant, bound up with troubles in future, unwholesome, unlawful, opposed by the middle or neutral king, or ruinous to his own ally, (and) I (shall achieve) the reverse of this,' in such a situation, he should enter into a treaty with stipulations as to objects to be achieved.
- 11 By the fixing, in this manner, of place and time, of time and object, of place and object, and of place, time and object, the treaty with stipulations becomes seven-fold.
- 12 In the case of that (treaty), he should start and establish his own undertakings right in advance and attack the enemy's undertakings.
- 13 Wishing to over-reach an enemy, who is vicious, hasty, contemptuous, slothful or ignorant, he should create confidence with a treaty, saying 'We are in alliance,' without the fixing of place, time or object, and after finding the enemy's weak point, strike at him; this is (treaty) without stipulations.
 - 14 In that connection, the following occurs:
 - 15 The wise (conqueror), making one neighbouring king fight with another neighbouring king, should seize the territory of another, cutting off his party on all sides.
- 8 vīvadha stands for supplies (grains, men etc.) from his own land; cf. 10.2.6. According to the Siddhāntakaumudī on Pāṇini 4.4.17, vivadha or vīvadha is a contrivance for carrying loads, a pole with slings at both ends carried on the shoulder. For āsāra, see 10.2.7. dešīya 'natives of the country' that is to be attacked; these are anyabhāva 'with different, i.e., hostile feelings' towards the attacker.
 - 10 pratyādeyam: cf. 9.4.5-6; for the other terms, too, see 9.4.16-22.
 - 13 vyasana seems here 'vice' (Cb) rather than 'calamity.'
- 14-15 These ss. appear to be out of context. They make no reference to samdhi, which is the topic under discussion. They might fit in with 7.4.16. It may be that they have got into the text at the wrong place. It is also possible that it is

- 16 Of a treaty, (there are) the desire to make a (treaty) not yet made, clinging fast to a treaty made, spoiling a treaty made and repair of what is broken. 17 Of war, there is open war, concealed war and silent war. 18 Thus (we have) treaty and war.
- 19 The examination of a new treaty in relation to conciliation and other means with their consequences, and the fixing of equal, weaker and stronger kings according to their strength, is the desire to make a (treaty) not made.
- 20 The observance, on both sides, of a (treaty) made, by means of what is agreeable and beneficial, and the carrying out of conditions as agreed upon and their safe-guarding (by seeing) that he may not be divided from the other party, is clinging fast to a treaty made.
- 21 Violation (of the treaty) after establishing that the enemy deserves to have the treaty with him broken, by cheating (him) through treasonable persons, is spoiling a treaty made.
- Becoming reconciled with a servant or an ally who had deserted through some fault is repair of what is broken. 23 In that case, the deserter returning is of four kinds: one deserting and returning on good grounds, the reverse of this, one leaving on good grounds and returning without such grounds, and the reverse of this.
- One deserting because of the master's fault and returning because of his virtue, (or) deserting because of the enemy's virtue and returning because of his fault, is one deserting and returning on good grounds, fit to be made peace with.
- 25 One deserting and returning because of his own fault ignoring the virtues of both, is one deserting and returning without ground, unfit to be made peace with, being fickle in mind.
- One deserting because of the master's fault and returning from the enemy because of his own fault is one deserting on good grounds and returning without ground, about whom he should reflect, 'Has he

a marginal comment which has got into the text. 15 anyasya: this would seem to be the ari, who is attacked by another king at the $vijig\bar{\imath}su$'s instance.

- 19 paryeṣaṇam 'thorough investigation' of the possible consequences of a treaty and of the possibility of using $s\bar{a}man$, $d\bar{a}na$ etc. if the treaty is made. $akrtacik\bar{\imath}rs\bar{a}$ is a preliminary investigation before a treaty is actually made.
- 20 nibandhana 'binding,' i.e., terms, conditions. katham parasmān na bhidyeta has the appearance of an indirect construction.
- 21 $d\bar{u}syatisamdhanena$: it seems that the $vijig\bar{u}su$ is to encourage his own $d\bar{u}syas$ to get in touch with the enemy; if the latter were to entertain any proposals by these, his apasamdheyata would thereby be established.
- $22~~ava\'sirnakriy\bar{a}$ ' repairing what is broken ' is the same as apasrtasaindhi in the title.

come with the intention of doing harm at the enemy's instigation or through his own evilmindedness, or knowing my enemy to be an exterminator of his enemy (returned) through fear of reprisal, or leaving the enemy, who is planning to exterminate me, returned out of a feeling of compassion? '27 On finding out, he should honour one with benevolent intentions, should keep away at a distance one with different intentions.

- One deserting because of his own fault and returning because of the enemy's fault is one deserting without ground and returning on good grounds, about whom he should reflect, 'Will he make good my weak point? Is he accustomed to live here? Do his people not find pleasure at the enemy's place? Is he in alliance with my allies? Is he at war with my enemies? Is he frightened of the greedy or cruel (enemy) or of (the enemy) in alliance with his enemy?' 29 On finding out, he should keep him in accordance with his intentions.
- 30 'Destruction of what one has done, diminution of power, treating learning as a commodity, despair in hopes, eagerness for (seeing) different lands, lack of trust, or conflict with a powerful person are the occasions for leaving (the master),' say the teachers.

 31 'Fear, lack of livelihood (and) resentment (are the main occasions),' says Kautilya.
- 32 Among these, one who has done harm to him should be abandoned, one who has done harm to the enemy should be made peace with, regarding one who has done harm to both, he should reflect as before.
- 26 parasya ucchettāram amitram me jūātvā: the deserter knows that the enemy to whom he had gone is severe on his enemies and fears severe punishment from him as he himself is at fault (svadoṣeṇa āgataḥ); hence he returns to his old master. Meyer proposes mām for me, his idea being that the deserter realises that the vijigūṣu would uproot the enemy to whom he has gone over; hence fearing reprisals he returns. This is little likely. The vijigūṣu in his thoughts would not refer to himself as amitra.
- 28 chidram me pūrayisyati: these are in the form of questions. The explanation in Cs 'he will widen my weak points, so that the enemy may easily strike at them' is quite unlikely. This deserter has returned because of the enemy's fault; he could not be supposed to serve the enemy's interests. śatrusamhitād: the śatru is the deserter's enemy (Cb).
- 30 śaktihānih: the śakti seems to be that of the deserter rather than that of the king. Cb looks upon all these as defects of the king, not of the deserter. vidyā-panyatvam, e.g., a clever minister going over to the enemy for higher emoluments. deśalaulyam: this can hardly mean 'trouble in the country from flies, mosquitoes, etc.' (Cb Cs). balavadvigrahah: the vigraha is that of the would-be deserter, hardly that of the king.

[7. 6. 36

- 33 In case, however, it is absolutely necessary to make peace with one unfit to make peace with, he should take precautions with regard to that wherein the (other) has might.
 - 34 In repairing what is broken, he should station one who belongs to the enemy's party, if (on coming to him) he has conferred benefits, away (from himself), guarded till the end of his life.
 - 35 Or, he should make him fight against his master, or, if completely secured, make him a leader of the army against the enemy or forest tribes or station him on one side on the frontier.
 - 36 Or, if not secured, he should sell him as a commodity, or (sell) even a secured one concealed by that one, blaming him with the fault of that (other one) himself, for the sake of making peace with the enemy.
- 33 The reading asamdheyatvena of the mss. is quite obviously faulty. yatah prabhāvah tataḥ, i.e., in that (kośa, daṇḍa etc.) in which the returning deserter may be powerful.
- 34 āyuḥkṣayād iti: iti seems used because of ā; Meyer suggests ati or adhi for it; that is hardly an improvement. aripakṣīyam: though avaśīrṇakriyāvidhau indicates a prime deserter from the vijigīṣu, it seems that in most of these stanzas a deserter from the enemy is to be understood. Cs understands an enemy's servant coming to the vijigīṣu, going back to the enemy and returning to the vijigīṣu a second time. This seems hardly intended.
- 35 bhartari: this is clearly the ari. siddham who has been secured, i.e., about whose loyalty there is no more any doubt. amitrāṭavīṣu: with this we have to construe daṇḍacāriṇam; the deserter may be sent to fight enemies or forest tribes. Meyer has 'being given a command over alien troops or forest tribes.' Cs construes ami:rāṭavīṣu with kṣipet 'should send him against enemies or forest tribes.' It seems better, however, to look upon the last quarter as containing a separate clause.
- 36 panyam kuryāt 'should sell him,' i.e., hand him over to the enemy, the deserter's old master, for a price. Cb Cs, however, explain 'should send him with goods for selling them.' That appears hardly possible in view of the usual meaning of this expression. Cf. 9.3.27 etc. — siddham vā tena samvrtam tasyaiva dosena ādūṣya: this seems to mean that even the deserter proved loyal (siddham) may be sold to the enemy, his old master, in place of or along with the one proved disloyal (tena, i.e., asiddhena and samvrtam covered, concealed); the loyal one is charged with the offence really committed by the asiddha one. This is to be done in order that peace may be made with the enemy, who insists on the surrender of the loyal one (parasamdheyakāranāt). The explanation in Cb seems to be, 'if the deserter, after making a secret agreement with the enemy, were to kill the $d\bar{u}sya$ etc. of the enemy and thus show to the vijigişu that he had suppressed (or weakened) the enemy (and is therefore an honest deserter), the vijigīşu should proclaim this offence (of trying to cheat him) and kill him, in order that this may serve as a lesson to other dūṣyas of the enemy who may think of deserting to him.' This hardly appears meant.

- 37 Or, he should do away with him silently for the sake of the future; and finding that the deserter who has returned is desirous of killing him in future, he should slay him.
- 38 One who has come from the enemy is a danger, caused by his staying with the enemy; being of the nature of staying with a serpent, it suffers from the defect of constant fear.
- 39 He becomes a cause of constant fear and dangerous even afterwards like (danger) to a śālmali tree from a pigeon feeding on plaksa seeds.
- 40-41 Open war is fighting at the place and time indicated; creating fright, sudden assault, striking when there is error or a calamity, giving way and striking in one place, are types of concealed warfare; that which concerns secret practices and instigations through secret agents is the mark of silent war.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SECTION 113 PEACE AND WAR CONNECTED WITH THE DUAL POLICY

- 1 The conqueror should accept as ally the second member (of the circle of kings) in this manner. 2 He should march against a neighbouring king after joining forces with the neighbouring enemy if he were to think, '(Thus) he will not attack me in the rear, will ward
 - 37 hanyāt may refer to open execution as against upāmsunā samayet.
 - 38 dosah, i.e., a source of danger.
- 39 plakṣabījāśāt kapotād: nominatives would have been better, in view of the comparison of the abhyāgata with the kapota. plakṣa is the ari of the śālmali, which is uprooted by the former's seeds taking root at its base, being dropped there by the kapota.
- 40 nirdiṣṭe deśe kāle ca: cf. 10.3.26. vibhīṣaṇam appears to be the same as vibhīṣikā of 10.4.14. 41 ekatra tyāgaghātau: this seems to refer to the tactics of making a show of yielding in one place and, when the enemy forces are lulled by a sense of victory or are scattered, striking back in force at the same place; cf. 10.3.4,6. Meyer would read ekasya 'leaving in the lurch or killing one who is alone (eka).' This is not mentioned in 10.3, the Section on kūṭayudāha. māṭrkā 'source, womb,' i.e., types. yogagūḍhopajāpārtham: artham is rather strange; we expect the nominative; we cannot render it by 'for the sake of.' yoga and gūḍhopajāpa are described at length from 12.2 to 13.4 below. The reading gūḍhāpa-is obviously faulty.

7.7

Cb is missing on Chapters 7.7 to 7.13.

1 dvitīyām prakṛtim: see 7.6.1 above. — upagṛḥṇīyāt 'should secure support' from him, by making a pact of alliance with him. 2 sāmantam: this is a third

off my rear enemy, will not go to the help of the king against whom I am marching, there will be double troops at my disposal, he will provide me with supplies and reinforcements, will prevent these from (reaching) the enemy, will crush for me the thorns on the way full of many dangers, will operate with his army against (the enemy's) retreats in forts or forests, will place the king I am marching against in an unbearable danger or bring him to terms of peace, or as he receives his share of the gain, will create confidence in my other enemies.'

- 3 Or, resorting to the dual policy, he should seek to obtain from one of the neighbouring kings troops in return for treasury or treasury in return for troops. 4 Among them, from the stronger for a larger share, from the equal for an equal share, from the weaker for a smaller share, this is an equal pact. 5 In the reverse case, it is an unequal pact. 6 By receiving a special gain in these two, there is overreaching.
- 7 A weaker king may bargain with a stronger king with the offer of a gain equal to his troops, when he is in a calamity or is addicted to what is harmful or is in trouble. 8 He with whom the bargain is made should fight if capable of doing harm to him; else he should make the pact.
- 9 A weaker king, when in the same situation, may bargain with a stronger king with the offer of a gain greater than what is equal to the troops, for the sake of recouping his diminished powers and might or for the sake of guarding his base or rear when going after an object which it is possible to secure. 10 He with whom the bargain is made should help one with honourable intentions, else fight.

king against whom the vijigīṣu would march in alliance with his enemy (sāmantena sambhūya). — baladvaigunyam from Cn Cs is absolutely necessary. — durgātavyapasāreṣu: a durga or aṭavī would provide a place of refuge (apasāra) for the yātavya.

- 3 dvaidhībhūtaḥ, i.e., making a pact with his usual enemy in order to make war on another king. 5 viparyaye: there are two viparyayas in each case; e.g., from a jyāyān, a sama amśa or a hīna amśa, instead of adhika. There are thus six viṣama samdhis. viṣṣalābhād: according to Cn, the viṣṣṣa lies in quality rather than quantity, e.g., gain of money rather than of ally or of land rather than of money, as in 7.9.1. atisamdhiḥ 'excessive treaty,' is over-reaching or cheating, which is what the word usually means.
- 7 anarthinam: for anartha see. 9.7.7. balasamena, i.e., in proportion to the number of troops, desired from him. This is a visama samdhi as the stronger king is offered not adhika, but sama amśa. 8 panitah is the jyāyān in difficulties. Advice is given to both sides in this text.
- 9 evambhūtah, i.e., when he is vyasanin etc. as in s. 7. sambhāvyārtha- is an object that can conceivably be achieved. jyāyāmsam višistena: this thus is a sama samdhi.

- 11 A weaker king, entrenched in a fort or supported by an ally, may bargain with a stronger king on whom a calamity has fallen or who has a weak point among his subjects or to whom troubles have come, with the offer of a gain less than what is equal to his troops, when intending to march against an enemy over a short route or when intending to secure a gain without a fight or (a gain) of which the attainment is certain. 12 He with whom the bargain is made should fight if capable of doing harm to him, else make the pact.
- 13 A stronger king, (even when) without a weakness or a calamity, may accept a lesser gain when intending to make (a weaker king) who made a bad start in his undertaking suffer greater losses and expenses, or when intending to get his own treasonable troops killed, or when intending to bring to his side (the weaker king's) treasonable troops, or when intending to cause trouble to (his own enemy) fit to be harassed or exterminated through the weaker king, or if he, attaching importance to peace, has honourable intentions. 14 Joining forces with one who has honourable intentions, he should seek to achieve his object, else fight.
 - 15 In the same way, an equal should over-reach or help an equal.
- 16 An equal may bargain with a gain equal to the troops, for (troops) capable of fighting against the particular kind of the enemy's troops or against those of the ally or forest troops, or for (troops) that would serve as a guide in terrains unfavourable to the enemy or for
- 11 jālavyasanaprakṛtirandhram: this should be understood as containing two ideas, jātavyasanam and jātaprakṛtirandhram. Thus Cn, which, however, refers randhra to kruddha, lubdha etc. who are likely seceders. It is more likely that the reference is to kṣīṇa, lubdha and virakta (and apacarita) as constituting the randhra of the subjects. Meyer has a single idea 'in whom a weak point in the form of a calamity of a constituent has appeared.' durgamitrapratiṣṭabdho vā: it seems that vā shows the option between durga and mitra in the compound. This expression can hardly be understood as an option to what follows as in Cn. It describes the situation of the hīna and not his intentions. śatrum as another object to yātukāmah is rather odd. It is unnecessary. jyāyāmsam hīnena is a viṣama samdhi.
- 13 arandhravyasano $v\bar{a}$: again $v\bar{a}$ may show the option between randhra and vyasana. This expression is the negative of $j\bar{a}tavyasana$ etc. in s. 11. yoktu-kāmah: the sense of the causal seems implicit. pravāsay is here 'to kill,' hardly 'to send into exile.'
 - 15 evam, i.e., as in ss. 13-14.
- 16 parānīkasya pratyanīkam, i.e., the kind of troops that would be suitable for use against the troops that the enemy would be using. Considerations mentioned in 9.2.26-28 would seem to apply. mitrāṭavīnām: we have to supply pratyanīkam. The ally and forest troops are those of the enemy. vibhūmi 'terrain which is unsuitable.' deśika seems to mean 'who can point out,' i.e., able to guide. bulasamena is proposed for samabalena in conformity with the reading in ss. 20,

guarding his base or rear. 17 He with whom the bargain is made should help one with honourable intentions, otherwise he should fight.

- 18 An equal may bargain with the offer of a gain less than equal to the troops with one on whom a calamity has fallen or who has a weak point among his subjects or who is opposed by many (kings) or when he himself can get help from another source. 19 He with whom the bargain is made should fight if capable of doing harm to him, else make the pact.
- 20 An equal, in this situation himself, should bargain with the offer of a gain greater than what is equal to the troops, if his affairs are dependent on the neighbouring king or when his strength is to be built up. 21 He with whom the bargain is made should help one with honourable intentions, otherwise fight.
- 22 One may ask for more (gain) from a stronger, a weaker or an equal, if intending to strike at him when a calamity has befallen him or his subjects show a weakness, or if intending to ruin his undertaking that may have been well started or that may be sure of success, or if intending to strike at his base or expedition, or if he is getting more from the king against whom (the other) is marching. 23 The one, asked for more, may give more for the sake of protecting his own troops when intending to crush another's unassailable fort or allied or forest troops by means of enemy troops, or when intending to make the enemy troops suffer losses and expenses on a distant or prolonged expedition, or when intending to exterminate the enemy himself after growing in power through his troops, or when intending to take the enemy troops himself.
- 24 A stronger king may bargain with a weaker king with the offer of a gain greater than what is equal to the troops, when intending

24, 27 and 29. samabala is inappropriate with lābha. Similarly, balasamād is proposed in s. 18.

18 anyato labhamāno vā: if the king wanting troops can get them from another source, the sama, with whom negotiations are going on, may find the vijigīṣu getting more powerful without himself getting any gain; he might therefore prefer a smaller gain. Meyer (in the Berechtigung) finally prefers alabhamānaḥ 'if the vijigīṣu cannot get help from any other source.' In that case, offering a smaller gain is quite inconceivable.

20 kartavyabalah: the building up of an army is meant. — This and the last case are viparyayas of the second kind of sama samdhi (samāt samena).

22 bhūyo yāceta: this seems to imply a demand for additional gain some time after the pact is made. — yātavyād bhūyo labhamāno: the threat held out is, if you do not give me more, I can get it from your enemy and help him with troops to fight against you. 23 paradaṇdam ādātukāmah: Cn Cs think that para is the yātavya. But para as the enemy whose troops are borrowed is definitely better; it is these troops that are to be appropriated.

to get him in his power under the pretext of the enemy to be attacked, or when intending to exterminate him after exterminating the enemy, or when after making the bestowal, intending to recover it (later). 25 He with whom the bargain is made should fight if capable of doing harm to him, otherwise make the pact. 26 Or, he should enter into an alliance with the king to be attacked (by the other), or should give treasonable or alien or forest troops.

- 27 A stronger king, suffering from a calamity or a weak point among his subjects, may bargain with a weaker one with the offer of a gain equal to the troops. 28 He with whom the bargain is made should fight if capable of doing harm to him, otherwise make the pact.
- 29 A stronger king may bargain with a weaker one who is in this situation with the offer of a gain less than what is equal to the troops. 30 He with whom the bargain is made should fight if capable of doing him harm, otherwise make the pact.
 - 31 The one to whom a pact is proposed and the one proposing the pact should first find out the motives; then after reflecting on both sides, he should follow the course wherein lies his well-being.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SECTION 114 CONDUCT (PROPER) FOR THE KING ABOUT TO BE ATTACKED

SECTION 115 DIFFERENT KINDS OF ALLIES FIT TO BE HELPED

- 1 The vulnerable king, about to be attacked, should bargain with one of the confederates with the offer of double the gain, with the intention of removing the motive of the alliance or of destroying
- 24 jyāyān vā for jyāyāmsam vā is from Cs. The latter is unlikely as the case of jyāyāmsam višiṣṭena lābhena is discussed alreaḍy in s. 9. yātavyāpadešena: the idea is, the request for troops for fighting a yātavya is only a pretext; the real intention is to weaken the hīna by taking his troops and thus get him in his power. tyāga is that of the higher gain. This and the case in s. 27 are viparyayas of the third sama samdhi (hīnād hīnena).
- 31 ādau: Cn has ato, Cs āto. But ādau seems better. kāraņam, i.e., motives of the other party. ubhayatah 'on both sides' may refer to the two sides of the paṇita and the paṇamāna, or to the two alternatives of peace and war (Cn Cs). Cn remarks that paṇita and paṇamāna refer to the different situations in which the vijigīṣu may find himself.

7.8

The two Sections are contained in ss. 1-4 and 11-34 respectively. Ss. 5-10 do not belong to either, but continue the topic of the last Chapter (Section 113). — yātavyavrttih: Cn Cs and Meyer have 'conduct of as well as conduct towards the yātavya.' Of the latter there is little trace.

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- it. 2 Proposing the bargain, he should describe to him (likely) losses, expenses, marches, hindrances, benefits to enemies and danger to his person. 3 If he agrees, he should bestow wealth on him. 4 Or, making him entertain enmity towards the others, he should divide him (from them).
- 5 When intending to make one who has made a bad start in his undertaking suffer further losses and expenses, or when intending to obstruct the success of his expedition that has begun well, or when intending to strike at his base or expedition, or when intending to ask for more again after becoming allied with the king to be attacked, one may accept a small gain in the present and a large gain in the future, even when difficulties of money have arisen or he has no confidence in that (other king).
- 6 When he sees a benefit to his ally or harm to his enemy, with a continuity of advantage to himself, or when he intends to make the king who has helped him before help him further, he should forgo a great gain in the present and seek a small gain in the future.
- 7 When he wants to save a king engaged in a fight with traitors or enemies or with a stronger king seeking to seize his kingdom, or when he wants to make (that king) render the same kind of help (to himself) or when he takes relationship into consideration, he should not accept a gain in the present and in the future.
- 1 samdhikāraṇam 'the reason why the alliance was made,' viz., the gain. ādātukāmaḥ 'to take away,' i.e., to remove it. How to do this is explained in ss. 2-3 (Cn). vihantukāmaḥ: this is explained in s. 4 (Cn). 2 paṇamānaḥ is from Cn for prapaṇitaḥ of the mss. Cf. 7.7.31 above. Cs reads prapaṇitā. kṣaya-vyaya- etc.: cf. 7.2.2. 4 visamvādayet: make him disagree with the others and thus divide him from them.
- 5 svārabdhām vā yātrāsiddhim: strictly svārabdhā goes with yātrā, not with siddhi; this is an ckadeśin compound. Meyer prefers the reading svārabdham...-siddham and understands svārabdham as an accusative of relation 'when a thing has well begun.' That is doubtful. prahartukāmaḥ is read as in 7.7.22 for pratihartukāmaḥ. It seems supported by Cn. pratyutpannārthakrcchraḥ: the sense of api is to be understood with this expression, as also with aviśvastaḥ. The two expressions do not refer to any ulterior motives like the earlier clauses. For the former expression, cf. 5.2.1. This s. can hardly be regarded as describing the behaviour of a confederate towards the yātavya, as in Cs. yātavyasamhitaḥ in one of the clauses precludes that.
- 6 arthānubandham: as 9.7.14 shows, this should be regarded as an adjective to mitropakāram and amitropaghātam. kārayitukāmah: the object upakāram has to be understood. bhūyah should have come before this word, not after.
- 7 mūlaharena: see 7.2.14 above. tathāvidham upakāram, i.e., the saving of himself when there may be need for it in the future. sambandhāvekṣī: Cs reads -pekṣī and explains 'expecting a marriage alliance with the yātavya.' It is doubtful if the yātavya comes into the picture at all.

- 8 When after making a pact he intends to violate it, or when he intends to bring about the impoverishment of the enemy's subjects or the breaking up of his alliance with his allies or foes, or when apprehensive of any attack by the enemy, he should demand a gain not received or more. 9 With respect to that, the other should consider the order (of preference) in the present and in the future. 10 By that are explained the earlier (cases).
- ally, a special advantage (results) from an ally whose undertaking is possible or sound or productive or who is resolute in his undertakings or who has loyal subjects. 12 One with a possible undertaking starts a work capable of accomplishment, one with a sound undertaking (starts a work) free from defects, one with a productive undertaking what leads to good results. 13 One resolute in his undertakings does not stop without completing his work. 14 One with loyal subjects accomplishes his work even with a little help, since he has (already) good helpmates. 15 These (allies), when they have achieved their objects, easily and abundantly oblige (in return). 16 The reverse of these should not be helped.
- 17 In case the two give help to the same individual, he who helps his ally or a better ally (of his) over-reaches (the other). 18 For, from the ally he attains his own advancement, the other (gets only) losses, expenses, marches and beneficence to enemies. 19 And the enemy, on achieving his object, becomes hostile.
- 20 But when the two help the middle king, he who helps the middle king when he is his ally or a better ally, over-reaches (the other).
 21 For, from the ally he attains his own advancement, the other (gets only) losses, expenses, marches and beneficence to enemies.
 22 If the middle king, after being helped, turns hostile, the enemy over-reaches (the conqueror).
 28 For, he obtains (as an ally) the
- 8 parābhiyogāt: the para appears to be the enemy who is asking for troops. To prevent an attack on himself with the help of his own troops, a large amount is demanded. śańkamānaḥ: a vā after this seems necessary. aprāplam implies demand for immediate payment of what was agreed. 9 tam is merely an accusative of reference, 'with reference to him.' kramam, i.e., what would be best to do in the present and in future. 10 pūrve refers to the cases of ss. 5-7.
- 12 ārabhate in the indicative is from Cn for ārabheta; that is in keeping with the verbs in the following ss. 16 pratilomā is again from Cn. For pratilome of the mss. we should expect prātilomye.
- 17 mitrataram: though an ally of both, he is more friendly towards one of them. 19 śatruh: this is the mitra or mitratara of the other party. vaigunyam has the sense of 'hostility.' Cf. viguna in s. 22 below.
- 23 kṛtaprayāsam etc.: it is the vijigīṣu who had made the effort to help the madhyama; but since the latter has turned hostile (viguṇa), he has become his

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he nis enemy of the middle king, who had made exertions, (but) who has now deserted (him) and come to him with a common goal.

- 24 By that is explained help to the neutral king.
- 25 In the matter of giving a portion of one's troops to the middle or neutral king, he who gives troops that are brave, skilled in the use of weapons, able to put up with troubles or loyal, is over-reached.

 26 The opposite kind over-reaches.
- Where, however, the troops, when sent, can accomplish that object as well as others, he should give any of the hereditary, hired, banded, allied or forest troops, when the place and time are known, or alien and forest troops, when the place is distant and time long.
- 28 But if he were to think of a king, 'On achieving his object, he will appropriate my troops, or will camp them among alien or forest troops or in an unsuitable region or season, or might render them unserviceable,' then he should not help him on the pretext that his troops are engaged (elsewhere). 29 If, however, he has necessarily to be given help in this manner, he should give him troops able to put up with that occasion (only). 30 And till the end (of the campaign) he should get them to encamp and fight (in another place?) and guard them from the calamities of an army. 31 And when the other has achieved his object, he should, under some pretext, get them removed from him. 32 Or, he should give him treasonable, alien or forest troops. 33 Or, making a treaty with the king to be attacked, he should over-reach him.

enemy (madhyamāmitram); so he deserts the madhyama (apasrta) and makes common cause with his usual enemy, who thus scores over him. ekārtha is hostility towards the madhyama.

- 25 Cn specifically adds that this does not apply to troops lent to one's allies.
- 27 dandah pratihatah etc.: the text does not seem quite right. One may understand that the troops given are repulsed, being cowardly etc., and so better troops are demanded of him. He may give such, if more objects can be achieved. But in the text there is no mention of a fresh demand or a demand for better troops. Perhaps pratihatah is wrong, and prahitah or pranihitah should be read, the idea being simply that when a number of objects can be attained by sending troops, good troops may be given. This is an exception to s. 25, as shown by tu. The translation presupposes prahitah for pratihatah. $tam v\bar{a} c\bar{a}rtham$: the $v\bar{a}$ is unnecessary. upalabdha acquainted with '(Cn); rather 'known'.
- aphalam kuryāt: cf. 9.2.11, which shows that 'might deprive it of the reward due after the enemy's defeat' (Cn Cs) is not likely. What is meant is rendering them unserviceable or useless for fighting by neglecting to take proper care of them.

 dešena nainam from Cs is quite necessary for the sense. 29 tatkālasaham may mean 'capable of fighting in that season only' or 'enabling him to tide over that occasion.' Meyer has 'raised at that time only', i.e., not seasoned. 30 vāsayed etc.: it seems some such word as anyatra (i.e., at a place away from where

7.8.34]

34 For, when the gain is equal there should be peace, when unequal war is considered (desirable) for the equal, weaker and stronger kings. Thus have peace and war been described.

CHAPTER NINE

SECTION 116 PACTS FOR (SECURING) AN ALLY, MONEY, LAND AND AN UNDERTAKING

- (i) Pact for an Ally (ii) Pact for Money
- 1 When marching after making a pact, of the gains of an ally, money and land, the gain of each later one is preferable to that of the earlier one. 2 For, an ally and money come from the gain of land, (and) an ally from the gain of money. 3 Or, that gain, which when secured helps in securing one of the remaining two (is preferable).
- 4 'Let us two secure an ally each,' this and the like is an equal pact. 5 'You secure an ally (I, one of the other two),' this and the like is an unequal pact. 6 By securing a special gain in these two (cases), there is over-reaching.
- 7 In an equal pact, however, he who secures an excellent ally or an ally in the ally's difficulty, over-reaches. 8 For, troubles produce firmness in friendship.
- 9 Even in the case of an ally's difficulty, (when there is a choice) between one who is constant but not under control and one inconstant but under control, 'The constant, though not under control, is preferable; for, he, though not helping, does not do harm,' say the teachers. 10 'No,' says Kautilya. 11 One under control, though inconstant,

the other king's troops are operating) or āsannam (near himself) has dropped out.

— balavyasanas are enumerated in 8.5 below.

34 The stanza forms the conclusion of the discussion in the last Chapter, the two Sections in this Chapter being only special cases of the Section in that Chapter.

— uktāḥ samdhivikramāḥ: the plurals are from Cn Cs, supported by the title of Section 113.

7.9

Section 116 is spread over the four Chapters 9 to 12.

- 4 tvam cāham ca mitram: the same king is not sought as an ally by both; each seeks a different king as his ally. tvam mitram: we have to supply aham hiranyam bhūmim vā.
- 7 sampannam, i.e., possessed of mitrasampad as in 6.1.12. mitrakrechre, i.e., when the king whose alliance is sought is in difficulties (Cn Cs). Meyer has 'when the vijigīṣu is in need of an ally.' This is unlikely; the āpad in the next s. is not that of the conqueror, for the question of his own firmness in friendship is irrelevant when it is a matter of scoring over the rival.

is preferable. 12 As long as he helps, he becomes an ally; for, the characteristic of an ally is conferring benefit.

- between one rendering abundant help but inconstant and one rendering small help but constant, 'The one rendering abundant help, though inconstant, is preferable; one rendering abundant help, though inconstant, gives great help in a short time and provides against large items of expenditure,' say the teachers. 14 'No,' says Kautilya. 15 The constant one, though giving small help, is preferable. 16 The inconstant, though capable of great help, deserts through fear of (having to render) help or after giving help strives to take it back. 17 The constant one, giving a small help, rendering the small help continuously, renders great help over a long period of time.
- 18 As between a big ally mobilising slowly and a small ally mobilising quickly, 'The big ally, mobilising slowly, gives great prestige, and when he does mobilise, he secures the object,' say the teachers. 19 'No,' says Kautilya. 20 A small ally mobilising quickly is preferable. 21 The small ally mobilising quickly does not allow the time for action to pass, and because of his weakness becomes fit to be used at one's will, not so the other, with an extensive territory.
- 22 As between dispersed troops and troops not under control, 'Dispersed troops can be collected together again, being under control,' say the teachers. 23 'No,' says Kautilya. 24 Troops not under control are better. 25 For, uncontrolled troops can be brought under control by conciliation and other means; the other (kind), being engaged in their work, cannot be collected together.
- 26 As between an ally giving the help of men and one giving the help of money, 'The ally giving the help of men is preferable; the ally
- 13 mahābhogam: bhoga 'enjoyment (of his resources)' conveys the sense of help received from him. 16 upakārabhayād: the fear is that he may really have to give the help expected of him.
- 18 gurusamuttham 'heavy to rise,' i.e., taking a long time to get his troops ready.

 pratāpa, as Meyer points out, refers to prestige among the kings. Ss. 20-23 are missing in M, showing that it was not the exemplar for G₁. prakṛṣṭa-bhaumam: Cs renders prakṛṣṭa by 'distant,' Meyer by 'extensive, wide-flung.' The latter appears better in the present context. Cf., however, 7.6.8. The tadāhita form of bhauma has little significance.
- 22 vikṣiptasainyam: though the discussion is about allies, and we can easily supply mitram after this, the ss. that follow consider the question of troops as such. The fact that the ally's armies are primarily meant can be easily understood. vikṣipta 'scattered,' i.e., dispersed in more than one place, not necessarily on different missions (as Cs has it). Cf. 9.2.11. 25 kāryavyāsaktam: the kārya seems to refer to the normal peaceful avocations of the soldiers. vikṣepa thus almost amounts to disbandment.

giving the help of men gives prestige and when he mobilises, he achieves the object,' say the teachers. 27 'No,' says Kautilya. 28 The ally giving the help of money is preferable. 29 For, the use of money is made at all times, only sometimes that of troops. 30 And with money, troops and other objects of desire are obtained.

- 31 As between an ally giving the help of money and one giving the help of land, 'The one giving the help of money, being possessed of mobility, enables one to meet all expenses,' say the teachers. 32 'No,' says Kautilya. 33 That an ally and money come from the acquisition of land has been stated before. 34 Therefore, the ally giving the help of land is preferable.
- 35 When help in men (from two allies) is equal, valour, ability to put up with troubles, loyalty or the gain of all troops from the side of the ally becomes a special advantage.
- 36 When the help in money is equal, getting the things asked for, plentifulness, smallness of exertion and continuity become a special advantage.
 - 37 With respect to that, the following occurs:
 - 38 A perfect ally is said to have six qualities, namely, constant, under control, quickly mobilising, hereditary, great and not given to double-dealing.
 - 39 One, that is protected and that protects out of love, without (consideration of) money, with relationship grown since old times, is called the constant ally.
 - 40 One under control is said to be three-fold, helping with all, with various or with great resources; giving help on one side, on
 - 29 yogah 'union with ' refers to the use to which it can be put.
- 31 There can be no doubt that gatimattvāt from Cn is the correct reading. The question of the ally's prudence (matimattvāt, which Meyer prefers) is hardly relevant. Of course, it is hiranya that is mobile, the ally only secondarily so. 33 purastāt: in s. 2 above.
- 35 sarvabalalābhah may be 'getting all types of troops' or 'getting all the troops the ally has.' mitrakulād: kula does not seem to have much significance.
 - 36 sātatyam ca from Cn Cs is obviously preferable to sātatyāc ca.
- 37 It is possible that this passage in ss. 37-49 is not genuine, like the other passage (7.6.14-15) introduced with the words tatraitad bhavati. It is not the usual practice of this text to introduce quotations in this manner. The stanzas have the appearance of being explanatory comments on expressions used in the text, which, however, do not stand in need of much explanation.
 - 38 This is a repetition of 6.1.12.

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both sides and on all sides is another (three-fold ally under control).

- 41 One who, whether receiving or giving (help), lives by doing harm to (one's) enemies, and is possessed of a fort or forest as a place of retreat, is a constant ally, (but) not under control.
- 42 He who, when engaged in war with another or even when only in a light calamity, makes a pact for help, is an ally under control, but not constant.
- 43 Now one related by a common objective, helpful and never changing, is the ally endowed with the nature of an ally, not given to double-dealing in times of trouble.
- 44 The ally is permanent because of (exclusive) feelings of friendship, fickle because of (his feelings) being common to the enemy, indifferent when not interested in either, with feelings for both when interested in the two.
- 45 That ally, (really) an enemy of the conqueror, who has become a buffer (between two strong kings), does not help, being not placed under obligations or being unable to help.
- 40 For the terms see 7.16.10-15 below. aparam: we have to understand trividham vasyam.
 - 41 durgāļavyapasāri: cf. 7.7.2.
 - 42 upakārāya: a pact for mutual aid seems meant.
- 43 It is proposed to read ekārthenātha sambaddham for ekārthenārthasambandham of the mss. One artha in the latter is superfluous. For the expression, cf. 7.8.23, also 9.2.17, which make ekārthānartha-, (i.e., with artha and anartha common) of Cn Cs less likely, though possible in itself.
- 44 The explanation of Cn is followed in the first half, understanding asādhāraṇāt (with mitrabhāvāt) in the description of a dhruva ally and understanding mitrabhāvāt (after śatrusādhāraṇāt) in that of a cala ally. In the second half, Cn understands udāsīnam as only a description of the ubhayabhāvin. However, not only in this stanza but also in 47 and 48 udāsīna seems distinguished ffrom ubhayabhāvin. Meyer translates this s. 'an ally, firm because of his friendly feelings, but vacillating because he has common interests with the enemy, indifferent to neither of the two, is ubhayathāvin.' That the ally can be dhruva and cala at the same time is doubtful.
- 45 amitram seems used in the neuter because it is in apposition to mitram.—
 antardhitām gatam: cf. 7.13.25. The idea is, an enemy of the conqueror, finding himself between two strong kings and in the position of a buffer to the vijigīṣu, becomes his ally. Such an ally, of course, is unhelpful. It is proposed to read an avagraha with niviṣtam corresponding to 'śaktam in Cs. With niviṣtam, Cs has 'resolved on helping, but incapable of doing so,' which seems little likely. upakāre aniviṣta may be understood in the sense of 'not placed under obligations'; cf. 7.18.37 for the idiom. Being an amitra, he had not been helped by the vijigīṣu before.

- 46 The ally who, (though) dear to the enemy or deserving to be protected or honoured by him or related to him, gives help, is common to the enemy.
- 47 The (ally) with an extensive territory, contented, strong and indolent becomes indifferent, (also) one disrespected because of a calamity.
- 48 One who, because of his weakness, is subservient to the prosperity of the enemy and the leader and is not treated as an enemy by either, should be known as (the ally) with feelings for both.
- 49 He, who would remain negligent about an ally who had deserted with or without reason and who has returned with or without reason, embraces death.
- 50 As between a small but quick gain and a large gain after a long time, 'The small but quick gain is preferable, if in consonance with the undertaking, the place and the time,' say the teachers. 51 'No,' says Kautilya. 52 A large gain after a long time is preferable, if not liable to disappear (and if) of the nature of a seed; in the reverse case, the former.
 - 53 On thus perceiving the presence of excellence in a gain or a portion of gain, which is definite, he should march after making pacts with confederates, being intent on achieving his own object.
- 46 It is proposed to read $p\bar{u}jyam$ sambaddham. With $p\bar{u}jyasambandham$, Cn Cs explain 'related to one worthy of honour (by the $vijig\bar{v}su$ himself).' It seems, however, that in view of $v\bar{u}$, parasya is to be construed with these words, in which case the reading proposed would be definitely better.
- 47 prakṛṣṭabhaumam: see s. 21 above. Cn'Cs understand each single term in the first half as making a type of udāsīna. vyasanād; the calamity seems to be that of the vijigīṣu. Cn has 'in the ally's calamity'; for that vyasane would be expected. Cs also has 'because of the ally's vice.'
- 48 Cn Cs regard ubhayabhāvin as the name for all types mentioned in ss. 44-48. It seems, however, that ubhayabhāvin is restricted only to this s., except for a different description in s. 44. Cf. 7.18.34 ff., where ubhayabhāvin is not mentioned at all. In fact, 7.18.29 makes the present discussion superfluous and hence suspect. It also seems clear that the stanzas are derived from different sources.
- 49 kāranākārana-: a vā is implied between kārana and akārana. Most mss. show kāranākarana- ' when a cause has not arisen,' which is not happy. Cf. 7.6.28 ff.
- 50 This s. and the following two ss. refer to hiranyasamdhi. 52 bījasadharmā, i.e., yielding abundant gains in the future. viparyaye, i.e., if it is vinipātī and not bījasadharmā.
 - 53 dhruve to be construed with labhe as well as labhamse.

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THE SIX MEASURES OF FOREIGN POLICY [7. 10. 15

CHAPTER TEN

SECTION 116 (Continued)

- (iii) Pact for Land
- 1 'Let us two obtain land,' this is a pact for land.
- 2 Of the two, he who obtains land possessed of excellences, when need for it has arisen, over-reaches.
- 3 In case there is an equal acquisition of excellent land, he who obtains land after attacking a strong king over-reaches. 4 For, he secures acquisition of land, weakening of the enemy and prestige. 5 It is true that in obtaining land from a weak king, there is ease. 6 But the gain of land is poor and his neighbour, (who was) one's ally, becomes an enemy.
- 7 In case the strength (of kings overthrown) is equal, he who obtains land after uprooting a firmly entrenched enemy, over-reaches.

 8 For, the acquisition of a fort brings about the protection of his own land and the repulsion of enemies and forest tribes.
- 9 In case of acquisition of land from a moving enemy, (there is) special advantage from a weak neighbour. 10 For, (land) with a weak neighbour has its well-being and security quickly augmented. 11 Land with a strong neighbour is the opposite of this and becomes ruinous to the treasury and the army.
- 12 As between excellent land with permanent enemies and one with few excellences without permanent enemies, 'The excellent land with permanent enemies is preferable; for, excellent land enables one to secure treasury and army, and these two destroy enemies,' say the teachers. 13 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 14 In acquiring land with permanent enemies, there is a greater acquisition of enemies. 15 And a permanent enemy remains an enemy whether he is obliged or injured; the impermanent enemy, however, ceases to be so through obligations (conferred on him) or by desisting from injury (to him).

7.10

- 2 sampannām, i.e., possessed of the excellences of a janapada as in 6.1.8.
- 4 śatrukarśanam: śatru is the strong king of the last s., whose land he has conquered. 6 tatsāmantaḥ, i.e., the neighbour of the weak king whose overthrow has brought the vijigīṣu into contiguity with him; so by theory, he becomes the vijigīṣu's enemy, when formerly he was his ally, being one state away.
- 7 sthitasatru is clearly one who has a fort; so calāmitra is an enemy without a fort. 8 amitrāṭavī- from Cn Cs is quite necessary. Cf. 1.13.15.
- 9 śakya is obviously paraphrased by durbala. 10 bhavati in the singular is necessary; bhūmih is used in the singular throughout.

- 16 The land, whose frontiers have many forts (beyond them) and are never devoid of robber-bands or *Mleccha* forest tribes, is one with permanent enemies; in the reverse case, it is one without permanent enemies.
- 17 As between a small proximate land and a big land that is distant, the small proximate land is preferable. 18 For, it is easy to obtain, to protect and to get it to rescue (oneself). 19 The distant one is the opposite of this.
- 20 Even of two distant lands, as between land held by troops and one held by itself, the one held by itself is preferable. 21 For, it is held by the treasury and the army produced within itself. 22 That held by troops is the opposite of this, (being merely) a station for troops.
- 23 As between acquisition of land from a foolish king and from a wise king, the acquisition of land from a foolish king is preferable.
- 24 For, it is easy to obtain and protect and cannot be taken back.
- 25 That from a wise king is the opposite of this, being loyal (to him).
- As between an enemy fit to be harassed and an enemy fit to be exterminated, acquisition of land from an enemy fit to be exterminated is preferable. 27 For, the king fit to be exterminated, being without support or with a weak support, is deserted by his subjects when, on being attacked, he wishes to flee taking with him the treasury and the army, not the one fit to be harassed, entrenched in a fort or supported by an ally.
- 28 Even of two kings entrenched in a fort, one in a land-fort and the other in a river-fort, the acquisition of land from one in a land-fort is preferable. 29 For, a land-fort is easy to besiege, to storm and to assault suddenly and does not allow the enemy to slip out. 30 A river-fort, however, causes double exertion, and water has to be drunk and it yields livelihood to the enemy.
- 16 Mlecchāṭavībhiḥ: Mleccha is an adjective to aṭavī, not an independent substantive.
- 18 abhisārayitum from the causal of abhi-sr 'to make (the land) go to the rescue of '; as Cs makes clear, 'to make it a refuge in times of distress.'
 - 22 dandasthānam, i.e., a sort of a place for the camping of the army.
 - 26 pidaniya: see 6.2.16.
- 29 avamarda is described in 13.4. aniḥṣrāvi- with the visarga as in Cs is to be preferred. 30 udakam ca pātavyam 'there is water fit for drinking' (Cn Cs Meyer); this does not have the look of being a hardship for the vijigīṣu, which is what is expected to be mentioned; the whole river could not be enclosed in the fort to prevent the vijigīṣu from using its water. pātavyam can also mean 'to be guarded', but that seems less likely. Perhaps pārayitavyam 'to be crossed' is to be read? vrtti-karam perhaps because of fish in it or because supplies can come along the river.

- 31 As between an enemy in a river-fort and an enemy in a mountainfort, acquisition of land from one in a river-fort is preferable. 32 For, a river-fort can be conquered by means of elephants, bridges of wooden posts, embankments and boats, it is of varying depth and its water can be made to flow away. 33 A mountain-fort, however, is easy to protect, difficult to lay siege to, difficult to climb; and even if one (part) is breached, the destruction of all does not follow; and (there can be) throwing down of rocks and trees on those doing great damage.
- 34 As between those who fight in water and those who fight on land, the acquisition of land from those who fight in water is preferable. 35 For, those fighting in water are restricted as to the place and time (of fighting); fighters on land, however, can fight in all places and in all seasons.
- 36 As between fighters in trenches and fighters in the open, acquisition of land from trench-fighters is preferable. 37 For, trenchfighters fight with both, trenches and weapons, those fighting in the open, with weapons alone.
 - 38 The (king) conversant with the science of politics, acquiring lands from kings like these, secures a special advantage over confederates and enemies.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

SECTION 116 (Continued)

- (iii a) Pact for Unsettled Land
- 'Let us two settle waste land,' this is a pact for unsettled · land.
- 32 stambhasainkrama 'a bridge of pillars.' Cf. 10.2.14. Cn Cs understand planks fixed on pillars (in the river-bed). Tree-stems thrown across rivers may also appear possible. — avasrāvyudakam: cf. 13.4.9. 33 bhagne caikasmin 'when a part of the fortifications is breached ' (Meyer) appears preferable to ' when some warriors are killed by arrows etc.' (Cn Cs). - duruparodhi: it seems that avarodha and uparodha both mean 'a siege,' though the former is favoured in 12.5.9 and 13.3.37.
 - 34 nimna obviously means 'water'; cf. 2.3.1.
- 37 khātena śastreņa ca, i.e., they require not only weapons but also trenches, and there may be no time to dig trenches before the fight begins. That would be a handicap to the fighters.
- 1 anavasita is 'unoccupied, untenanted.' Cf. avasita in 3.8.17. The discussion 7.11 in this Chapter is part of bhūmisamdhi, and is about qualities necessary in land to be acquired for fresh settlement.

- 2 Of the two, he who causes settlement on land possessed of excellences as mentioned, when the need for it has arisen, over-reaches (the other).
- 3 Even in that case, as between a dry tract and land abounding in water, a small land abounding in water is preferable to a large dry tract, because of the continousness and fixity of produce.
- 4 Even between two dry tracts, one with plentiful earlier and later crops, with crops ripening with a little rain, with undertakings not held up, is preferable.
- 5 Even between two tracts abounding in water, one with sowings of grains is preferable to one not conducive to the sowing of grains.
- 6 In the case of the smallness or largeness of these two, a large tract, (though) unfavourable to crops, is preferable to a small one favourable to crops. 7 For, in a large tract, there are plants growing on land and those growing in water. 8 And undertakings like the fort and so on are carried out in plenty. 9 For, the qualities of land are such as are contrived by man.
- 10 As between the benefit of mines and that of grains, the benefit of mines brings the treasury into being, that of grains brings the treasury and the magazine into being. 11 For, the undertaking of works like the fort and so on is dependent on grains. 12 Or, the benefit of mines, with an extensive sale (of their produce), is preferable.
- 13 'As between the usefulness of a material forest and an elephant forest, the use of a material forest is the source of all undertakings and able to secure plenty of stores, the reverse is the use of an elephant forest,' say the teachers. 14 'No,' says Kautilya. 15 It is possible to plant many material forests in many tracts of land, not so an elephant forest. 16 For, the destruction of an enemy's forces is principally dependent on elephants.
- 2 pratyupasthitārthah: Cn Cs explain 'who has all the necessary materials ready at hand for the settlement.' It seems better, however, to stick to the meaning 'when need for it has arisen' as in 7.10.2 above. The need might arise when there is excess population, part of which is to be shifted. Cf. 2.1.1.
- 3 sthalam 'which gets water only from the rains' (Cn). audakam 'having a river with flowing water' (Cn).
- 4 alpavarṣapākam: it is not necessary to read karṣa or karma for varṣa in the compound, as Meyer proposes to do. asakta 'not sticking,' i.e., not obstructed, not held up.
- 10 khani- etc.: the reference to khani, vana and vanikptha (in ss. 10-17) here is from the point of view of the land, whether it is better to have a mine or fields on the land and so on. Their intrinsic merits are considered in 7.12.6-28. 12 mahāviṣayavikrayaḥ, i.e., for whose sale there are many customers (Cn). Cf. 7.12.25.
 - 16 hastipradhāno etc.: cf. 2.2.13.

- 17 As between the use of a water-route and that of a land-route, the use of a water-route is not constant, the use of a land-route is constant.
- 18 As between land with people disunited and one with people in bands, that with people disunited is preferable. 19 One with people disunited becomes easy to enjoy, not susceptible to the instigations of others, is, however, unable to bear difficulties. 20 One with people in bands is the reverse of this, full of danger when there is a revolt.
- 21 In the matter of settling the four varṇas on that (land), one consisting mostly of lower varṇas is preferable because of its capacity to yield all (kinds of) benefits, one with farmers (being preferable) because of plentifulness and definiteness of agriculture, one with cowherds because of its starting agriculture and other undertakings, one with rich traders because of the benefit of stores of goods and loans.
 - 22 Of the excellences of land, affording shelter is best.
- 23 As between land with the support of a fort and one with the support of men, the one with the support of men is preferable. 24 For, a kingdom is that which has men. 25 Without men, like a barren cow what could it yield?
- 26 But when intending to acquire land, the settlement of which would entail heavy losses and expenses, he should first make a bargain with a purchaser, who is weak, or not of royal blood, or without energy, or without a party, or unjustly behaved, or vicious, or trusting in fate, or who does whatever pleases him.
- 27 For, a weak king, (though) of royal blood, settling on land, the settlement of which entails heavy losses and expenses, perishes with his subjects bound to him by ties, because of the losses and expenses.
- 18 śrenimanusyā: the śreni is a compact group following the same profession; some of the groups followed the profession of arms when occasion required it. It is these that are meant here. 19 $an\bar{a}patsah\bar{a}$: Cf. 7.5.36.
- 21 cāturvarnyaniveśe is from Cn; -abhiniveśe in the reading of the mss. is not likely. It is proposed to read karṣakavatī, corresponding to gorakṣaka- and vanik- in the following clauses; these are the practitioners of the three-fold vārttā. Cn seems to have read karṣaṇa-, gorakṣya- and vāṇijya-, which refer to vārttā directly. But a reference to the inhabitants seems better in connection with cāturvarnyaniveśa, though the four varṇas as such are not mentioned. rna: loans by the traders to the state appear also a possible idea.
- 23 puruṣāpāśrayā 'having the support of men,' i.e., with plenty of men to sustain the kingdom, and ensure its security. 25 gauh: there may be a pun on the word, 'cow' and 'earth'; cf. s. 45 below.
- 26 pūrvam eva: the idea is, the land would be seized from the purchaser by the vijigīṣu after the former is broken in the attempt. If the land remains undeveloped, the only gain of the vijigīṣu would be the sale-price.

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- 28 One not of royal blood, (though) strong, is deserted by his subjects not bound by ties to him, through fear of losses and expenses.
- 29 One without energy, however, not using force even when possessed of troops, is broken along with his troops because of the losses and expenses.
- 30 One without a party, though possessed of a treasury, does not achieve anything, being deficient in conferring the benefit (on the land) of losses and expenses.
- 31 The unjustly behaved would cause even settled land to be laid waste. 32 How could he cause settlement on unsettled land? 33 By that is explained the vicious king.
- 34 One trusting in fate, being devoid of human endeavour, perishes, because he does not start undertakings or his undertakings have miscarried.
- 35 One doing whatever pleases him does not achieve anything.
 36 And he is the worst of them all. 37 'One undertaking any work whatever, may perchance find a weak point of the conqueror,' say the teachers. 38 'As (he may find) a weak point, so he may meet with destruction as well,' says Kautilya.
- 39 In case he does not find (any of) these, he should settle the land as we shall explain in 'securing the enemy in the rear.'
 - 40 This is a pact for fixing.
- 41 When asked by a strong king to sell land which is possessed of excellences or which can be seized (by him), he should give it after making a pact. 42 This is an open pact. 43 When asked by an equal, he should give after considering grounds for doing so: 'The land
- 27 sagandhābhiḥ: this means in effect that the subjects are attached to the dynasty for generations. Cf. 1.8.16 ff.
 - 29 danda is 'army 'as well as 'force.'
- 30 kṣayavyayānugraha: the 'benefit' of kṣaya and vyaya is conferred on the land, which only then yields fruits; and vyaya etc. cannot be made in the absence of people (party) to support him in the undertaking. na kutaścit prāpnoti, i.e., does not get anything out of the land.
- 37 The hi shows that the $\bar{a}c\bar{a}ryas$ are justifying a view which does not agree that $yatkimcanak\bar{a}r\bar{i}$ is the worst of these. We have obviously a quotation here from an early source discussing this point. 38 There is a little sarcasm here.
 - 39 pārṣṇigrāhopagrahe, i.e., as described in 7.16.16 below.
- 40 abhihita 'spoken' seems rather to have reference to 'fixing' or fastening the land on some one through the treaty.
- 41 For ādeyā, cf. 9.4.5. 42 anibhṛta; i.e., open or public; there is no intention to over-reach the strong king. 43 mitrahiranyalābhaḥ: an ally is secured in the sama king, and the price realised from the sale is the hiranya that is secured.

is easily recoverable by me or under my control; being tied to it, the enemy will come under my control; or, through the sale of the land, I shall get an ally and money, which will strengthen my undertakings.'

44 By that is explained a weaker king purchasing (land from him).

45 A king knowing the science (of politics), acquiring in this manner an ally, money and land with men and without men, over-reaches the confederates.

CHAPTER TWELVE

SECTION 116 (Continued)

- (iv) Pact for an Undertaking
- 1 'Let us two build a fort,' is a pact for an undertaking.
- 2 Of the two, he who causes a fort to be built that is nature-made, unassailable, (and) requires small expenses in making, over-reaches.

 3 Even among them, of a land-fort, a river-fort and a mountain-fort, each later one is preferable to the earlier one.
- 4 Of two water-works, one with naturally flowing water is preferable to one into which water has to be brought. 5 Even among two water-works with naturally flowing water, one with an extensive region for sowing is preferable.
- 6 Of two material forests, he who fells (for his use) a material forest, which is large, has forest land rich in materials of high value, is on the border of his territory and is watered by a river, over-reaches. 7 For, that which is watered by a river has easy means of livelihood and becomes a refuge in times of trouble.
- 8 Of two elephant forests, he who raises an elephant forest, with many brave animals, with weak neighbours, causing endless trouble (to enemies), on the border of his territory, over-reaches. 9 Even in that

7.12

- 1 tvam cāham ca etc.: each separately proposes to build his own fort. Other types of karma such as setubandha would be covered by similar pacts.
 - 3 For forts of different kinds, see 2.3.1-2.
- 4 āhāryodaka refers principally to reservoirs for storing rain-water (Cs). Cf. 2.1.20 for these terms.
- 6 chedayati apparently refers to the cutting of trees which is the prime use of these forests. We expect, however, a reference to the laying out of these forests rather than to their cutting.
- 8 durbalaprativeśam: this is because if the neighbouring king is strong, he might seize the elephant forest. Cs has 'where there is less comfortable residence than in the fixed stables,' which seems doubtful. unantāvakleśi: the troubles would evidently be caused to neighbouring kingdoms. Cs has 'with numerous exits and

case, 'As between one with many but dull (elephants) and one with few but brave, the one with few but brave elephants is preferable; for, on the brave depends the fight; the few brave rout the many dull, (and) those routed become the destroyers of their own troops,' say the teachers. 10 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 11 The many dull are preferable; because of their use in the army, they carry out many tasks, become the refuge of their own troops in battle and unassailable and frightful to the enemies. 12 For, to the many dull, bravery can be imparted by means of training, but numerousness cannot be created at all in the few brave.

- 13 Of two mines, he who causes a mine to be opened, yielding plenty of valuable ores, with roads not inaccessible, and operated with small expenditure, over-reaches. 14 Even in that case, as between few things of high value and plenty of things of small value, 'The few things of high value are to be preferred, for, diamonds, rubies, pearls, corals and gold and silver ores swallow up the many objects of small value by their excessively high value,' say the teachers. 15 'No,' says Kautilya. 16 A purchaser for an object of high value is rare and found after a long time, while there are plenty for objects of small value because of a constant demand.
 - 17 By that is explained the trade route.
- 18 Even as to that, 'As between a water-route and a land-route, the water-route is preferable, involving little expenditure and exertion and yielding plenty of goods,' say the teachers. 19 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 20 The water-route is restricted in movements, not usable at all times, a source of great dangers and without remedies; the land-route is the opposite of this.
- 21 In the case of a water-way, however, as between a route along the shore and one on high sea, the route along the coast is preferable because of the large number of ports, or a river-route, because of perennial use and because the dangers in it can be withstood.

entrances' which again is doubtful. Meyer proposes -avakledi 'having a perennial source of moisture, i.e., water,' which also is unconvincing. 9 kuntha primarily means 'dull, indolent' and does not quite mean 'craven, cowardly,' though it is replaced by aśūra in the sequel. 11 skandhaviniyogāt: the word skandha seems to mean 'troops, armed forces' as in 12.3.16; 12.4.20; cf. skandhāvāra 'an enclosure for troops, a camp.'

- 14 grasate 'swallows up,' i.e., surpasses in usefulness. 16 sātatyād, i.e., because there are always customers for them.
- 18 prabhūtapanyodayah 'in which there is the securing of many commodities' appears better than 'in which great profit (udaya) is secured on commodities.' 20 prakṛṣṭabhayayonih: sea-voyage is primarily thought of.
- 21 samyānapatha is clearly voyage on the high seas. Cf. 2.28.1. panyapattana is read in conformity with earlier passages, 2.6.3; 2.28.4,12 etc.

- 22 Even in the case of a land-route, 'The route to the Himavat is preferable to the southern route, for the commodities of elephants, horses, perfumes, ivory, skins, silver and gold are of very high value,' say the teachers. 23 'No,' says Kautilya. 24 (These) with the exception of the commodities of blankets, skins and horses, besides the commodities of conch-shells, diamonds, rubies, pearls and gold are more plentiful on the southern route.
- 25 Even in the case of the route to the south, the trade-route with many mines, with commodities of high value, with well-secured movements, or requiring little expenditure and exertion, is preferable, or one with commodities of small value, with an extensive scope (for sale).
 - 26 By that are explained the trade-routes to the east and the west.
- 27 Even in that case, as between a wheel-track and a foot-path, the wheel-track is preferable, as it enables undertakings on a large scale, or the path for donkeys and camels in conformity with the place and time. 28 By these is explained the 'shoulder' path.
 - 29 The flourishing of an enemy's undertaking is decline for the leader, advancement in the reverse case; when the course of undertakings is equal, that should be known by the conqueror as his own stable condition.
 - 30 Smallness of profit and excess of expenditure is decline, advancement in the reverse case; equality of income and expenditure in undertakings should be known as the stable condition for himself.
 - 31 Therefore, from among a fort and so on, he should secure an undertaking requiring little expenditure and yielding large profit and get a special advantage. Thus have been described pacts for undertakings.
- 22 dakṣiṇāpatha 'route to the south' is not the name of a region here. The stand-point is that of a person in the midlands, neither a southerner nor a northerner. 24 Apparently trade to the south was more developed in Kauṭilya's days than in those of the earlier teachers.
- 25 prasiddha- seems to have the sense of 'well-secured,' not infested by robbers, etc. It may also mean 'well-known,' i.e., well-established. prabhūtaviṣayaḥ: see 7.11.12.
- 27 cakrapatha is obviously 'a track for carriages'; it can hardly mean 'for a wheel-barrow carried about by a man' (Cs). pādapatha appears to mean 'a road for draught-animals' as in Meyer. 28 amsapatha seems to be a path for men carrying goods on their shoulders; cf. amsabhāra in 2.12.24. The word can hardly mean 'path for bullocks etc. yoked to carts' (Cs).
 - 29 karmapathe: perhaps the original reading was karmaphale.
 - 30 This description is independent of any comparison with a rival enemy.
 - 31 viśistah syād: this has reference to viśista lābha that is to be secured.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

SECTION 117 CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING THE KING ATTACKING IN THE REAR

- 1 Of the conqueror and the enemy, who, joining together, intend attacking in the rear two enemies who have attacked their enemies, he, who attacks in the rear a king rich in powers, over-reaches (the other). For, one, rich in powers, might, after exterminating the enemy, exterminate the attacker in the rear, not the one, weak in power, who has not obtained any gain.
- 3 In case of equality of power, he, who attacks in the rear one with an extensive undertaking, over-reaches. 4 For, one with an extensive undertaking, might, after exterminating the enemy, exterminate the attacker in the rear, not the one with a small undertaking, with his army stuck.
- 5 In case of equality of undertakings, he, who attacks in the rear one marching with all troops mobilised, over-reaches. 6 For, with his base denuded (of troops), he becomes easy to overpower for him, not the one marching with a part of the troops only, who has made provision for guarding his rear.
- 7 In case of equality of troops raised, he, who attacks in the rear one marching against a moving enemy, over-reaches. 8 For, one

7.13

The question discussed is, when is it profitable to attack an enemy in the rear while he is engaged in fighting in front?

- 1 The discussion assumes a rivalry between the vijigisu and his enemy in the matter of pārsnigrahana; each has an enemy engaged in a fight elsewhere and each can attack his own enemy in the rear. The situation is likely to occur only rarely in actual life. But for purposes of discussion, visualisation of such situations is more convenient and is hence availed of in these Chapters beginning with 7.6—samhatya 'joining together' refers only to a common understanding between the two. There is no joining of forces nor a pact between the two.—atisamdhatte: Meyer thinks that here and in some places in this Chapter we have to read atisamdhīyate. That is not right. The next s. points out the necessity of attacking a powerful king in the rear; the king who does that definitely gains an advantage. The pārsnigrahana in this case is preventive in character, to avert a future disaster.
- 3 vipulārambha refers to a military operation on an extensive scale. That being likely to yield results, a preventive pārṣṇigrahaṇa is recommended. Here too Meyer has atisamdhīyate. 4 saktacakraḥ ' whose army is stuck (i.e., being small, is unable to achieve its object). There is thus no future danger for the king in the rear. Cs has ' whose army is dispersed (vikṣipta),' which is doubtful.
 - 6 śūnyamūlo etc.: this is an aggressive pārṣṇigrahaṇa.
- 7 calāmitram, i.e., an enemy without a fort. Meyer has atisamdhīyate here. 9 pratinivṛttah sthitena is as proposed by Meyer for pratinivṛttasthitena.

marching against a moving enemy might, after easily attaining success, exterminate the attacker in the rear, not the one marching against an entrenched enemy. 9 For, that (king), if he is repulsed by the fort and turns round against the attacker in the rear, is checked by the entrenched enemy.

- 10 By that are explained the earlier (kings).
- 11 In case of equality of the enemies, he, who attacks in the rear one attacking a righteous king, over-reaches. 12 For, one attacking a righteous king is hated by his own people and by others, one attacking an unrighteous king is liked (by them).
- 13 By that is explained the attack in the rear of one who squanders his patrimony, one living in the present and the niggardly one.
- 14 The same motives (hold good) for attacking in the rear those attacking their allies.
- 15 As between one attacking his ally and the other attacking his enemy, he, who attacks in the rear the one attacking his ally, overreaches. 16 For, one attacking an ally, might, after easily obtaining

Cs explains the latter 'if the rear is attacked ($p\bar{a}rsnigr\bar{a}he$, i.e., $p\bar{a}rsnigrahane$ kriyamāne sati), the heel-catcher is suppressed by the enemy who has turned back, being foiled by the fort.' This is unlikely. The subject for avagrhyate cannot be different from asau durgapratihatah. The idea here seems to be, there is no future danger that needs to be averted by the preventive action of $p\bar{a}rsnigrahana$; it is, therefore, unnecessary. For the enemy would be foiled by the fort; and even if he were to turn back against the rear enemy (who might have attacked him) he would be held in check by the enemy in the fort, who may be supposed to be the ally of the $p\bar{a}rsnigraha$ and who, in any case, would harass the repulsed enemy who had attacked him.

- 10 pūrve seems to refer to the hīnaśakti, the alpārambha and the ekadeśabala-prayāta of ss. 2, 4 and 6 in whose case also the pārṣnigrahana is unnecessary.
- 11 After sveṣām, it is proposed to add pareṣām as in 9.4.10; that is shown by the ca. The motive here is ease in overthrowing the enemy.
- 13 mūlahara- etc.: cf. 2.9.21-23; though the definitions there refer primarily to state servants, they can also apply to kings. The idea evidently is, one who attacks such kings becomes sampriya and hence his pārṣṇigrahaṇa is inadvisable. According to Cs, as between the attacker of a mūlahara and that of a tādātvika, the former should be preferred for attack in the rear, while as between the attacker of a tādātvika and that of a kadarya, the latter should be preferred for an attack in the rear. This is hardly likely. The preference for the former in one case and for the latter in the other would be very strange. And no comparison between these seems intended.
- 14 te eva hetavah, i.e., all considerations mentioned in ss. 1-13 in connection with parābhiyoginau would also apply to mitrābhiyoginau, enemies who attack their own allies.
- 15 mitrābhiyoginaḥ: Meyer would read amitrābhiyoginaḥ or in the alternative atisamdhīyate. The correctness of mitrā- is, however, shown by the next s.

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success, exterminate the attacker in the rear. 17 For, it is easy to make peace with an ally, not with an enemy.

- 18 As between one uprooting an ally and one uprooting an enemy, he, who attacks in the rear one uprooting an enemy, over-reaches.

 19 For, one uprooting his enemy, with allies grown in strength, might exterminate the attacker in the rear, not the other, destroying his own party.
- 20 In case the two (enemies) have come away without obtaining a gain, that attacker in the rear, whose enemy is frustrated in securing a great gain or whose enemy has suffered heavy losses and expenses, over-reaches. 21 In case they have come after obtaining a gain, that attacker in the rear, whose enemy is weaker in point of gain or power, over-reaches, or in whose case the enemy against whom (his enemy) had marched might do harm to the enemy in battle.
- 22 Even of two kings attacking (their enemies) in the rear, he who is superior in raising troops for an undertaking capable of achievement, or who is an entrenched enemy, or who is situated on the flank (of the enemy), over-reaches. 23 For, one situated on the flank can go to the rescue of the king to be attacked and is dangerous to the (enemy's) base, one situated in the rear is only dangerous to the base.
 - 24 Three kinds of attackers in the rear should be known as impeding the activity of the enemy: the group of neighbouring kings in the rear and the two neighbours on the two flanks.
- 18 amitroddhāriṇaḥ is from Cs; its correctness is shown by the next s. The difference between abhi-yuj and ud-hṛ seems to be that in the latter the enemy is completely exterminated, and his territory seized. vṛddhamitraḥ: apparently the success in uprooting the enemy brings in new allies.
- 20 yasya amitrah: the amitra is not the vijiqīsu's rival as Meyer thinks, but the king who is to be attacked in the rear. 21 lābhena śaktyā hīnah: a vā seems necessary after śaktyā. Meyer, however, has 'who has lost in power because of the gain,' which seems hardly likely. yasya vā etc.: yasya refers to the attacker in the rear; śatroh refers to the enemy whose rear he would attack; and yātavya is the king attacked by this śatru. Cs has 'that pārṣṇigrāha gets an advantage to whose enemy (viz., the vijigīṣu) the enemy attacked (viz., the ari) is able to do harm in battle.' This is quite unlikely; the vijigīṣu and ari are themselves thought of as pārṣṇigrāhas in this Chapter. See s. 1.
- 22 śakyārambha- etc.: a single idea 'raising troops for an undertaking which can succeed' (Cs) is better than two ideas 'possible undertakings and the raising of troops' (Meyer). pārśva is not the side of the yātavya (Cs), but of the attacking king. Cf. s. 24 below.
- 24 sāmantaḥ is an emendation from Meyer; the singular is preferable in view of vargaḥ with which it should be construed. Cs understands the three to be (i) sāmantāḥ, (ii) pṛṣṭhatovargaḥ and (iii) prativeśau at the sides. This is unlikely. A sāmanta who can be described as a pārṣṇigrāha, cannot be in front and if he is in the rear or at the side, he would be included in (ii) or (iii) of Cs.

- 25 The weak king situated between the leader and the enemy is called a buffer; he is a hindrance to the strong, if possessed of a fort or a forest as a place of retreat.
- 26 But when the conqueror and the enemy, intending to secure the middle king, attack the middle king in the rear, he who, when that king returns after securing the gain, divides the middle king from his ally and secures a former enemy as an ally, over-reaches. 27 The enemy who helps is fit to be allied with, not the ally who has renounced his friendly feelings.
 - 28 By that is explained the intention to secure the neutral king.
- 29 'But in the case of attack in the rear and march against an enemy, prosperity results from diplomatic fight. 30 For, in a fight with military operations, there is loss of prosperity for both sides because of losses and expenses. 31 For, even after winning, a king with his army and treasury depleted becomes a loser,' say the teachers. 32 'No,' says Kautilya. 33 Even with very great losses and expenses, the destruction of the enemy must be brought about.
- 34 When losses and expenses are equal, he who, after first bringing about the destruction of his own treasonable troops (and) becoming free
- 25 pratighātah: Cs reads pratighāte and explains 'when the strong king attacks him, he has a refuge in a fort or a forest,' adding that antardhi is so called because he disappears in this way (cf. antardhāna). pratighāta is, however, an obstacle, a hindrance, hardly an attack. And antardhi seems to be from antar-dhā 'to place between two.' Cf. 7.18.29, where curiously Cs quotes the present passage with the reading pratighātaḥ. — durgātavyapasāravān : cf. 7.7.2.
- 26 madhyamam lipsamānayoh: both the vijigīṣu and the ari are anxious to get the madhyama in his own control; one of them is an ally of the madhyama, the other is not. In this situation, the madhyama launches an attack on a third king; the vijigişu and the ari each wants to attack him in the rear. The one who is not in alliance with the madhyama scores over the other who is his ally. For, the madhyama would naturally be angry with the latter who despite the alliance had attacked him in the rear; he would leave that ally and make an alliance with the rival of that old ally. He might regard the latter's pārsnigrahaņa as understandable because he was known to be originally hostile. — amitram, i.e., madhyamam. 27 śatruh is the pārṣṇigrāha who formerly was not in alliance with the madhyama. - upakurvānah suggests that the attack in the rear by this former enemy was nominal, and even aid may have been surreptitiously given by this pārṣṇigrāha to the madhyama. Meyer thinks that it is the vijigīṣu and the ari who return with the gain (labdhalābhāpagamane). That is unlikely. It is the attacking king who would be returning with the gain, not the pārṣṇigrāha. Cf. ss. 20, 21 above. - In s. 26 Cs has gṛḥṇatah for grhnatoh; but yah presupposes the dual. The idea (in Cs) that the madhyama is engaged in helping one (vijigişu or ari) while the other attacks him in the rear does not seem likely when both of them are lipsamana in respect of the madhyama.
- 29 For mantrayuddha, cf. 12.2. The ancient teachers seem to be averse to actual fighting. 33 abhyupagantavyah used in the literal sense, 'should be brought about.'

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from thorns, would afterwards fight with troops under control, over-reaches. 35 Even of two, securing first the destruction of their treasonable troops, he, who would secure the destruction of a large number, of more powerful and extremely treacherous troops, over-reaches.

- 36 By that is explained the destruction of alien and forest troops.
- 37 When the conqueror may become the attacker in the rear, the attacker in front or one marched against, then in those cases, he should carry out the following course for a leader.
- 38 The leader should attack in the rear the enemy attacking his ally, after first making (the enemy's) ally in (his) rear become engaged in a fight with the rescuer of the attacker in the rear (i.e., of himself).
- 39 When attacking (in front) he should keep off the enemy in his rear by his ally in the rear, similarly (keep off) the ally of the enemy in the rear by the ally of his ally in the rear.
- 40 And in front he should make his ally engage in fight with the enemy's ally, and should keep off the ally of the enemy's ally by the ally of his own ally.
- 41 When attacked, he should cause the rear of the attacker to be attacked by his ally and keep off the rear ally (of the attacker) from the attacker in the rear by the ally of his ally.
- 34 purastāt. ..ghātayitvā, i.e., by placing them in front to bear the enemy's first onslaught. The atisamdhi is on the hypothetical basis of rivalry between the vijigīṣu and ari, hardly between combatants in the same fight.
- 37 The vijigīṣu may find himself in three situations, as a pāṛṣṇigṛāha or as an abhiyoktā (aggressor) or as a yāṭavya (victim of aggression). The three situations are discussed in ss. 38, 39-40 and 41 respectively. Meyer thinks of two cases, an abhiyoktā becoming a pāṛṣṇigṛāha of the conqueror and a yāṭavya becoming the conqueror's pāṛṣṇigṛāha. This is quite unlikely. How can kings supposedly in front attack in the rear?
- 38 The śatru attacks the vijigīṣu's ally; hence the vijigīṣu attacks the śatru in the rear; he becomes his pārṣṇigrāha. ākranda is the śatru's ally in the rear; he is really the vijigīṣu's rear enemy, his pārṣṇigrāha. He is engaged in fight by the vijigīṣu's own rear ally, who is called pārṣṇigrāhābhisārin, because the vijigīṣu has become the pārṣṇigrāha. These terms are not rigid as Meyer supposes, but differ according to each particular situation. In this stanza, the enemy as the attacker becomes the centre and the vijigīṣu becomes his pārṣṇigrāha. Meyer's translation 'after he has made his own ally in the rear engage in fight the ally of his rear enemy 'does not show what the vijigīṣu's pārṣṇigrāha himself is to do.
- 39 ākrandena is to be construed with nivārayet, not with abhiyuñjānah (as in Meyer).
 - 40 avaghattayet, i.e., make him engage in fight. Stanzas 39 and 40 go together.

- 42 In this way, the conqueror should establish in the rear and in front, a circle (of kings) in his own interest, with the excellences of the constituent, called the ally.
- 43 And in the entire circle, he should ever station envoys and secret agents, becoming a friend of the rivals, maintaining secrecy when striking again and again.
- 44 The affairs of one, who cannot maintain secrecy, even if achieved with particular success, undoubtedly perish, like a broken boat in the ocean.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

SECTION 118 RECOUPMENT OF POWERS THAT HAVE BECOME WEAK

- 1 When attacked by confederates in this manner, the conqueror should say to the one who is the principal among them, 'With you, I would make peace; here is money and I shall be an ally, you will (thus) have a double advancement; it does not behove you to let your enemies, masquerading as friends, thrive at your cost; for, these, when grown powerful, will over-throw you yourself.'
- 2 Or, he should sow dissensions, saying 'Just as I, who had done no harm, am attacked by these kings joining together, so will they, with their forces combined, attack you also, when at ease or in a calamity; for, strength changes the mind; prevent that (strength) of theirs.'
- 3 When they are divided, he should support the principal and make him fight with the weaker (confederates) or giving help to the weaker make them fight with the principal, or so (act) as he may consider
- 41 Whereas mitra and mitramitra are from the vijigīṣu's point of view, ākranda and pārṣṇigrāha are from the attacking enemy's point of view; the latter are the vijigīṣu's arimitra and mitrā respectively. Meyer who understands fixed princes by these terms (from the vijigīṣu's point) finds himself in deep waters. He asks, how can the mitramitra, three states away in front, help the ākranda one state away in the rear? His rendering of nivārayet 'should rescue' or 'should warn,' unlikely in itself, is of no help.
- 42 mitraprakṛti-, i.e., the ally himself as a prakṛti rather than the constituents of the ally.

7.14

- 1 $pradh\bar{a}nah$: this is the foremost among the confederates, their leader. $dvigun\bar{a}$, because he would be getting the money and also securing a new ally. There is nothing to show that double the amount is promised, as Cb Cs imply.
- 2 svasthā vyasane $v\bar{a}$: perhaps we should read svastham; both the expressions would then refer to the king addressed. svasthāh is odd as it is descriptive of the other confederates.

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better (for himself). 4 Or, making one entertain enmity towards the others, he should divide him from them.

- 5 Or, secretly offering a greater gain to the principal, he should get peace made (through him). 6 Then agents in the pay of both, pointing to the greater gain, should poison the minds of the confederates, saying 'You have been cheated.' 7 When they have become vitiated, he should violate the treaty. 8 Then agents in the pay of both should bring about a further discord among them, saying 'This is what we had pointed out.' 9 When they are divided, he should act by supporting one of them.
- 10 In the absence of a principal (among them), he should secure from among the confederates one who had roused them, or one persevering in his undertakings, or one with loyal subjects, or one who had joined the confederacy out of greed or fear, or one afraid of the conqueror, or one bound to his kingdom, or his ally or a moving enemy, the earlier ones in the absence of the later ones (in this list), one who had roused them by a surrender of himself, one persevering in his undertakings by bowing down with conciliation, one with loyal subjects by offering and accepting girls in marriage, the greedy one by double the share, one afraid of them by helping him with treasury and army, one
- 3 anugrāhya refers to the lending of troops in particular; cf. 7.8.28-29. 4 $vairam\ v\bar{a}$ etc. is repeated from 7.8.4 above.
- 5 phalabhūyastvena, i.e., by the promise of more than what he would be getting from the confederacy. 6 ubhayavctanāh: see 1.12.17-18. — uddūṣayeyuh: the idea is of poisoning their minds against the pradhana. 7 samdhim: the treaty mentioned in s. 5. - dūṣayet, i.e., should not pay what he had agreed to pay under the treaty. 8 evain tad: they argue, 'we told you that you were cheated: this is the proof. He is not giving you anything because he is giving more to the pradhāna.' This brings about the bheda of the other confederates from the pradhāna. Cs (mostly following Cb) explains 'he should violate the treaty and not give anything to the pradhana on the plea that the confederates had violated it. Then the agents should say to the confederates that the pradhana has brought about this violation of the treaty since he did not get the promised higher gain and since he wants to act again after joining our confederacy.' All this seems a little strange. How can the pradhana be said to have brought about the violation of the treaty? And so long as he has not received anything, he would probably be able to prove his innocence. The reasoning thought of would not necessarily lead to bheda. anyatamopagrahena: the $v\bar{a}$ after this is unnecessary and has been dropped.
- 10 $p\bar{u}rv\bar{u}n$ $uttar\bar{u}bh\bar{u}ve$: this reading from Cb Cs should be read in the text for $p\bar{u}rv\bar{u}nyatar\bar{u}bh\bar{u}ve$, which is an odd compound. The idea is that the later kings in the list should be tackled first for the purpose of bringing about bheda in the confederacy. The reason for that is that it is easier to tackle them. Thus the calāmitra and the mitra can be more easily divided from the confederacy than the earlier kings. Cb Cs, however, think that each later king is to be tackled first because he is more dangerous to the $vijig\bar{i}su$ than the earlier one, and tackling him would be more advantageous. That is not correct. The mitra and the $cal\bar{u}mitra$, mentioned

afraid of himself by creating confidence by the giving of a surety, one bound to his kingdom by becoming one with him, his ally by doing what is agreeable and beneficial to both or by giving up benefits (received), the moving enemy by reassuring him by desisting from doing harm and rendering help (to him). 11 Or, by whichever means any of them may be separated, by that he should secure him, or by means of conciliation, gifts, dissension and force, as we shall explain in (the section on) troubles.

- 12 Or, when in a hurry because of harm caused by a calamity, he should enter into a treaty with the (surrender of his) treasury and army, stipulating the place, the time or the work. 13 After making the treaty, he should (try to) remedy his weakness.
- 14 If weak in a party, he should create a party of kinsmen and allies, or an unassailable fort. 15 For, one entrenched in a fort or supported by allies, becomes worthy of honour by his own (people) and by those of others.
- 16 If weak in the power of counsel, he should get a large number of wise men in service or associate with elders in the sciences. 17 For, in that way, he attains immediate good.
- 18 If weak in might, he should endeavour to secure the welfare of his subjects. 19 The countryside is the source of all undertakings; from them comes might. 20 The abode for it and for himself, when in trouble, is the fort. 21 Water-works are the source of crops. 22 For, ever continuous is the benefit (as) from an excellent rainfall to sowings watered by irrigation. 23 A trade-route is the means of over-reaching the enemy. 24 For, along the trade-route is made the carrying over of troops and secret agents (into enemy territory) and the purchase of weapons, armours, carriages and vehicles, as well

last in the list, are certainly not more dangerous than those mentioned earlier. — kanyādānayāpanābhyām: Cb Cs have ādāna 'receiving' and yāpana 'giving.' It is likely, however, that kanyādāna has the usual meaning of 'giving a girl' in marriage; cf. 7.16.6. yāpana can mean 'receiving, accepting.' — viśvāsya is from a suggestion of Meyer for viśvāsayet of the mss. The actual comment in Cb presupposes a form in the absolutive. A finite verb in the midst of clauses all connected with sādhayet is quite unlikely. — upakāratyāgena: the benefit received or expected from the ally might have caused estrangement; hence it is to be given up. Cs has 'giving up tribute which he used to receive from the ally.' The idea of a regular tribute would be unusual in the case of upakāra. Meyer suggests apakāratyāgena, which does not appear necessary. — avadhṛtam 'held,' i.e., given assurances. 11 ayogam 'separation.' — āpatsu, i.e., in 9.5-7.

12 avadhṛtam 'fixed' as to place, time etc.

18 For *prabhāva* in this and the next s. the mss. curiously show *prabhava*. 20 tasya, i.e., janapadasya, implying the inhabitants in it; Cf. 8.1.25. tasya can hardly be *prabhāvasya* (Cs). 22 The idea is, what good rain secures in the monsoon, irrigation secures all the year round. 24 atinayana: Cf. 13.3.48. — Cb com-

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as bringing in and taking out. 25 Mines are the source of implements of war; material forests, of fortification work and of carriages and chariots; elephant forests, of elephants; and herds, of cattle, horses, donkeys and camels. 26 In case of their non-availability, obtaining them from groups of kinsmen and allies (should be resorted to).

- 27 If weak in energy, he should secure the services, as they may be available, of heroic men from bands, robber-bands, foresters and *Mleccha* tribes, and of secret agents capable of doing harm to enemies.
- 28 Or, he should employ against the enemies 'steps against an enemy-mixed trouble' or 'the conduct of the weaker king.'
 - 29 Being thus enriched with a party, with counsel, with material resources and army, he should march out to overthrow the suppression of himself by enemies.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

- SECTION 119 REASONS FOR ENTRENCHING ONESELF (IN A FORT)
 AFTER MAKING WAR WITH A STRONG KING
- SECTION 120 CONDUCT (PROPER) FOR THE KING SURRENDERING WITH HIS TROOPS
- 1 A weak king attacked by a strong king, should resort for shelter to one with strength greater than his, whom the other would not over-reach by the power of counsel. 2 Among those with an equal power of counsel, superiority (comes) from the excellence of men under them or from association with elders.

ment shows -krayavikrayaś ca. — praveśo nirnayanam ca 'bringing in and taking out' of the goods just mentioned and other goods. A general 'entrance and exit' is possible, but seems less likely. 25 -rathoṣṭrāṇām of the mss. is obviously corrupt for -kharoṣṭrāṇām. — Ss. 19-25 refer to undertakings as the sources of prabhāva.

27 parāpakāriņām is an adjective to gūḍhapuruṣāṇām (Cs) rather than an independent substantive (Meyer).

28 paramiśrāpratīkāram as in 9.6.11 ff. Cb Cs read paramiśrah pra- 'having made peace with the enemy etc.' Cb comment shows paramitrah 'turning his enemy into an ally'; neither of these is likely. 9.6.11 was obviously lost sight of. — ābalīyasam as in Book 12.

29 parāvagraham ātmanaḥ can hardly mean 'for the putting down of his enemies' (Meyer). For such a sense ātmanaḥ would be quite unnecessary.

7.15

The two closely related Sections are to be found in ss. 1-20 and 21-30 respectively.

2 tulyamantraśaktīnām: Cb Cs read -bala- after tulya-. But bala is out of place here. — āyattasampadah: it is possible that the original reading was amātya-, who are principally to be understood by āyatta. Cf., however, 9.6.7. These expressions describe characteristics of the weak king's possible ally.

- 3 In the absence of one of greater strength, he should stay joining forces with kings equal in strength or with oligarchies equal in strength to the strong king, whom he would not over-reach with powers of counsel and might. 4 Among those with equal powers of counsel and might, superiority (comes) from extensiveness of undertakings.
- 5 In the absence of those equal in strength, he should stay joining forces with kings inferior in strength who are upright, energetic and opposed to the strong king, whom he would not over-reach with powers of counsel, might and energy. 6 Among those with an equal power of energy, superiority (comes) from the attainment of terrain suitable for one's own (mode of) fighting. 7 Among those with an equally suitable terrain, superiority (comes) from the attainment of a season suited to one's own (mode of) fighting. 8 Among those with equally suitable terrains and seasons, superiority (comes) from draught-animals, weapons and armours.
- 9 In the absence of help-mates, he should find shelter in a fort where the enemy, even with a large army, would not cut off his food, fodder, fuel and water, and would himself meet with losses and expenses.

 10 Among forts equally impregnable, superiority (comes) from stores and refuge. 11 'For, one should seek a fortress with men, rich in stores and provided with refuge,' says Kautilya.
- 12 He should resort to that (fort) for these reasons: 'I shall win over the enemy in the rear or his ally or the middle king or the neutral king; or, I shall cause his kingdom to be seized or destroyed by one of these, viz., his neighbouring king, a forest chief, a pretender
- 3 Most mss. read tulyabalasamkhyaih, which Cs explains 'having the same number of troops.' This does not differ from samabala. Meyer has 'who are his equals (tulya) in point of number of troops.' Equality with the king attacked is beside the point. -samghaih is definitely better, the reference being to states mentioned in Book 11. yān na is proposed for yāvan na of the mss. yāvat is unlikely. The actual comment in Cb seems to support yān na; it has no explanation of yāvat. Cs has 'should fight (tisthet) so long as the enemy does not succeed in over-reaching him,' i.e., the king is to go on fighting till the enemy divides his helpmates from him, which is a strange idea. Meyer's 'till he is able to over-reach his enemy by mantra and prabhāva etc.' is also little likely. The parallel s. I shows that it is the strong king who might try to over-reach, not the king attacked. The latter intends to strengthen his position by alliances, which the former might try to break up.
- 5 yān na is again proposed for yāvan na as in s. 3. 6 sva- in this and the next s. refers to the helpmate, not to the king attacked.
- 10 According to Cb, this s. represents the opinion of the ancient teachers. 11 manusyadurgam, i.e., a fort with men to defend it. apasāra is a place of refuge for the king as well as the subjects. A means of escape from the fort does not seem intended here. iti Kautilyah: this does not show a material difference of opinion, except that the presence of men, i.e., troops in the fort is insisted upon.

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from his family and a prince in disfavour; or, by supporting the party of likely seceders, I shall raise a revolt in his fort, country or camp; or, I shall kill him as I please, when he comes near, by the use of weapons, fire or poison or by occult means; or, I shall put him to losses and expenses on account of secret practices employed by myself; or, I shall succeed in gradually instigating (against him) the group of his allies or his army, when they are severely afflicted by losses, expenses and long marches; or, by destroying his supplies, reserves and foraging parties, I shall bring about the subjugation of his encamped army; or, by taking out troops, I shall create a weak point in him and strike with all troops mobilised; or, I shall secure a treaty with him as desired when his energy is damped; or, while he is engaged in a struggle with me, insurrections will rise all round him; or, I shall cause his base, denuded of reserves, to be devastated by my ally's troops or forest troops; or, staying in this fort, I shall protect the welfare of a vast territory; or, if I stay here, my own dispersed troops and those of my ally will collect in one place and be irresistible; or, my army skilled in fighting in water, in trenches or at night, being freed of the dangers of (marches on the) roads, will carry out operations when the (enemy) is near; or, coming here on a terrain and in a season adverse to him, he will himself cease to be because of losses and expenses, (as) this region can be approached only with heavy losses and expenses because of the abundance of forts and forests as places of refuge, is full of sickness for foreigners and without a suitable terrain for the operation of their troops, (and hence) he will enter it (only) when in trouble, and will not get out of it if he enters.'

13 'In the absence of (such) reasons, or when the enemy has very great strength, he should leave the fort and go away. 14 Or, like a moth

12 pratipādayisyāmi 'will secure them,' i.e., win them over and get their help. ____ aupanisadikaih: supply yogaih. This expression should preferably be understood independently rather than as an adjective to the preceding śastrāgnirasapranidhānaih. - svayam refers to the vijigīṣu (Cs); a reference to the enemy (Meyer) appears less likely. - dandopanayena, i.e., by secretly sending out some troops into the enemy's encamped forces; that would create a weak point (randhra) in the enemy's army, making a sudden assault on it advantageous. The enemy must be supposed to remain unaware of the arrival in his camp of these troops. It is also possible that the troops are not sent into the camp itself, but to a place where they would create a diversion. - asanne: this can hardly mean 'when the time comes.' āsanna refers to the enemy who has approached near. — mahākṣayavyayāthigamyo etc. is understood in Cn as only an explanation of viruddhadeśa- etc., and not as a separate $k\bar{a}rana$. That is supported by the absence of $v\bar{a}$. In fact, it seems that this whole passage beginning with mahākṣayavyayā- etc. up to nirgamiṣyati seems to be a marginal gloss in explanation of the preceding clause. - apadgato praveksyati 'will enter when in dire straits and there is no other go' (Cn) is to be preferred to 'as soon as he enters he will be in trouble' (Cs).

in fire, he should fall (desperately) on the enemy. 15 For, achievement of one thing or the other is certain for one giving up all hope of himself,' say the teachers. 16 'No,' says Kautilya. 17 Finding out suitable conditions for peace between himself and the enemy, he should make peace. 18 In the reverse case, he should seek peace after a fight or seek escape. 19 To one with whom peace is possible, he should send an envoy. 20 Or, if one is sent by him, he should welcome him with money and honour, and say, 'These are gifts for the king, these for the queen and princes from my queen and princes; this kingdom and myself are at your disposal.'

- 21 After obtaining shelter, he should behave towards the suzerain as in (the section on) 'proper behaviour.' 22 And he should carry out undertakings like the fort and others as well as the accepting and giving of princesses in marriage, coronation of the prince, purchase of horses, catching of elephants, holding sacrificial sessions or fairs and going on pleasure-trips, (only) when permitted. 23 Agreements with constituents remaining in his own territory or punishment of deserters, he should carry out all, when permitted.
- 24 Or, if his citizens and country people have turned hostile, he should request for another land, being justly behaved. 25 Or, he should deal with them by silent punishment, as with treasonable persons. 26 He should not accept even suitable land being given to him from his ally.
- 27 When the suzerain cannot be seen, he should see one of these, viz., (his) minister, chaplain, commander-in-chief and crown prince, and should confer obligations on them as far as he is able.
- 15 anyatarasiddhih, i.e., victory or death (and consequent heaven). 18 vikramena saindhim: the idea apparently is, the strong king may be impressed by his valour and agree to come to terms. apasāram is here escape to a fort or forest. 20 paņyāgāram refers to goods sent as gifts.
- 21 labdhasamśrayah: the shelter obtained is with the strong king himself as suggested in ss. 19-20. samayācārikavat, i.e., as in 5.5. 22 āvāhavivāha 'receiving and giving girls in marriage '(Cs). The other way about is also possible. yātrā can hardly mean 'a military expedition' in this context. 23 prakṛti would be ministers in particular; samdhi with them would be agreements or instructions about carrying out work in his own former state.
- 24 $ny\bar{a}yavrttir$ is from Cb Cn Cs; $ny\bar{a}yavrttim$, which would be an adjective to $bh\bar{u}mim$, is much less likely. 26 $ucit\bar{a}m$ $v\bar{a}:v\bar{a}$ has the sense of api (Meyer). A former ally must not be antagonised.
- 27 aðrsyamāne bhartari: Cn Cs have 'should see his own minister etc. only when the suzerain is not there.' His own ministers etc. are unlikely in view of upakuryāt that follows. Meyer proposes drsyamāne bhartari 'only when the suzerain is there,' the ministers being those of the vassal. That also is unlikely. The idea clearly is,

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- 28 On occasions of worship of deities and recitations of blessings, he should cause blessings to be pronounced on him. 29 In every case, he should speak of his surrender as an excellent thing.
 - 30 One surrendering to force should thus behave towards the suzerain in a steadfast manner, waiting on the strong, united (with him), and opposed to those suspected and so on (by him).

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

SECTION 121 CONDUCT (PROPER) FOR THE KING SUBJUGATING (OTHER KINGS) BY FORCE

I The strong king, desirous of conquering one causing harassment, though the terms of the treaty were accepted (by him), should march in that direction in which there is suitable terrain, suitable season and livelihood for his own troops, in which the enemy is without the refuge of a fort and (he himself is) without a rear enemy and his ally. 2 In the reverse case, he should march after taking protective measures.

when the suzerain cannot be seen, his minister etc. may be seen. This appears to be the explanation in Cb.

- 28 After daivata-, $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ is to be understood. 29 The idea is, he should not show dissatisfaction with his condition. The explanation in Cs 'to all people he should speak of his surrender and should praise the virtues of his sovereign' is little likely. Cb has a similar explanation.
- 30 sanyuktabalanat: these are the ministers etc. of the sovereign (Cn Cs). avasthitah may mean 'firm, steadfast.' If evam could be construed with it (instead of with varteta) we could understand 'placed in this situation.'

7.16

Cn Cs point out that *dandopanāmin* would be a more appropriate name for this king as shown by s. 3. Meyer's idea that *dandopanāyin* is the weak king taking his troops to the strong king is unlikely in the light of the contents of the Chapter.

1 It is proposed to read anujāātasamdhipaņodvegakaram for anujāātastaddhiraņyoof the mss. The idea understood is that the weak king, though he had consented to the terms of the treaty, has started ignoring them, and causing harassment or trouble to the strong king, (anujāātasamdhipaṇaḥ api udvegakaraḥ). We may also understand udvega as 'shaking,' i.e., violation (anujāātasamdhipaṇānām udvegakaram causing violation of the terms of the treaty accepted by him). Cn reads ananujāātasamdhipaṇyodvegakaram 'who has not accepted (ananujāāta) the terms of peace (samdhipaṇyod) and is therefore causing harassment (udvega).' paṇya is unusual in this sense, for which paṇa is the usual word. Otherwise, the meaning arrived at in Cn is also good. It adds that the reading of the mss. is an apapāṭha and that those trying to explain it are to be pitied. Thus Cs (mostly following Cb) has 'who causes trouble because of money promised but not paid (adattahiraṇya) by him, (i.e., by the strong king) though he had agreed to do so (anujāātaḥ as ablative singular of anujāā, agreement or promise).' Meyer understands the expression as an adjective to karma (supplied), and, with the vassal king in view, translates 'when

- 3 He should subjugate the weak by means of conciliation and gifts, the strong by means of dissension and force. 4 And he should secure the members (of the kings' circle) who are immediately next to him and who are separated by one intervening state, by the exclusive use, the alternative use or the combined use of the (four) means.
- 5 The protection of those dwelling in villages and forests, of cattle-herds and trade-routes, and the handing over of those who are discarded, who have deserted and who have done harm, thus should he practise conciliation. 6 The giving of land, money and girls, and the promise of safety, thus should he practise gifts. 7 Making a demand for treasury, troops, land or inheritance by supporting one of these, viz., a neighbouring prince, a forest chief, a pretender from the family and a prince in disfavour, thus should he sow discord. 8 Subjugation of the enemy in open, concealed or silent war or through 'means for taking a fort,' thus should he make use of force.
- 9 Thus he should place those full of energy in such a way that they are helpful to the army, those possessed of might so that they are helpful to the treasury, those endowed with intellect so that they are helpful to the land.
- 10 Among them, he who helps in many ways with gems, articles of high value, of low value and forest produce produced in his ports, villages and mines, or with carriages and vehicles arising from material forests, elephant forests and herds, is (the ally) of varied usefulness.

 11 He who gives substantial help with troops or treasury is one of

permitted (anujñātaḥ) to carry out an undertaking bringing money and formidable might (udvega) to him, (tad, i.e., his suzerain), he who has surrendered, after growing strong (balavān) and wishing to conquer etc.' This is hardly possible. — svartuvṛṭṭiḥ: vṛṭṭi is 'livelihood, food etc.' (Cn Cs). — apārṣṇiḥ: we have, it seems, to undertsand svayam before this. For, this and the next word describe the balavān, not the śatru. It is clear that pārṣṇi stands for pārṣṇigrāha. — anā-sāraḥ is from Cn Cs; Cb Cs understand this as describing the weak yātavya in the sense of 'without any help.' It seems better, however, to regard the āsāra as the pārṣṇigrāhāsāra, from the point of view of the balavān king himself.

- 3 upanamayet: it is this root that is found in dandopanata; hence Cn's preference for dandopanāmi- in the title. 4 niyoga etc.: cf. 9.7.73-76. anantaraikāntarāh: see 6.2.14 ff.
- 7 Land and inheritance would be demanded on behalf of the *tatkulīna* and aparuddha. 8 kūṭayuddha: see 10.3. tūṣnīmyuddha: see 12.4 and 12.5. durgalambhopāya is Book 13.
- 9 dandopakārinah helpful to the army (of the balavān), The connection between prajīā and bhūmi is not quite obvious. mantrašakti may be helpful for administration of the territory.
- 10 phalgu had clearly got dropped out from the exemplar of the mss. through a scribal error. yad...lad has the neuter milram in view. 12 -bhūmībhih is as

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great usefulness. 12 He who helps with troops, treasury and land is one of all-sided usefulness.

13 He who withstands one's enemy on one side is the (ally) useful on one side. 14 He who withstands the enemy and the enemy's ally on the two sides is one useful on both sides. 15 He who withstands the enemy, his ally, the neighbour and the forest chief on all sides is one useful on all sides.

16 And if an enemy in the rear, — a forest chieftain, a principal officer of the enemy or the enemy (himself) - be found capable of being secured by a gift of land, he should win his support with (the grant of) land without excellences; one stationed in a fort, with land not contiguous; a forest chief, with land not yielding livelihood; a pretender from the family of the enemy, with recoverable land; a prince in disfavour of the enemy, with land snatched; one with banded troops, with land having permanent enemies; one with compact troops, with land having strong neighbouring kings; one opposing in war, with land having both these characteristics; one with energy, with land where military operations are not possible; one belonging to the enemy's party, with waste land; one enticed away, with impoverished land; a deserter who has returned, with land the settlement of which would involve great losses and expenses; the deserter (from the enemy) who has come over, with land without shelter; with land that cannot be occupied by any one else, he should secure the support of its master himself.

proposed by Meyer, and is obviously quite necessary in view of the instrumentals in the parallel ss. 10-11.

14 cobhayatalı pratikaroti is as proposed by Meyer; that is obviously supported by the parallels in the other ss.

16 pārsnigrāhas ca etc.: the translation follows Meyer in regarding ātavika, śatrumukhya and śatru as three types of pārsnigrāha of the balavān; and for this the reading śatrumukhyaḥ śatrur vā from Cb Cs is preferred to śatrur mukhyaśatrur vā (or mukhyaḥ śatrur) of the mss. Cb Cs understand pārsnigrāhaḥ independently as the first of four kings mentioned. But the s. has in view pārṣṇigrāhas of different types. For, it is this s. that seems to be referred to as pārsnigrāhopagraha in 7.11.39. - apratisambaddha, i.e., far away from the fort. - apacchinnayā is as suggested by Meyer. The land snatched may be from the enemy himself. - śrenībalam and samhatabalam (samghabalam in Cb) are descriptive of a king. Cb Cn Cs understand these as substantives, i.e., such armies themselves are to be understood, the former being without a leader, the latter with a leader (Cb Cn Cs). — apavāhitam 'carried off,' i.e., enticed to come over. Cb Cs have 'distressed by the fight'; Cn' with whom a treaty was first made, but who was then made to violate the treaty.' Cf., however, 12.3.14. - pratyapasrtam: a deserter from the enemy who has come over to him. Cf. 13.4.51. The Glossary needs correction. - bhartāram, i.e., the owner of the land. This can hardly mean 'the sovereign' in the context, as Meyer thinks. He is clearly on a wrong track in this Chapter.

- 17 He should allow to continue (as before) that one among them who is of great help and unchanging in loyalty. 18 He should silently do away with the contrary one. 19 He should gratify, according to his power to help, one who has helped him. 20 And in conformity with his efforts, he should bestow wealth and honour on him, and give help in calamities. 21 To those coming of their own accord, he should grant interviews as desired and make arrangements (for receiving them). 22 He should not use towards them insults, injuries, contemptuous words or reproaches. 23 And after promising them safety, he should favour them like a father.
- And if any of them were to do him harm, he should proclaim his guilt and slay him openly. 25 Or, because of fright (likely) among others, he should act as in 'infliction of secret punishment'. 26 And he shall not covet the land, property, sons or wives of the slain one. 27 He should place in their appropriate positions even the members of his family. 28 He should place on the throne the son of one killed in action.
- 29 In this way, the princes surrendering to force remain loyal to his sons and grandsons.
- 30 But the circle (of kings), being frightened, rises to destroy one who were to kill or imprison those who have submitted and covet their land, property, sons or wives. 31 And those ministers, who are under his control in their own lands, become frightened of him and resort to the circle. 32 Or, they themselves seek to take his kingdom or life.
 - 33 And therefore, kings, protected in their own territories by means of conciliation, become favourably disposed towards the king, remaining obedient to his sons and grandsons.
- 17 anuvartayet, i.e., allow him to continue in his own realm as before. 'Secure his obedience' is possible, but seems less likely. 21 pratividhāna seems to refer to 'arrangements' for receiving them, rather than to 'steps for protecting (himself from them)' (Cb Cs). 22 ativāda may mean 'excessive praise' (Cb Cn Cs) as in 4.1.59. However, 'reproach, reproof' appears more likely in the context. Cf. ativādāns titikṣeta, Manu, 6.47.
- 25 dāṇḍakarmikavat, i.e., as in 5.1. 27 pātreṣu 'in suitable positions' is an unusual sense.
- 31 ye cāsyāmātyāh svabhūmiṣvāyattāh: these ministers are those of the vassals, svabhūmiṣu being the respective territories of the latter, and asya, referring to the sovereign, to be construed with āyattāh. Cb Cn Cs understand the ministers to be those of the sovereign, engaged in work (āyatta, i.e., vyāpṛta) in the vassals' territories. But if asya refers to the sovereign, sva- can hardly refer to the vassals. Meyer suggests anāyattāh 'his viceroys, unconnected with lands under their control (sva-bhūmiṣu).' svabhūmiṣu can hardly be understood in this way. Cf. s. 33 below.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

SECTION 122 THE MAKING OF PEACE SECTION 123 LIBERATION OF THE HOSTAGE

- 1 Peace, treaty, hostage, these are one and the same thing.
 2 The creation of confidence among kings is (the purpose of) peace, treaty or hostage.
- 3 'Plighting one's troth or taking an oath is an unstable pact, a surety or a hostage is stable,' say the teachers. 4 'No,' says Kautilya. 5 Plighting one's troth or taking an oath is a pact stable in the next world as well as here, a surety or a hostage is of use only in this world, depending on strength.
- 6 'We have made a pact,' thus kings of old, faithful to their word, made pacts by plighting their troth. 7 In case of (fear of) its transgression, they touched fire, water, a furrow in the field, a clod of earth from the rampart, the shoulder of an elephant, the back of a horse, the box of a chariot, a weapon, a gem, seeds, a fragrant substance, a liquid, gold or money, affirming with an oath, 'May these kill or abandon him who would break the oath.'
- 8 In case of (fear of) transgression of oath, the binding to suretyship of great men, ascetics or principal men constitutes surety. 9 With respect to that, he who receives sureties capable of suppressing the enemy, over-reaches. 10 The opposite of this is over-reached.
- 11 The holding of a kinsman or a principal officer, is receiving a hostage. 12 With respect to that, he who gives a treasonable minister or a treasonable child, over-reaches. 13 The opposite of

7.17

The two Sections are to be found in ss. 1-31 and 32-61 respectively.

- 1 samādhi 'hostage' is related to ādhi 'pledge.' A samdhi may or may not contain a stipulation as to samādhi. And there can be śama without a samchi.
- 3 pratigraha 'acceptance (of a hostage)', i.e., a hostage. 5 balāpekṣaḥ: the strength is the relative strength of the parties to the transaction. The explanation in Cb Cs 'the surety can be trusted only when he is strong, and the hostage only when he is the object of love (snehapātra) of the king who hands him over,' is hardly acceptable.
 - 7 agni etc. might kill, ratna etc. might leave.
- 8 mahatām should be understood independently of tapasvinām. 9 atisamdhatte: comparison between two similarly placed kings is to be understood here as before. 10 viparītaḥ, i.e., who does not receive sureties that are parāvagrahasamartha.
- 11 bandhumukhya can hardly be 'a distinguished relation' (Meyer) in view of amātya and apatya in the next s. 14 paraḥ is the one who gives the hostage.—
 nirapekṣaḥ, i.e., not caring for what happens to the hostage.

this is over-reached. 14 For, the enemy strikes without compunction at the weak points of one who is trustful because of receiving a hostage.

- 15 When keeping a child as a hostage, however, as between giving a son and a daughter, he who gives a daughter over-reaches.
 16 For, a daughter is not an heir, and is of use to others only and cannot be harassed. 17 A son is the reverse of this.
- 18 Even of two sons, he who gives a son legitimately born, wise, brave, trained in the use of weapons, or an only son, is over-reached.

 19 The opposite of this over-reaches. 20 For, it is better to hand over as a hostage an illegitimate son than a legitimate one, because of the loss of continuity of heirs (in his case), the unwise son than the wise, because of the absence of the power of counsel, a son not brave than a brave one, because of the absence of the power of energy, one not trained in the use of weapons to one trained in their use, because of the absence of the ability to strike, one not an only son than an only son, because of the absence of expectations (being centred in him alone).
- 21 As between a legitimate son and a wise son, the attribute of sovereignty goes with one who is legitimate though unwise, the function of counsel (goes) with one who is wise though illegitimate. 22 Even in the matter of counsel, the legitimate over-reaches the wise through association with elders.
- 23 As between a wise son and a brave son, the possession of acts of intelligence belongs to the wise though cowardly, the function of valour to the brave though unwise. 24 Even in the matter of valour, the wise one over-reaches the brave, as the hunter does the elephant.
- 16 adāyādā from Cb Cn Cs is the only correct reading. Meyer's remark (in the Nachtrag) that even the daughter inherits in the absence of a son is beside the point; the question here is as between a son and a daughter when both are there, whom to give as a hostage? His further discussion regarding the conqueror's responsibility to get the conquered king's daughters married has little relevance here. pareṣām, i.e., of the husband and his family. akleśyā not liable to be troubled as a male is. With kleśāya Cb has 'a trouble to her father because of money he has to spend on her.'
- 18 yo is added as being necessary as usual. 20 luptadāyādasamtānatvāt: Cs has 'because he cannot have an offspring who can inherit.' But the illegitimate son himself would also be unable to inherit. prahartavyasampad: Cn Cs have 'excellence in using weapons (prahartavya as praharana)'; Meyer has 'capacity when it is necessary to strike'; 'excellence in hitting or striking' may appear sufficient.
- 21 aiśvaryaprakṛtiḥ, i.e., a natural ability to rule or a naturally majestic bearing. Cf. 8.2.23. mantrādhikāraḥ, i.e., ability to give counsel and make use of it. 22 This means that as between a jātya and a prājña, the latter should preferably be given.

7. 17. 25]

- 25 As between a brave son and one trained in the use of weapons, valorous behaviour belongs to the brave though untrained in the use of weapons, the power to hit the target (comes) to one trained in weapons though not brave. 26 Even in the matter of hitting the target, the brave one over-reaches the trained one, because of his firmness, quick understanding and watchfulness.
- 27 As between a king with many sons and a king with an only son, the one with many sons, handing over one and supported by the rest, can violate the pact, not the other.
- 28 If the pact is on condition of giving the son who is his all, advantage (comes) from the offspring of the son. 29 Between two, equally having offspring from a son, advantage (comes) from the power to procreate. 30 Even between two, possessing the power to procreate, advantage (comes) from the birth being close at hand.
- 31 But when there is a capable only son, he should hand over himself, if he has lost the power of procreation, but should not give the only son.
- 32 When grown in strength, he should bring about the liberation of the hostage.
- 33 Secret agents disguised as artisans or artists, carrying out works in the proximity of the prince, should dig up a subterranean passage at night and carry away the prince.
- 34 Or, actors, dancers, singers, musicians, reciters, minstrels, rope-walkers and showmen, stationed (there) beforehand, should
- 23 matikarmaṇām yogaḥ, i.e., association with acts requiring intelligence. 24 That is, a śūra should be given, rather than a prājña.
- 26 asammoşa 'watchfulness in protecting oneself' (Cn) is better than 'absence of bewilderment or delusion (asammoha)' (Cs). 26 That is, a kṛtāstra should be given rather than a śūra.
- 27 śesapratistabdhah: both pravṛtti and vṛtti in place of prati are unlikely. For pratistabdha, cf. 7.7.11; 7.10.27.
- 28 putrasarvasva is the only son, who is the all in all of the father. Meyer's 'all the sons he has' is little likely. putraphalatah, i.e., if the son to be given as a hostage has a son. The grandchild would be there to continue the line. Meyer's 'when there is power to procreate sons (in the king himself)' is little likely. 29 samaphalayoh: comparison is again thought of; when two kings give each an only son, and this son has an offspring. saktaprajananatah: the capacity to procreate is that of the king himself (Cn) rather than that of the only son (Cb Cs). Cf. luptaputrotpattir ātmānam, s. 31 below. The question of the son's capacity to procreate would appear to be premature. Meyer has 'whose progeny is capable.' There is little point in that. 30 upasthita- etc.: Meyer's. 'with progeny which is already capable of doing work (upasthita, i.e., ready for work)' is altogether beside the point and is unlikely in itself.
 - 33 upakhānayitvā is an archaic form.

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ni of pla wait upon the enemy. 35 They should (then) wait upon the prince one after the other. 36 He should fix for them entry, stay and departure without restriction as to time. 37 Then, disguised as one of them, he should leave at night. 38 By that are explained courtesans and women appearing as wives.

- 39 Or, he should go out carrying the box of their musical instruments or (other) articles.
- 40 Or, he should be carried out by cooks, waiters, bath-attendants, shampooers, bed-preparers, barbers, toilet-attendants or water-servers along with boxes of materials, dresses and articles, beds and seats after they have been used.
- 41 Or, he should go out at a time when the appearance cannot be distinguished, disguised as a servant, carrying something with him, or, (go out) through a subterranean passage with (materials for) a night oblation. 42 Or, he should practise the trick of Varuna in a reservoir of water.
- 43 Or, secret agents disguised as traders should administer poison to guards by selling cooked food and fruits.
- 44 Or, on the occasion of offerings to deities or worship of manes or picnic parties, he should administer food and drink mixed with
- 84 natanartaka- etc.: cf. 1.12.9, also 2.27.25. saubhika, one who puts up a show on the stage. Cf. 11.1.34. pūrvapranihitāh, i.e., stationed in the enemy territory before the hostage was given. 36 sthāpayet: the subject is kumārah. 37 tadvyaūjano vā: vā serves no purpose. Meyer thinks that some words like tair nirhriyeta have dropped out. It is not necessary to suppose that. 38 bhāryāvyaūjanāh, i.e, female agents posing as the wives of the prince; as wife, the agent would be allowed unrestricted entry; then the prince is to leave in her garb.
- 39 $tes\bar{a}m$ refers to natanartaka- etc. as well as $r\bar{u}p\bar{u}j\bar{v}ah$ etc.; hence $t\bar{u}s\bar{a}m$ is not necessary as Meyer thinks. For $phel\bar{u}$, cf. 13.2.48.
- 40 sūdārālika- etc.: cf. 1.12.9. One is reminded of the trick used by Shivaji to escape from Aurangzeb's custody in Agra; he was carried out in a fruit basket. sambhogaih, i.e., when they are sent out after use.
- 41 arūpavelāyām 'at a time when the form is indistinguishable', i.e., when it is dark. surungāmukhena vā nišopahāreṇa: Cn Cs have 'sending all attendants away on the pretext that he wants to offer night oblations.' Cb has a similar explanation. We may also understand the offering of night oblations as a pretext for his leaving the residence alone and then arriving at the opening of an underground passage through which to escape. This surungā, unlike that in s. 33, is not made by his agents and starts at a place away from his residence. Meyer proposes nišāpahāreṇa 'by a nocturnal removal through a tunnel.' apahāra does not go well with nirgacchet. 42 vārunam yogam: Cn Cs refer to 13.1.3-4. The idea rather is that of remaining submerged in water for a long time and coming up at a very distant place from where he plunged in (apparently for a bath).
 - 43 rasam from Cn Cs is quite necessary.

7.17.45]

a stupefying mixture or poison, and depart, or (he should leave) by seducing the guards.

- 45 Or, secret agents disguised as gallants, minstrels, physicians or vendors of cooked food should set fire at night to houses of the rich or of the guards. 46 Or, those disguised as traders should set fire to the market-place. 47 Or, after throwing another body inside, he should set his own residence on fire, for fear of pursuit. 48 Then he should leave through a hole in the wall, a channel or a subterranean passage.
- 49 Or, disguised as a carrier of loads of goods in jars suspended in slings from a pole, he should leave at night.
- 50 Or, entering the roving camps of ascetics with shaved heads or matted hair, he should leave at night disguised as one of them, or with the help of one of these, viz., change of appearance, inducing a malady and the disguise of a forester.
- 51 Or, made to appear as a corpse, he should be carried out by secret agents. 52 Or, dressed as a woman, he should follow (the funeral procession of) some one dead.
- 53 And agents appearing as foresters should direct (pursuers) to another direction when he is going in one. 54 Then he should go in another direction. 55 Or, he should escape through groups of carts of cartmen.
- 56 And when pursuit is close on his heels, he should remain hidden.
 57 In the absence of a hiding place, he should scatter on both sides of the road money or poisoned food-stuffs. 58 Then he should go away in another direction.
- 44 madanayoga: see 14.1.16,17. protsāhana is inducing them to let him go 'by a promise of gifts' (Cn Cs) rather than 'by stirring up a fight amongst them' (Meyer).
- 45 nāgaraka 'a gallant' is different from nāgarika. ārakṣiṇām: Cb Cn have no comment on this word. Cs puts it in brackets without comment. If it is to be read, a vā after it is necessary, gṛhāṇi being supplied from the preceding. The prince would escape when the guards are busy putting out the fire. 47 anyad vā śarīram etc.: one is reminded of the escape of the Pāṇḍavas from the lac-house. 48 khāta: cf. 3.8.21.
- 49 kāca is a contrivance for carrying loads on the shoulder, consisting of a pole with slings at the two ends, a contrivance still in common use in India. Cb, however, has 'kācabhāra, i.e., carriers of grass, fuel etc., kumbhabhāra, i.e., carriers of water and bhāndabhāra, i.e., dealers in horses etc.' Cs follows.
- 50 virūpakaraņa: see 14.2.4 ff. vyādhikaraņa is described in 14.1. The disease would, however, be only apparent; the pretence of illness may induce the guards to allow him to go ostensibly for treatment.
- 55 śakaṭavāṭaiḥ: vāṭa usually 'an enclosure,' seems used in the sense of 'group' (Cn Cs), samūha (Cb).

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- 59 If caught, he should over-reach the pursuers with conciliation and other means, or with poisoned food on the way.
- 60 Or, in the trick of Varuna and in acts of setting fire, he should place another body and accuse the enemy, 'You have killed my son.'
 - 61 Or, taking up weapons secretly (brought), and falling on the guards at night, he should escape on quick-marching (horses) along with secret agents.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

SECTION 124 CONDUCT TOWARDS THE MIDDLE KING SECTION 125 CONDUCT TOWARDS THE NEUTRAL KING SECTION 126 CONDUCT TOWARDS THE CIRCLE OF KINGS

- 1 With respect to the middle king, he himself, the third and the fifth constituents are friendly elements. 2 The second, the fourth and the sixth are unfriendly elements.
- 3 If the middle king were to help both these, the conqueror should be favourably inclined towards the middle king. 4 If he does not help (either), he should remain favourable to the friendly elements.
- 5 If the middle king were to desire to seize an ally of the conqueror having the feelings of a friend, he should save the ally by rousing the allies of the ally and his own allies, and dividing his allies from the
- 56 sattram is a place where one can hide oneself, particularly for lying in ambush; cf. 10.3.24.
 - 59 pathyadānena read in the mss. is obviously not right; cf. 2.16.24.
- 60 The subject for abhiyunjīta is the father of the prince, while that for ādhāya would be the secret agents; the sense of the causal may therefore be understood in ādhāya. abhiyunjīta 'should accuse' may also suggest the idea of attacking.
 - 61 śighrapātaiḥ: Cn supplies aśvaiḥ, Cb yānaiḥ.

7.18

The three Sections are found in ss. 1-25, 26-27 and 28-44 respectively.

I madhyamasya: this word seems out of place here. This and the next s. describe the prakṛtis and the vikṛtis of the vijigīṣu, not of the madhyama, as Cb Cs understand. For, ubhayam in s. 3, who are likely to be favoured by the madhyama, cannot include his own enemies; and the prakṛtis in s. 4, to whom the vijigīṣu is advised to be favourably disposed if the madhyama does not help either party, can be the prakṛtis of the vijigīṣu himself, not those of the madhyama. If at all the word madhyamasya is read at the beginning of this s., it should be understood in some such sense as 'in relation to, with respect to, the madhyama king.' — ātmā as a separate word is quite necessary as in the commentators. It refers to the vijigīṣu himself, the third and fifth prakṛtis being his mitra and mitramitra. 2 The second, fourth and sixth prakṛtis are the ari, arimitra and arimitramitra of the vijigīṣu.

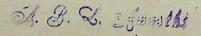
middle king. 6 Or, he should incite the circle: 'This middle king, grown very powerful, has risen for the destruction of all of us; let us join together and frustrate his expedition.' 7 If the circle were to favour that, he should, by the suppression of the middle king, augment himself. 8 If it were not to favour, helping the ally with treasury and army, he should win over by conciliation and gifts one — the principal or the proximate — from among the kings inimical to the middle king, who, many in number, may be helping each other, or of whom, by winning over one, many would be won over, or who, being afraid of each other, would not rise. 9 Being thus double, (he should win over) a second king; being three-fold, a third king. 10 Augmented in power in this way, he should suppress the middle king. 11 Or, if place and time were to lapse, he should make peace with the middle king and be helpful to the ally, or make a pact for an undertaking with the treasonable (officers of the middle king).

- 12 If the middle king were to desire to seize an ally of his deserving to be weakened, he should sustain him, saying 'I will save you,' till he is weakened. 13 He should save him when weakened.
- 14 If the middle king were to desire to seize an ally of his deserving to be exterminated, he should save him when weakened through fear of the increase of the middle king's power. 15 Or, if he is exterminated, he should get him in his power by the grant of land, through fear of his going elsewhere.
- 16 If the allies of his ally, deserving to be weakened or exterminated, were to be helpful to the middle king, he should have peace made through another person. 17 Or, if the allies of those two were capable of suppressing the conqueror, he should make peace (with the middle king).
- 8 ye madhyamadvesino rājānah is to be understood with each of the following three clauses (Cn Cs) rather than as a separate fourth clause (Meyer). nottistheran 'not rise (against the madhyama),' though they are hostile (dvesin) to him. āsannam 'proximate' to himself or to the ally who is to be saved. 11 deśakālātipattau, i.e., when the matter is urgent. Cf. 3.16.11. sācivyam kuryāt: by secretly helping the ally with troops and money, as in Cn; cf. s.16 below. dūsyesu: these are clearly those of the middle king. karmasamdhim: see 7.12.
 - 12 asya, i.e., vijigīṣoḥ. Similarly in ss. 14 and 18.
- 14 madhyamavrddhibhayāt: the fear is that if his ally were totally crushed, the madhyama would be very strong. 15 anyatra, i.e., in the enemy's camp (Cn Cs).
- 16 sācivyakarāṇi: they render aid against their own ally, clandestinely. puruṣāntareṇa samdhīyeta: this refers to 7.3.24, a treaty in which the senāpati or the kumāra is surrendered to the enemy. Here the senāpati or kumāra would appear to be that of the ally. The causal would have been preferable to the passive of samdhīyeta.

- 18 If the middle king were to desire to seize his (i.e., the conqueror's) enemy, he should make peace. 19 Thus his own ends are secured and the middle king is also pleased.
- 20 If the middle king were to desire to seize his own ally having friendly feelings, he should have peace made through another person.
 21 Or, if he were to care (for the conqueror), he should dissuade him; saying 'It does not behave you to exterminate an ally.' 22 Or, he should remain indifferent, thinking 'Let the circle be enraged with him on account of the destruction of his own party.'
- 23 If the middle king were to desire to seize his own enemy, he should help him with treasury and army, unseen.
- 24 If the middle king were to desire to seize the neutral king, he should give him aid, thinking 'Let him be divided from the neutral king.' 25 Of the middle and the neutral kings, he should resort to the one who is liked by the circle of kings.
- 26 By conduct towards the middle king is explained conduct towards the neutral king.
- 27 If the neutral king were to desire to seize the middle king, he should turn to that side where he would over-reach his enemy or render help to his ally or secure the neutral king for rendering aid with troops to himself.
- 28 Augmenting himself in this way, he should weaken the constituent, enemy, and support the constituent, ally.
- 29 Though there are feelings of enmity (among all), the enemy (in front) not self-possessed (and) constantly doing injury, or the enemy
- 20 samdadhyāt: apparently the vijigīṣu induces the madhyama king's ally to make a treaty of this kind. samdhim kārayet would have been better. 21 sāpekṣam seems to mean 'if the madhyama has regard for him (the vijigīṣu).' Cn has 'anucchedarucim if he is disinclined to exterminate.' Meyer treats it as an adverb 'respectfully, discreetly.'
 - 23 enam, i.e., to the enemy of the madhyama.
- 24 After lipseta, the words asmai sāhāyyam dadyāt are added as in Cn; the comment in Cb also presupposes those words. In their absence, the words that follow, udāsīnād etc. (including those in s. 25 in that case), cannot be construed with the preceding clause. And s. 25 very clearly contains a new idea, unconnected with words in s. 24. For bheda implied by bhidyatām cannot be brought about by what is recommended in s. 25. The help given might encourage the madhyama to take a strong line against the udāsīna. asmai is madhyamāya; he is weaker than the udāsīna, and his strengthening would be necessary for bheda. udāsīnād bhidyatām cannot mean 'turn away from the udāsīna 'as words addressed by the madhyama to the vijigīṣu, as Meyer thinks.
- 27 $ud\bar{a}s\bar{i}na\bar{m}$ $v\bar{a}$: Cb Cs add madhyamam before this. But though possible, the $l\bar{a}bha$ of the madhyama does not seem intended here.

in the rear in league with the enemy (in front), one vulnerable, being in a calamity, or one attacking the leader in his calamity, these are (neighbouring kings) with a hostile disposition; one marching for a common objective, one marching for a separate object, one marching after joining forces, one marching after making a pact, one marching for his own object, one rising together (with the leader), one purchasing or selling either treasury or troops as he resorts to a dual policy, these are with a friendly disposition; the neighbour placed in between or at the side as a hindrance to the strong king, or one in the rear of the strong king, one who has submitted to force, either submitting of his own accord or submitting because of the might, these are neighbours with a dependent's feelings. 30 By these are explained those separated by one intervening state.

- 31 Of these, that ally who would make common cause with him in case of hostility with the enemy, he should help with power, with which he would withstand the enemy.
- 32 He should get that ally, who, after conquering the enemy, might grow in strength and go out of control, into conflict with the two constituents, the neighbour and the one separated by one state.
- 33 Or, he should cause his territory to be seized by a pretender from his family or a prince in disfavour or so act that he would remain under control in consideration of help (received).
- 29 All neighbouring kings (sāmantāḥ) normally tend to be inimical, possessed of amitrabhāva; yet three classes are distinguished here, aribhāvin, mitrabhāvin and bhrtyabhāvin. anātmavān and nityāpakārī are descriptions of satru and not independent categories (as in Cs and Meyer). So satrusamhitaḥ is an adjective to pārṣṇigrāhaḥ and not an independent eategory. vyasanī yātavyaḥ is one king; cf. 6.2.16. aribhāvinaḥ: the substantive is sāmantāḥ at the end. sva in svārthā- etc. seems to refer to the vijigīṣu, not to the sāmanta. The latter's artha is mentioned in prthagartha. dvaidhībhāvikaḥ is the sāmanta who makes peace with the vijigīṣu, when engaged in war elsewhere; while making the peace, he purchases or sells daṇḍa or kośa to the vijigīṣu. Hence kośadaṇḍayor etc. does not constitute a category independent of dvaidhībhāvika. balavataḥ pratighātaḥ is a description of the antardhi and the prativeśa, and not a separate type of king as Cb Cs think. Cf. 7.13.24-25. There is no definition of pratighāta in 7.13.25 as Cs states here (though not while commenting on the passage itself). svayamupanata and pratāpopanata are two types of daṇḍopanata, and not separate categories.
- 31 ekārthatām vrajet cannot mean 'would make common cause, i.e., peace (with the enemy)' (Cb Cs). Cn rightly has 'vijigīṣunā saha.'
- 32 sāmantaikāntarābhyām prakṛtibhyām: these would be those of the ally himself, hardly those of the vijigīṣu.
- 33 anugrahāpekṣam may be 'in expectation of help 'or 'in consideration of help received.' The latter seems meant.



- 34 That ally, who being much weakened might not help or might go over to the enemy, he, well-versed in politics, should keep neither weak nor strong.
- 35 That unstable ally, who for the sake of his own ends makes peace (with him), he should remove the reason for his leaving, so that he would not waver.
- 36 That ally who remains common to the enemy (and himself), he should divide that rogue from the enemy, (and) when divided, exterminate him, thereafter (exterminate) the enemy.
- 37 And he should get that ally, who would remain indifferent, into conflict with neighbouring kings; then when he is severely distressed by the fight, he should place him under (his) obligations.
- 38 That weak ally, who goes to the enemy and the conqueror (for support), he should help with troops, so that he would not turn away from him.
- 39 Or, removing him from that (territory) he should settle him in another land, after first settling another (ally) there because of help with troops (received from him).
- 40 That ally who might do harm or who, though capable, would not help in times of trouble, he should certainly exterminate him, when, trustingly, he comes within his reach.
- When the enemy has risen, unrestrained, because of a calamity of the ally, he should be got over-powered by that ally himself, with his calamity removed (by him).
- 34 arthavid seems to be arthasāstravid, hardly 'who knows his interests.'
- 35 arthayuktyā ' with the purpose of securing his own interests.' Cf. 8.1.59.
- 37 upakāre nivešayet: the same idiom as in 'place under obligation.' It can hardly mean 'take him into favour and allow him to render service (to himself)' (Meyer).
- 39 tatra, i.e., in the territory of the weak king, who is shifted from there. dandānugraha is help of troops already received from him, hardly that expected from him.
 - 40 ankam upasthitam, i.e., come within his reach or in his power. Cf. 1.17.10.
- Meyer understands the $v\bar{a}$ in this stanza in the sense of iva or $yath\bar{a}$, and construes this stanza (as containing a comparison) with the next stanza, 'just as an enemy, rising because of an ally's calamity can be put down through the ally, so an ally rising because of an enemy's calamity should be put down through the enemy etc.' This is not likely. There is no $tath\bar{a}$ or evam in s. 42. And $v\bar{a}$ as iva is doubtful. And even though s. 41 speaks of the ari, the mention of the mitravyasana and of the $vijig\bar{\imath}su$'s duty towards the ally show that the context of 'ally' is not violated.

- 42 That ally who, after rising because of a calamity of the enemy, becomes disaffected, is over-powered through the enemy himself, by overcoming the calamity of the enemy.
- 48 He, who is well-versed in the science of politics, should employ all the means, viz., advancement, decline and stable condition as well as weakening and extermination.
- 44 He who sees the six measures of policy as being interdependent in this manner, plays, as he pleases, with kings tied by the chains of his intellect.

Herewith ends the Seventh Book of the Arthaśāstra of Kauţilya 'The Six Measures of Foreign Policy'

⁴² prasidhyati is used with the sense of the passive voice.

⁴⁴ anyonyasamcaram 'moving to each other,' i.e., connected with each other, bound up with one another.

BOOK EIGHT

CONCERNING THE TOPIC OF CALAMITIES

CHAPTER ONE

SECTION 127 THE GROUP OF CALAMITIES OF THE CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS

- 1 In case of simultaneity of calamities (the question arises) should one march or guard (oneself) because of ease, hence a consideration of calamities (is necessary).
- 2 A calamity of a constituent, of a divine or human origin, springs from ill luck or wrong policy.
- 3 Inversion of excellences, absence, a great defect, addiction, or affliction constitutes a calamity. 4 It throws out a person from his good, hence it is called *vyasana*.

The Eighth Book deals with the calamities that affect the various constituents (prakṛtis) of the state. It is necessary to take precautions against these before one can start on an expedition of conquest, which is to be described in the following Books.

8.1

- 1 vyasanayaugapadye: for the purpose of the discussion of the calamities befalling the different prakrtis, it is assumed that the vijigīşu and the ari are both suffering from a calamity affecting one of their prakrtis. The relative seriousness of the calamities befalling the various prakrtis being pointed out, it becomes easy for the vijigişu to decide whether he should march against the ari or should stay quiet. If his calamity is lighter, he is to march; if it is more serious, he is to remain quiet. - saukaryatah 'because of the ease,' i.e., with ease in the carrying out of the policy either of yāna or of sthāna. — yātavyam raksitavyam vā: the vā is from Cn Cs; it is to be preferred to the ca of the mss. The two policies of yana and sthana (i.e., asana) cannot be pursued simultaneously. There can be no doubt that raksitavyam refers to the policy of sthana, as is clearly shown by 8.2.26. With ca, Meyer has 'going forth (yātavyam) and finding means of protection (rakṣitavyam ca).' He supposes that the two or more calamities have befallen the vijigişu himself. That is hardly right. Meyer further suggests that yātavyam may mean 'he should run away 'or that pātavyam should be read instead. yā cannot mean 'to run away ' in this case and there would be no difference between patavyam and raksitavyam.
 - 2 For anaya and apanaya see 6.2.6-12.

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- 5 'Of calamities befalling the king, the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, the army and the ally, that of each earlier one is more serious,' say the teachers.
- 6 'No,' says Bhāradvāja. 7 'Of calamities befalling the king and the minister, the calamity of the minister is more serious. 8 Deliberation in counsel, securing the fruits of deliberation, carrying out undertakings, managing income and expenditure, infliction of punishment, warding off of enemies and forest tribes, protection of the kingdom, taking steps against calamities, guarding of princes and the installation of princes, are (all) dependent on ministers. 9 In the absence of these, those (activities) are lacking, and there is loss of all activity on the part of the king, as of a (bird) with clipped wings. 10 And in the calamities (of these), secret instigations by the enemy are close at hand. 11 And if these are hostile, there is danger to (the king's) life, since they move near the person of the king.'
- 12 'No,' says Kautilya. 13 It is the king alone who appoints the group of servants like the councillor, the chaplain and others, directs the activity of departmental heads, takes counter-measures
- 3 gunaprātilomyam, i.e., the possession of qualities the opposite of those regarded as constituting the excellences of the various prakrtis as in 6.1. Cn Cs give an alternative explanation 'the wrong use of the six gunas or policies.' But that is not right. This and the following expressions are attributes of the prakrtis which represent a vyasana in their case. And guna in connection with prakritis can only refer to their qualities, not to the six-fold guna; cf. s. 62 below. Besides, the wrong use of gunas (or policies) is apanaya, as stated in 9.5.1; and apanaya is the cause of ryasana (s. 2 above), is not itself a vyasana. - abhāvah is the absence of any of the prakrtis, such as absence of durga or kośa. - pradosah 'a great defect' refers to spoiling or deterioration of a prakrti. Material elements may get ruined; human beings may become dūsya. - prasangah is applicable to human beings only. — $p\bar{i}d\bar{a}$ is the same as the $p\bar{i}dana$ of 8.4.1 ff.
- 5 Manu, 7.294-295, puts pura (i.e., durga) before rāstra (i.e., janapada); that agrees with the view of the Pārāśaras (s. 24 below).
- 8 dandapranayanam refers to infliction of punishment, rather than to the raising or disposing of an army (as Cn Cs understand it). Cf. 1.4.11-12 for danda with pra-nī. — dandāpranayanam of the mss. is obviously faulty. — kumārarakṣanam: according to Cn Cs this is 'guarding against princes' as in 1.17. However, ' protection of the princes ' appears more likely here. 9 tadabhāvaḥ : Cn seems to have read tadabhāvāt 'because there would be no mantra etc. in the absence of ministers, there would be cestānāśa.' This would dispense with the necessity of ca after cestānāśah. But in 15.1.39, where this passage is quoted, the ca is read; on the strength of that, a ca is added here and in consequence tadabhāvah is retained. 11 For vaigunya 'hostility,' cf. 5.6.8; 7.8.19. — prānāntika-: prāna here is the person of the king. antika has nothing to do with anta and the expression cannot mean 'life-threatening,' i.e., fatal (Meyer).
- 13 edhanam is that of the two kinds of prakṛtis. 14 Cn seems to have read vyasanisu cāmātycsu, which might appear better. 16 sampannah and svasam-

against the calamities of constituents, whether human or material, and secures their advancement. 14 If the ministers are suffering from calamities, he appoints others who are not in calamities. 15 He remains ever diligent in honouring those worthy of honour and suppressing the treasonable. 16 And when the king is possessed of excellences, he makes the constituents perfect with their respective excellences. 17 What character he has, that character the constituents come to have, being dependent on him in the matter of energetic activity and remissness. 18 For, the king is in the place of their head.

- 19 'Of calamities befalling the minister and the country, the calamity of the country is more serious,' says Viśālākṣa. 20 'The treasury, the army, forest produce, labourers, means of transport and stores spring from the country. 21 In the absence of the country, there would be lack of these, and (the disappearance) of the king and the minister (would follow) immediately thereafter.'
- 22 'No,' says Kautilya. 23 All undertakings have their origin in the ministers, (viz.), successful execution of works in the country, bringing about its well-being and security from one's own and from the enemy's people, taking counter-measures against calamities, settlement of new lands and their development, and (bringing in) the benefit of fines and taxes.
- 24 'Of calamities befalling the country and the fort, the calamity of the fort (is more serious),' say the followers of Parāśara. 25 'For, it is in the fort that the treasury and the army spring up and a place (secured) for the country people in times of trouble. 26 And city-dwellers are stronger than the country people and being steadfast (in loyalty) are helpful to the king in times of trouble. 27 Country people, on the other hand, are common to the enemy.'

padbhih refer to excellences as described in 6.1 and elsewhere. 17 utthāne pramāde ca: cf. 1.19.1-2. 18 $k\bar{u}ta$ is 'peak, head' rather than 'root cause' (Cn Cs).

20 vāhanam refers to bullocks and carts in particular. 21 svāmyamātijayoś cānantaraḥ: we have to supply abhāvaḥ from the preceding, the idea being, if there is no country and therefore no treasury etc., there will soon be no king and no minister. Cn Cs, however, treat this as a new s., 'the country should really occupy the position between the king and the minister in the list of prakṛtis.' For this, antarā would be necessary, and janapadaḥ would have to be supplied from janapadābhāve. It is extremely doubtful if anantaraḥ can mean 'placed in between.' The clause, as naturally understood, does not imply that the janapada is superior to the king, as Cn objects.

23 daṇḍakara-: cf. 1.13.8, though here daṇḍa may also mean 'army '(Meyer).
25 durge: Cn reads durgāt. 26 paurā jānapadebhyaḥ from Cs is clearly necessary in place of paurajānapadebhyaḥ of the mss. — nityāḥ: Cn seems to understand this independently 'steadfastly loyal'; in view of the position of ca, it seems

28 'No,' says Kautilya. 29 The undertakings of the fort, the treasury, the army, water-works and the occupations for livelihood have their source in the country. 30 And bravery, firmness, cleverness and large numbers are (found) among the country people. 31 And mountain forts and island forts are not inhabited because of the absence of the country. 32 However, in a country inhabited mostly by agriculturists, the calamity of the fort (is more serious), while in a country inhabited mostly by martial people, the calamity of the country (is more serious).

33 'Of calamities befalling the fort and the treasury, the calamity of the treasury (is more serious),' says Piśuna. 34 'For, dependent on the treasury are building of the fort, protection of the fort, control over the country, the allies and the enemies, incitement of those away from the land, and the use of armed forces. 35 A fort is susceptible to secret instigations by enemies with money. 36 And in a calamity, it is possible to go away with the treasury, not with the fort.'

37 'No,' says Kautilya. 38 Dependent on the fort are the treasury, the army, silent war, restraint of one's own party, use of armed forces, receiving allied troops, and warding off enemy troops and forest tribes. 39 And in the absence of a fort, the treasury will fall

better to understand it as the reason for their being āpadi sahāyāḥ. 27 amitrasādhāraṇāḥ: this is because when they are over-run by the enemy they easily transfer their allegiance to him.

31 parvatāntardvīpāh durgāh: see 2.3.1-2. 32 karṣakaprāye tu etc.: this is a partial agreement with the view of the Pārāśaras. We have to supply janapade after karṣakaprāye and understand garīyah after durgavyasanam. Thus Cn. Cs explains 'in a land with a few warriors and many agriculturists there is trouble in the absence of a fort; that trouble can be avoided in a land of warriors, but even they cannot ward off the calamity of the land; hence calamity of the land is more serious.' All this could hardly have been meant. Meyer supplies durge after karṣakaprāye, 'on the one hand, the preponderance of agriculturists in a fort is a calamity; on the other, the preponderance of soldiers on the land is a calamity for the country-side.' This also appears extremely doubtful.

34 durgasamskārah: cf. 2.4.31. — It is proposed to read, with Meyer, janapada-...-vyavahārah in this s., instead of after pareṣām at the end of the next s. The words transposed can be construed with kośamūlah, but not with durgah — deśāntarita may be natives who have gone away or foreigners in their own lands. — daṇḍabalavyavahārah: Cn has 'foreing some one to send troops (bala) by threats of punishment (daṇḍabhayāt)'; Cs 'dealing in, i.e., giving and receiving of troops'; this sense does not suit s. 38 or 9.2.4; see also 13.3.15. Meyer has 'activity and maintenance (vyavahāra) of professional troops (daṇḍabala).' 'The use of armed forces' would appear to be sufficient in all places where the expression occurs.

38 daṇḍabalavyavahāraḥ: Cn here has 'disposition of troops sent through fear of use of force.' — āsāra is the ally's troops; cf. 10.2.7.

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into the hands of enemies. 40 For, it is seen that those with forts are not exterminated.

- 41 'Of calamities befalling the treasury and the army, the calamity of the army (is more serious),' says Kaunapadanta. 42 'For, dependent on the army are restraint of allies and enemies, rousing alien troops to action, and reinforcement of one's own troops. 43 And in the absence of an army, the loss of the treasury is certain. 44 And in the absence of a treasury, it is possible to collect an army with forest produce or land or by allowing seizure of enemy's land by each for himself, and to collect a treasury, when one has an army. 45 And being in close proximity to the king, the army has the same characteristics as the minister.'
- 46 'No,' says Kautilya. 47 The army, indeed, is rooted in the treasury. 48 In the absence of a treasury, the army goes over to the enemy or kills the king. 49 And the treasury, ensuring (the success of) all endeavours, is the means of deeds of piety and sensual pleasures. 50 In conformity-with the place, the time and the work, however, one of the two, treasury and army, becomes important. 51 For, the army is the means of acquiring and protecting the treasury, the treasury that of the treasury and the army. 52 Because it brings into being all objects, the calamity of the treasury is more serious.
- 53 'Of calamities befalling the army and the ally, the calamity of the ally (is more serious),' says Vātavyādhi. 54 'The ally does the work without being paid and at a distance, repels the enemy in the rear, his ally, the enemy and the forest chief, and helps with treasury, army and territory, remaining united in conditions of calamity.'
- 42 paradandotsāhanam: the alien troops are part of one's army. Meyer proposes utsādanam for utsāhanam; that does not seem necessary. The idea of urging them to fight is better. svadandapratigrahah: pratigraha means 'reserves' which are used to reinforce the troops engaged in fighting; cf. 10.2.20. Cn's explanation seems to imply the idea of raising troops. Cs has 'acceptance of one's army as attacking the enemy's troops,' i.e., apparently its use for attack. Meyer has 'possession of one's army 'or mastery over it. 44 kosābhāve ca: we expect a tu in place of ca. svayamgrāha: cf. 8.4.23; 9.3.17. 45 rājāah āsannavṛttitvād: this is because the army is directly under the king. For the idea, cf. s. 11 above.
- 49 sarvābhiyogakaraḥ: it seems that abhiyoga is used in the sense of 'effort, endeavour.' Cs has 'capable of carrying out attacks against all neighbours' which is hardly appropriate in the case of kośa. Cn seems to have read -taraḥ 'capable of saving from attacks by all.' These explanations might suit daṇḍa but the expression cannot be included in the preceding s. 50 This is a partial concession to Kauṇapadanta's view. 52 sarvadravya-: Cn Cs understand the dravyaprakṛtis.
- 54 vyasanāvasīhāyogam as an adjective to mitram rather than to vijigīsum ' who has fallen in a state of misfortune' (Meyer). With upakaroti, we generally have the genitive, not the accusative.

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- remains friendly, or (even) the enemy becomes friendly. 57 However, in a work that can well be performed either by the army or the ally, advantage comes from their strength (and) the attainment of suitable place and time for their own type of warfare. 58 But an ally is of no avail in a speedy expedition against enemies or forest chiefs and in a rising in the interior. 59 An ally looks to the securing of his own interests in the event of simultaneity of calamities and in the event of the growth of the enemy's power.
- 60 Thus has been stated the determination of (the seriousness of) calamities befalling the constituents.
 - 61 But in accordance with the peculiar nature of the calamity, the numerousness or loyalty or strength of parts of the constituent leads to the accomplishment of a work.
 - 62 But when the calamity of two (constituents) is equal, the difference (arises) from a decline in qualities, if the possession
- 56 Cn reads a hi after dandavato. 57 sādhārane, i.e., which can be carried out either by the army or the ally. Cs understands kārya in the sense of kāryasādhakatva and construes sāratah 'in point of strength 'with it. That is unnecessary. For sāra 'strength,' cf. 10.5.14 ff. After -lābhāt a ca or vā would seem necessary. 58 amitrāṭavikān is proposed as the object of sīghrābhiyāne, since kope cannot be construed with amitra or āṭavika. kopa refers to a revolt in the kingdom. For abhyantarakopa, see 9.3.12. 59 vyasanayaugapadye, i.e., when the vijigīṣu and the enemy are both in calamity, as in s. 1. arthayuktau: cf. 7.18.35.
- 61 prakṛtyavayavānām is construed with bahubhāvah etc. in the second half and vyasanasya višesatah understood as an independent clause. The idea is, it would depend on the nature of the particular calamity whether bahubhāva or anurāga or sāra of parts of the prakrti would be helpful in overcoming the calamity. Meyer has 'in the case of a calamity (vyasanasya) befalling single parts of a constituent, it is in accordance with the peculiar nature (viśesatah, of the calamity) that numerousness etc. leads to success.' It is not necessary to understand the vyasana to be that of parts of a prakrti. Cn has two explanations, the second of which is adopted in Cs. According to it, 'the numerousness etc. of parts of constituents is more effective than the greater or less importance (viśeṣa) of the calamity affecting those parts.' Cn adds 'if, for example, the vijigişu has janapadavyasana and the enemy has durgavyasana, the former (even though in a greater calamity) would succeed, if his janapada has numerousness etc. and if the avayavas of the enemy's durga (such as dhānvana, vana, etc.) do not have bahubhāva etc.' This is reading too much in the words. It is also doubtful if a comparison between the calamities of two kings is intended in this stanza. Cn's first explanation is 'on account of the greater or less importance (viścsatah, i.e., balīyastvāt) of the calamities of the members (avayava), viz., the constituents (i.e., with prakrtayah eva avayavāh) being thus declared, the numerousness etc. (of a later prakrti, whose calamity is lighter) brings success.' The first half does not seem properly understood. - 9.7.48-49 show that bahubhava and anuraga belong to avayavas of purusaprakṛtis, while sāra to those of dravyaprakṛtis.
- 62 It is proposed to read nāvidheyakam for nābhidheyikam of the mss., and avidheyaka is understood as 'not under control, not effective, etc.'; nāvidhāyakam

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of excellences by the rest of the constituents is not rendered unserviceable.

63 But where the destruction of the rest of the constituents is likely to follow from the calamity of one, that calamity would be more serious, whether of the principal or of (some) other (constituent).

CHAPTER TWO

SECTION 128 CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING THE CALAMITIES OF THE KING AND KINGSHIP

- 1 The king and (his) rule, this is the sum-total of the constituents.
- 2 For the king, there is (danger of) revolt in the interior or in the outer regions. 3 Because of danger as from a snake, a rising in

may also be read in this sense. dvayoh refers to two constituents of the same state. gunatah is construed with kṣayāt, the idea understood being that the difference arises from a greater or less deterioration in the excellences of the prakrtis. Cn has two explanations, the first of which is 'when the same prakrti of the conqueror and the enemy is in a calamity, the difference is due to absence of bahubhāva and other qualities; but if the remaining prakrtis possess their excellences, that renders the absence of bahubhāva and other qualities ineffective (guṇakṣayasya avidhāyakam bhavati).' In the second, Cn has 'the distinction is according to presence of qualities (guṇataḥ) or their absence (kṣayāt), provided the excellences of the remaining prakṛtis mentioned above (abhidheyaka, i.e., abhidhāya vişayīkṛtam) are not present in those of the enemy.' There seems little justification for supplying parasya in the second half. Cs differs from the second explanation in Cn only in referring gunatah to the conqueror and kṣayāt to the enemy or vice versa instead of referring both to the vijigīṣu. In this s. dvayok can be understood to refer to two rival kings; however, it appears better to understand two prakṛtis of the same state by it. Meyer construes kṣayāt with the second half, 'if after deterioration of a constituent, the remaining constituents are in an excellent condition, the calamity is not worth mentioning (nabhidheyikam). This last is extremely doubtful.

63 ekavyasanād shows that dvayoḥ in the last stanza refers to prakṛtis rather than to rival kings. — pradhānasya, i.e., of the king.

8.2

The Chapter deals with $r\bar{a}javyasana$ and $r\bar{a}jyavyasana$ in ss. 2-4 and 5-25 respectively. The former is concerned with danger to the king's person, the latter with abnormal forms of rule.

1 rājā rājyam: this is not the same thing as 'l'état c'est moi' of Louis XIV. rājya refers to rulership or rule and does not mean 'kingdom.' The idea here is, the king and his rule constitute the sum-total of prakrtis. The other prakrtis are subservient to that. The supreme importance of the king and his rule is thus emphasised. Because of this importance, the question of the vyasanas befalling them is taken up first. Cn Cs (agreeing in this with Kāmandaka, 15.1) understand by rājya all the other prakrtis from amātya to mitra. But rājya in this Chapter has nothing to do with those prakrtis.

the interior is a greater evil than a rising in the outer regions, and a rising of ministers of the interior (a greater evil) than a rising in the interior.

4 Therefore, he should keep the power of the treasury and the army in his own hands.

- 5 'As between rule by two and rule without the (legitimate) king, rule by two is destroyed by hatred and loyalty towards each other's parties or by mutual rivalry; rule without the (legitimate) king, on the other hand, looking to the winning of the hearts of the subjects, is enjoyed by the others as it exists,' say the teachers.
- 6 'No,' says Kautilya. 7 Rule by two, (e.g.), by father and son or by two brothers, continues to exist, with well-being and security equally shared and with ministers held in check. 8 Rule without the (legitimate) king, on the other hand, snatching what belongs to another still living, and thinking, 'This does not belong to me,' impoverishes it, carries it off or sells it or, if (still) disaffected, leaves it and goes away.
- 2 abhyantara kopa and bāhya kopa are described in 9.3.12 and 22 respectively. 3 ahibhayāt: a simile is implied; the ablative shows hetu. antaramātyakopa is defined in 9.3.20 and refers to a rising of palace officials like dauvārika, antarvamšika etc. antahkopa is the same as abhyantarakopa.
- 5 dvairājya: as the sequel shows, this is joint rule by two kings, not a partition of a kingdom into two, as is the case in Mālavikāgnimitra, Act 5. vairājya 'being without the king' is in effect rule by one other than the legitimate ruler of the state. Some enemy, after conquering a state, has driven out its ruler and started ruling over it from his own state. The text does not justify the thesis of Jayaswal (Hindu Polity, I, 92) that this means a kingless state and that it implies a real democratic constitution, nor is vairājya an artistocracy (vi-rāj) ruling under authority from janapada or the entire body of the people (H. K. Deb, IHQ, XIV, 372 ff.) anyaih cannot mean 'by the subjects' (Cs) or 'by everybody' (Deb, loc. cit., p. 370). It refers to those who have forcibly seized the kingdom.
- 7 tulyayogakşemam is a reply to parasparasangharşena; if welfare is equally shared, there need be no rivalry. Cn rightly adds 'mitho virodhāsambhavāt' by way of explanation. - amātyāvagraham is from Cn Cs. It means 'where the ministers are held in check' and is a reply to anyonyapakṣadveṣa- etc. Cn, however, has 'if a conflict does arise, the ministers can set it right'; Cs has 'the ministers can prevent double rule from coming into existence,' which is hardly likely; the question of preventing dvairājya is not being discussed here. V. Raghavan (Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference, Nagpur, 1946, pp. 103-4) proposes mitho 'vagraham, regarding tulyayogaksemam as a reply to anyonyapaksa- etc. and mitho 'vagraham as a reply to parasparasangharsena. He thinks that the amātyas have no place here. But anyonyapakṣa- does contain a reference to such officers in both parties. And tulya- etc. appears more likely as a reply to paraspara- etc. The case of Mālavikāgnimitra 5.14 (parasparāvagrahanirvikārau) is not exactly parallel. The two kings there rule over two halves of Vidarbha independently and are both vassals to another sovereign. 8 vairājya does not necessarily refer to rule by foreigners from outside India, as Meyer thinks. The foreign ruler is only from a neighbouring state in India. Though the subject for karśayati etc. is vaīrājyam, we have to understand

- 9 As between a king blind and a king deviating from the science, 'The king, blind because he is without the eye of science, doing whatsoever pleases him, obstinately resolved, or led by others, ruins the kingdom with (his acts of) injustice; but one deviating from the science is easy of persuasion in those cases where his mind has strayed from the science,' say the teachers.
- 10 'No,' says Kautilya. 11 The blind king can be made to follow any course of action through the excellence of his associates. 12 One deviating from the science, however, with his mind firmly fixed on what is contrary to the science, ruins the kingdom and himself with his injustice.
- 13 As between a sick and a new king, 'The sick king meets with (the danger of) the overthrow of his rule caused by ministers or danger to his own life caused by (carrying on the) rule; the new king, on the other hand, busies himself with acts like observance of his duties, showing favours, granting exemptions, bestowing gifts and conferring honour, which please and benefit the subjects,' say the teachers.
- 14 'No,' says Kautilya. 15 The sick king carries on the kingly duties as they were going on before. 16 The new king, however, thinking the kingdom, won by force, to be his, behaves as he likes without restraint. 17 Or, being in the power of his associates in revolt, he tolerates the ruin of the kingdom. 18 Not being rooted among the subjects, he becomes easy to uproot.
- 19 With respect to the sick king, there is this distinction, one afflicted by a foul disease and one not so afflicted. 20 With respect

the foreign ruler as meant. Cn Cs read vairājye for vairājyam. The construction becomes easy in that case, though the subject for karšayati etc. has then to be supplied. — Jayaswal's translation of the s. (Hindu Polity, I, 94) 'nobody feels in a Vairājya government the feeling of "mine" (with regard to the state), the aim of political organism is rejected, any one can sell away (the country), no one feels responsible, or becoming indifferent leaves the state' does too much violence to the text.

- 9 For aśāstracakṣur andhaḥ, ef. 1.14.7. calitaśāstra is one who deliberately flouts the teaching of the śāstra.
- 13 prāṇābādham vā rājyamūlam: this clearly means that carrying on the rule would be too much for the health of the king and he might die, as Meyer says. Cn has 'the people consider him unfit to rule and overthrow him.' prakṛtirañjanopakāraiḥ is an adjective to the preceding expression.
- 15 rājapranidhim as in 1.19. 16 balāvarjitam and sāmutthāyikaiḥ (s. 17) show that 'new king' means a usurper. The difference from vairājya is that in this case the new ruler is not a foreigner, but a usurper from the same land, perhaps even a scion of the same family to which the ousted king belonged.
- 19 pāparogī, i.e., suffering from foul disease such as leprosy and so on. The idea in these two ss. appears to be that in connection with the choice between a siek

to the new, also, (the distinction is) one of noble birth and one not of noble birth.

- 21 As between a weak king of noble birth and a strong king not of noble birth, 'The subjects yield with difficulty to the overtures of the weak though nobly-born king, having regard to his weakness, but easily (yield) to those of the strong though low-born king, having regard to his strength,' say the teachers.
- 22 'No,' says Kautilya. 23 The subjects submit of their own accord to a weak king of noble birth, as a natural capacity to rule devolves on one of noble birth. 24 And they frustrate the overtures of the strong but low-born king, since in love are all virtues present. 25 The loss of the crops is a greater evil than the loss of sowings, as it involves loss of efforts, drought (a greater evil) than excessive rain, as it involves loss of livelihood.
 - 26 The relative seriousness or otherwise of calamities of the constituents, (taken) two at a time, has been set forth in the traditional order, as the ground for marching or staying quiet.

king and a new king, the preference indicated above need not be mechanically followed, but the nature of the illness and the nobility or otherwise of birth of the new king should also be taken into account.

- 21 upajāpa is usually 'secret instigation' in order to win a person over to one's side. Here it refers to overtures, not necessarily secret, made for that purpose.
- 23 jātyam etc. is repeated from 7.17.21. 24 anurāge sārvaguņyam from Cn Cs is found in 7.5.14 in the same connection. The reading of the mss. anuyoge sādgunyam yields little relevant sense. 25 prayāsavadhāt etc.: Cn Cs regard the two statements in this s. as dealing with troubles caused by foreign invasion and divine calamities respectively. But this seems hardly right. Such a discussion would be out of place here; it would have been included in 8.4, under pidanavarga. The two things are unconnected with rājavyasana or rājyavyasana, which form the topic of this Chapter. The s. seems to contain two maxims pertaining to rule by a weak king and a strong king. Rule by the latter is like sasyavadha or avrsti, that by a weak king like mustivadha 'destruction of sowings' or ativṛṣṭi. This is intended to support the view that rule by the durbala noble king is preferable. It is not unlikely that the s. is a marginal comment that has got into the text. — Meyer finds here the words of experience of Candragupta's minister, who, having fallen from the 'rains (of favour)' to the gutter, is bitter against the low upstart whom he helped to power. It is as difficult to agree with this inference as with Jolly's opposite inference that the author could not have been the minister who had helped an upstart to power. Personal experience need not be understood as reflected in this passage.
- 26 The stanza is unrelated to the contents of this Chapter, but forms a summing up of the discussion in the last Chapter; it should have preferably come at the end of 8.1. yāne sthāne refers to yātavyam rakṣitavyam of 8.1.1. Hence Meyer's proposal to read sthāne sthāne 'in each case' is unacceptable.

[8.3.20

CHAPTER THREE

SECTION 129 THE GROUP OF THE VICES OF MAN

- 1 Absence of training in the lores is the cause of a man's vices.
 2 For, an untrained person does not see the faults in vices. 3 We shall set them forth.
- 4 A group of three (vices) springs from anger, a group of four springs from lust.
- 5 Of the two, anger is more serious. 6 For, anger acts everywhere. 7 And mostly kings under the influence of anger are known to have been killed by risings among the subjects, those under the influence of lust (are known to be killed) by enemies and diseases as a result of losses.
- 8 'No,' says Bhāradvāja. 9 'Anger is behaviour proper for a good man, (a means of) requiting enmity, extirpation of insults and keeping men in dread. 10 And resort to anger is ever needed for putting down evil. 11 Lust is (a means of) attainment of success, conciliation, generosity of nature and being lovable. 12 And resort to lust is ever needed for the enjoyment of the fruits of works done.'
- 13 'No,' says Kautilya. 14 Becoming hated, making enemies, and association with pain, that is anger. 15 Humiliation, loss of wealth, and association with harmful persons like thieves, gamblers, hunters, singers and players on instruments, that is lust. 16 Of these, being hated is a greater evil than humiliation. 17 One humiliated is held in their power by his own people and by others; the hated one is exterminated. 18 Making enemies is a greater evil than loss of wealth. 19 Loss of wealth endangers the treasury, making enemies endangers life. 20 Association with pain is a greater evil than associa-

8.3

- 3 tān has in view doṣān; hence the masculine.
- 7 kṣayanimittam is read as in Cn, and arivyādhibhih is preferred to ativyādhibhih. As Cn explains kṣaya refers to losses of kośa and daṇḍa (in the case of ari) and to decay of the body (in the case of vyādhi). vyaya does not have such a double significance and does not appear authentic. ativyādhi, though possible (cf. 7.6.9), seems less likely. iti: Meyer thinks that the name of the teacher or school holding this view is lost. Perhaps ācāryāh was originally there after iti.
- 9 vairayātanam and avajñāvadho from Cn Cs are quite obviously the only correct readings.
 11 siddhilābhaḥ: a strong desire or urge often leads to success.
 Bhāradvāja does not regard kopa and kāma as vices and is therefore unconcerned with their relative seriousness.
- 14 satruvedanam 'finding enemies,' i.e., making enemies. Meyer's 'feeling enmity towards others' does not quite fit s. 19. duḥkhāsaṅgaḥ: āsaṅga is close contact, association. 15 pāṭaccara 'a thief' is explained in Cn as 'a drunk-

tion with harmful persons. 21 Association with harmful persons can be remedied in a moment, association with pain causes prolonged distress. 22 Therefore, anger is more serious.

- 23 Verbal injury, violation of property and physical injury (are vices springing from anger).
- 24 'As between verbal injury and violation of property, verbal injury is worse,' says Viśālākṣa. 25 'For, a spirited man, spoken to harshly, retaliates with energy. 26 The barb of offensive speech, embedded in the heart, inflames the spirit and afflicts the senses.'
- 27 'No,' says Kautilya. 28 Honouring with money removes the dart of speech, but violation of property means loss of livelihood. 29 Not giving (what belongs to the other), taking away, destroying or abandoning property is violation of property.
- 30 'As between violation of property and physical injury, violation of property is worse,' say the followers of Parāśara. 31 'Spiritual good and pleasures are rooted in money. 32 And the world is tied up with money. 33 Its destruction is a greater evil.'
- 34 'No,' says Kautilya. 35 Even for a very large sum of money, no one would desire the loss of his life. 36 And through physical injury a person incurs that same danger at the hands of others.
 - 37 This is the group of three (vices) springing from anger.
- 38 The group of four (vices) springing from lust, however, is, hunting, gambling, women and drink.
- 39 Among them, 'Of hunting and gambling, hunting is worse,' says Piśuna. 40 'For, in it, the danger of robbers, enemies, wild animals, forest fires and stumbling and loss of way as well as hunger and thirst constitute a danger to life. 41 In gambling, however, there is only winning for one expert in dice, as it was for Jayatsena and Duryodhana.'
- 42 'No,' says Kautilya. 43 Of the two (parties in gambling) there is also loss for one, as is illustrated by Nala and Yudhisthira. 44 And the same money, won at gambling, becomes a bait and leads to formation of enmities. 45 Uncertainty as to existing wealth and
- ard'. 21 muhūrtapratīkāro: Cn Cs read muhūrtaprītikaro; but the former presents a better contrast to dīrghakleśakaro.
 - 25 pratyārohati 'elimbs back,' i.e., retaliates.
 - 29 parityāgah, i.e., 'non-protection of goods entrusted to one's care' (Cn Cs).
- 40 prānābādhah is the predicate for stenāmitra- etc. and kṣutpipāse. 41 Jayatsena is apparently the name of Nala's brother. According to the Mahābhārata, 3.56.4 ff., however, Nala had lost to Puṣkara.
- 44 āmiṣam 'a bait' which lures other gamblers to covet it (Meyer) rather than 'a prey, i.e., an object of enjoyment for all (not for himself)' (Cn Cs). vairā-

obtaining non-existing wealth, loss before a thing is enjoyed and getting illness due to retention of urine, motions of the bowel, hunger and so on, are the evils of gambling. 46 But in hunting, there is exercise, getting rid of phlegm, bile, fat and (a tendency to) perspiration, practice in hitting the targets of moving and stationary bodies, knowledge of the minds of animals in anger, fear and condition of ease, and (only) occasional marching.

- 47 'Of the vices of gambling and women, the vice of gambling (is worse),' says Kaunapadanta. 48 'For, continuously, at night in lamplight, and (even) when the mother has died, the gambler goes on playing. 49 And if questioned in difficulties, he becomes enraged. 50 But in case of indulgence in women, questioning concerning spiritual and material well-being is indeed possible on occasions of bath, toilet and meals. 51 And it is possible to employ a woman in what is beneficial to the king or to turn her away by means of silent punishment or disease or to make her go away.'
- 52 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 53 Deliverance is possible in gambling, without deliverance is addiction to women. 54 Failure to show himself, aversion for work, absence of material good and loss of spiritual good by allowing the right time to pass, weakness in administration and addiction to drink (result from addiction to women).
- 55 'Of the vices of women and drink, indulgence in women (is worse),' says Vātavyādhi. 56 'For, harmfulness among women is of various kinds as explained in (the Section on) rules for the royal

nubandhaḥ from Cn is a better expression than vairabandhaḥ of the mss. 45 vipratipattiḥ 'conflict' seems to refer to uncertainty, rather than 'misuse' (Cn). Meyer has 'slipping out of one's hand'. 46 kopabhayasthāneṣu is from Cn. Cn explains sthāna as 'condition of ease'. With -sthānehiteṣu of the mss., Cs understands īhita in the sense of 'activity'. Meyer prefers to read hiteṣu as a separate word 'in conditions of well-being,' which is not very happy. — anityayāna, i.e., you do not have to go out always; only occasionally you go hunting. Meyer thinks that nityayānam 'being always on the move' is better. But that would hardly be a point in favour of hunting.

- 51 upāmśudandena: Meyer's attempts to get over the difficulty of 'silent' punishment for women, occasioned by his belief that Indians looked upon a woman's murder as a ghastly sin, are all unsuccessful. We have to face the fact that one teacher, Kaunapadanta, at least had no scruples on that score. Cn construes vyāvartayitum with upāmśudandena, and avasrāvayitum with vyādhinā. That is also likely.
- 53 sapratyādeyam, i.e., from which a person can be reclaimed. 'The losses of which can be recovered' is much less likely. 54 In view of the ca after dharmalopaḥ, anartho is read as a separate word. The compound anarthadharmalopaḥ is awkward.
- 56 bālisyam is not mere foolishness, but harmfulness, as shown by the contents of 1.20.14-17. As the quotation from Vātavyādhi refers to the section

- residence. 57 In drink, on the other hand, there is the enjoyment of pleasures of the senses, such as sound and others, making gifts of love, honouring attendants, and the removal of fatigue caused by work.'
- 58 'No,' says Kautilya. 59 In the case of indulgence in women there is begetting of an offspring and protection of oneself with wives at home, the opposite of this with outside women, ruin of everything with women unapproachable (for one). 60 Both these (evils) are there in the vice of drink. 61 The excellences of drink are: loss of consciousness, insane behaviour of one not insane, appearing like a corpse when not deceased, exposing private parts to view, loss of learning, intellect, strength, wealth and friends, separation from the good, association with the harmful, and attachment to skill in lute and song, destructive of wealth.
- 62 Of gambling and wine, gambling (is worse). 63 The success or failure of one side, due to the stakes, leads to strife among the subjects by creating two factions concerning animate and inanimate objects. 64 And in particular, in the case of oligarchies and of royal families having the character of an oligarchy, there are dissensions caused by gambling and destruction caused by that; hence it is the most evil among vices, as it favours evil men, (and) since it leads to weakness in administration.
 - 65 Lust means the favouring of evil persons, anger, the suppression of good persons. Because of the multitude of evils (resulting from them), both are held to be a calamity without end.
 - 66 Hence, the self-possessed (king) should give up anger and lust, the starting point of all calamities, the destroyers of the patrimony, by waiting upon elders and gaining control over his senses.

on niśāntapraṇidhi, it is reasonable to suppose that his work contained a section similar to 1.20 above.

- 60 tad ubhayam, i.e., the viparyaya (viz., absence of offspring and absence of self-protection) and sarvocchittih 'ruin of everything'. 61 pānasampad: sampad appears to be used ironically.
- 62 Cn, followed by Cs, reads *keṣām at the end of this s., explaining it by 'in the opinion of some'. It then adds *anyeṣām after vināśa iti in s. 64, interpreting asatpragraha there as 'indulgence in drink'. That is quite unlikely, as is shown by the fact that s. 64 is quoted in 15.1.43-44 as an illustration of vyākhyāna, where *anyeṣām* is not to be found, showing that right up to the end of s. 64 we have only dyūta in view and nowhere pāna. It is therefore better to read *ekeṣām* at the beginning of s. 63 in the sense of 'of one party (to the game)'. 63 *prāniṣu refers to betting on animal fights, races etc., while niścetaneṣu refers to dice etc. 64 *saṅghānām: see 11.1 below. *saṅghadharmiṇām rājakulānām: this refers to the *kulasaṅgha* of 1.17.53 in which all male adults of the dynasty form a condominium over the state.

[8.4.9

CHAPTER FOUR

SECTION 130 THE GROUP OF AFFLICTIONS
SECTION 131 THE GROUP OF HINDRANCES
SECTION 132 THE GROUP OF STOPPAGES OF PAYMENT TO THE
TREASURY

- 1 Visitations from the gods are: fire, floods, disease, famine and epidemic.
- 2 'Of fire and floods, the affliction of fire is irremediable and all-consuming, while the affliction of floods is such that escape from it is possible and its dangers can be tided over,' say the teachers. 3 'No,' says Kautilya. 4 Fire burns (at most) a village or half a village; floods, on the other hand, carry away hundreds of villages.
- 5 'Of disease and famine, disease ruins undertakings by hindering the activity of workers who die or are sick or afflicted, whereas famine does not ruin undertakings and yields taxes in money and cattle,' say the teachers. 6 'No,' says Kautilya. 7 Disease afflicts only one region and remedies can be found for it, while famine afflicts the whole country and leads to absence of livelihood for living beings.
 - 8 By that is explained epidemic.
- 9 'Of the loss of common men and that of chiefs, the loss of common men brings about insecurity of undertakings, the loss of chiefs
- 66 mūlaharam: mūla refers to the inherited kingdom, as Cn points out. Cf. 2.9.20 ff. vṛddhasevī jitendriyaḥ: cf. 1.5-7 above. For vyasanas, cf. Manu 7.45-52, which show some expansion and much difference as compared to the present text.

8.4

The first of the three Sections in this Chapter, which is mainly concerned with janapadavyasana, extends up to s. 47, the other two being disposed of in a single s. each.

- 1 Cf. 4.3.1 for eight calamities of a divine origin. Rats, serpents etc. mentioned there are calamities of much less importance. maraka is a pestilential epidemic.
- 2 śakyāpagamanam from Cn is certainly preferable to śakyopagamanam; the idea is of possibility of escaping from the floods. uktam, which appears in the reading of the mss., is due to a scribal error.
- 5 -vyādhitopasṛṣṭa is read as in Cs for -vyādhitāpasṛṣṭa. It seems that upasṛṣṭa should be understood in the sense of 'afflicted,' i.e., incapacitated for work because of the illness. Cf. rogopasṛṣṭa (Raghuvamśa, 8.94). Cs, understanding it in the sense of 'sick,' explains upasṛṣṭaparicāraka by 'who nurse the sick'. paricāraka, however, is to be construed with preta and vyādhita as well and evidently refers to workmen employed on works. apaṣṛṣṭa may mean 'who is relieved of his work' (Meyer), or 'who has left'; but upasṛṣṭa is a better reading.
 - 8 tena seems to refer to famine as in Cs rather than to disease as in Cn.

is characterised by a hindrance to the carrying out of works,' say the teachers. 10 'No,' says Kautilya. 11 The loss of common men can be made good because of the very large number of common men, not the loss of chiefs. 12 For, among thousands there is one chief or not (even one), because of the high degree of spirit and intelligence (necessary, and) because of the dependence of common men on him.

- 13 'Of one's own army and an enemy's army, one's own army harasses by excessive violence and levies, and cannot be warded off, whereas an enemy's army can be given a fight or can be escaped from by means of flight or by a treaty,' say the teachers. 14 'No,' says Kautilya. 15 Harassment by one's own army can be avoided by winning over or destroying the leaders among the principal officers or it afflicts (only) a part of the country, whereas the enemy's army, which afflicts the whole country, ruins it by plunder, slaughter, burning, destroying and carrying (people) off.
- 16 'Of strife among subjects and strife in the royal family, strife among subjects, creating a split among subjects, invites attacks by enemies, while strife in the royal family brings about double food, wages and exemptions for the subjects,' say the teachers. 17 'No,' says Kautilya. 18 Strife among subjects can be averted by winning over the leaders among the subjects or by removal of the cause of strife. 19 And subjects, contending among themselves, benefit (the king) by their mutual rivalry. 20 Strife in the royal family, on the other hand, leads to harassment and destruction of the subjects and can be overcome (only) with a double exertion.
- 21 'Of indulgence in pleasures by the country people and that by the king, indulgence in pleasures by the country people brings about the destruction of the fruits of works for all three times, whereas indulgence
- 9 kṣudraka: cf. 1.13.13. mukhya refers to principal officers and chieftains, including feudatories. 12 sattvaprajñādhikyāt: Cs makes this the reason for kṣudrakāṇām tadāśrayatvam. Cn does not read tadāśrayatvāt kṣudrakāṇām, and it seems very likely that these words are only a marginal comment that has crept into the text. They do not provide the reason for the statement in bhavati eko na vā, as the use of the ablative is expected to do.
- 13 dandakarābhyām: in spite of its use along with kara, danda here is obviously 'force' rather than 'fines'. apasāreņa: the flight is by the people rather than by the king. 15 prakṛtipuruṣamukhya: it seems that prakṛtipuruṣa means a principal officer, and mukhya refers to leaders or the foremost among them. Cf. 12.3.14. Cn seems to have read only prakṛtimukhya and explained it by 'chief among ministers'. apavāhanaih from Cn Cs is clearly necessary. Cf. 2.1.1, also 8.2.8.
- 16 rājavivādaļi is strife among members of the royal family for power. 18 upagraha is conciliation, winning over. 20 dviguņavyāyāma, i.e., effort double that required for putting down strife among subjects.

in pleasures by the king confers benefit on artisans, artists, actors, reciters, prostitutes and traders,' say the teachers. 22 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 23 Indulgence in pleasures by the country people consumes little for the sake of the removal of fatigue caused by work and, after consuming, leads to application to work once again, whereas indulgence in pleasures by the king afflicts (the subjects) through seizure of what he pleases, demands, gifts and seizure of works by (the king) himself and by his favourites.

- 24 'Of the king's beloved and the prince, the prince harasses through seizure of what he pleases, demands, gifts and seizure of works by himself and by his favourites, the king's beloved through enjoyment of pleasures, say the teachers. 25 'No,' says Kautilya. 26 The prince can be held in check through the minister and the chaplain, not the king's beloved, because of her foolishness and association with harmful persons.
- 'Of a band (of fighting units) and a chief, the band, impossible to suppress because of large numbers, harasses through robbery and forcible seizure, the chief through favouring and destroying undertakings,' say the teachers. 28 'No,' says Kautilya. 29 A band is easy to restrain because of common character and vices or through the winning over of the chief or a part of the band. 30 The chief, full of hauteur, harasses by destroying the lives and property of others.
- 31 'Of the Director of Stores and the Administrator, the Director of Stores harasses by finding fault with what is done and by (imposing) penaltics, while the Administrator, supervised by a bureau, enjoys (only) the fruit assigned,' say the teachers. 32 'No,' says Kautilya. 33 The Director of Stores receives as admissible in the treasury what
- 21 traikālyena 'e.g., crops sown in the past are not cared for, sowings in the present are not made and preparation of land for future sowing is not made' (Cn).

 -rūpājīvā-, found in Cn Cs, is missing in the mss. It seems quite authentic.
 23 gacchati: as the subject is -vihāraḥ, gamayati would appear better. svayamgrāha: cf. 8.1.44. praṇaya: cf. 5.2.16 etc. paṇyāgāra is a present consisting of goods. Cf. 7.15.20 etc. kāryopagraha: Cn has 'receiving bribes for allowing any work to be done'. Meyer has 'seizure of works', i.e., appropriation of their fruits. That would appear to be better.
- 24 subhagā 'beloved' of the king. In 12.2.15, the word is used as an adjective to mahiṣī. Here a queen or a mistress may be understood.
- 27 śrcnī is clearly a band or community of fighting men, normally carrying on some peaceful occupation. Cf. 7.11.18. For mukhya, cf. ss. 9-12 above. 29 samānašīlavyasanatvāt: the idea seems to be, if one of them can be won over, the others would follow suit. The idea in Cs is, they can be restrained by other men of the same character and vices. 30 stambha 'haughtiness'; cf. 1.9.1,3 etc.
- 31 karaṇādhiṣṭhitaḥ: this can mean 'under the control of a bureau ' as in Breloer (III, 223), and that sense better suits the context here, though in 2.5.8 and

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34 'Of the frontier officer and the trader, the frontier officer harasses a trade-route by allowing the activity of robbers and charging excessive duties, whereas traders promote (a trade-route) through benefits conferred by goods earried out and goods brought in exchange,' say the teachers. 35 'No,' says Kautilya. 36 The frontier officer maintains (a trade-route) by favouring the bringing together of goods, whereas traders, joining together and raising or lowering the (prices of) goods, make a profit of one hundred panas on one pana or of one hundred kumbhas on one kumbha.

37 As between land seized by a person of noble birth and land occupied by herds of cattle, 'Land seized by a person of noble birth, though yielding abundant produce, is not fit to be retrieved (if) useful in providing soldiers, because of the fear of the danger of a calamity, while land occupied by herds of cattle, being suited for agriculture, is fit to be reclaimed. 38 For, pasture-land is made to yield before fields,' say the teachers. 39 'No,' says Kautilya. 40 Land seized

2.11.1, the expression seems to mean 'presiding over an office'. 33 kṛlā-vastham: for avasthā 'guarantee,' cf. 2.8.29. — svapratyayaḥ 'trusting in himself,' i.e., acting on his own authority. Cf. 2.36.5; 3.14.34. — Breloer (III, 101-102) makes this comment: 'The ācāryas look only at the goods; what the samāhartṛ pilfers is for the private individuals to see, the state is not harmed thereby. Kauṭilya, on the contrary, looks upon harm to the people and to the economy as harm to the state, a sort of state socialism.' It is doubtful if this view can be sustained on the strength of this passage.

34 coraprasarga 'letting loose thieves,' i. e., encouraging them. Cn Cs read -prasarga, understanding it as 'instigation'. — panyapratipanya: ef. 2.16.18 etc. 36 sampāta 'coming together' or 'bringing together'. — vartayati: the object is vanikpatham. — pane panasatam is a profit of 10,000%; this is an exaggeration, as pointed out in Cn. — ājīvanti 'live on' as well as 'make a profit of.'

37 abhijāta is a man from a noble family, particularly from the royal family itself. Cf. 13.5.19. — uparuddha 'blocked,' i.e., occupied, seized. — mahā-phalā 'pi āyudhīyopakāriņī: the contribution of fighting men which the land is likely to make is not to be understood as the great phala derived from it. — vyasanābādhabhayāt: Cn Cs understand the danger to be that soldiers would not be available in times of calamities (i.e., vyasanē ābādhabhayāt). But if the land is recovered, the fighting men in it would certainly be available. The danger would rather appear to be that of a fight in case an attempt is made to rescue it; such a conflict would be a calamity. vyasanābādha may be understood as 'the danger of a calamity'. — Meyer has an altogether different explanation. He reads amahā-phalā, interprets abhijāta as 'cultivable plants' and translates, 'land fully covered by cultivable plants, even though not yielding great produce, should not be freed, being useful for service in war.' This is highly doubtful. 40 atyantama-

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by a person of noble birth, even if yielding extremely great benefit, is fit to be retrieved because of the fear of the danger of a calamity, whereas that occupied by herds of cattle, of benefit to the treasury and useful for transport, is not fit to be reclaimed, except in case of obstruction to the sowing of crops.

- 41 'Of highway robbers and forest tribes, highway robbers, operating at night and lying in wait, attack men's bodies, are a constant danger, rob hundreds of thousands (in cash) and stir up principal men, (while) forest tribes, operating in forests on the frontier far away, are openly known and move before the eyes of all, and harm only a part of the country,' say the teachers. 42 'No,' says Kautilya. 43 Robbers rob only the negligent, are few in number, powerless and easy to know and capture, whereas forest tribes, living in their own territory, are many in number and brave, fight openly, seize and ruin countries, having the same characteristics as a king.
- 44 Of deer parks and elephant forests, deer, being plenty in number, yield the benefit of abundant meat and skins, cause little trouble about fodder and are easy to control. 45 Elephants are the reverse of this when being caught, and if rogues, they lead to the ruin of the country.
- 46 Of benefit conferred on one's own *sthānīya* and that conferred on an enemy's *sthānīya*, the benefit conferred on one's own *sthānīya*, (viz.,) the benefit of grains, cattle, money and forest produce, is capable

 $hopak\bar{a}r\bar{a}$, because it supplies a very large number of fighting men. There is no reference to phala here. — $vyasan\bar{a}b\bar{a}dha$ -: the danger is of the $abhij\bar{a}ta$ becoming very powerful and attempting to seize the kingdom for himself.

- 41 rātrisattracarāh: it is true that rātri is one of the sattras mentioned in 10.3.24 and that therefore a single idea 'operating under cover of night' is possible; nevertheless, two ideas 'operating at night and after lying in wait' seem better. rātrisattra can hardly mean 'nocturnal assemblies (of thieves, robbers etc.)' as J. Charpentier (JRAS, 1934, 113-4) thinks it means in Saundarananda, 2.28. With these words, -carāh from Cn Cs is to be preferred to -parāh. nityāh: Cn does not seem to have read this word. Meyer suggests anityāh 'never in one place'; Charpentier suggests nityam.
- 43 kunthāh: cf. 7.12.9,13. $r\bar{a}jasadharm\bar{a}nah$, i.e., as dangerous as an enemy king.
- 44 mandagrāsāvakleśinaḥ: Cs has 'eating little fodder and hence causing little trouble in catehing them.' It may simply mean 'causing little trouble about food.' 45 gṛhyamāṇāḥ: Cs construes this with duṣṭāś ca; it seems, however, that the latter begins a new clause. Meyer proposes agṛhyamāṇāḥ 'if they are not caught and if they are wicked etc.' However, gṛhyamāṇāḥ appears better. Meyer thinks that ss. 44-45 contain the opinion of the ācāryas and that its refutation by Kauṭilya has been lost. The latter, he argues, would not be so hard on his favourite elephants. However, when it is a question of pīḍana or affliction, even Kauṭilya could not possibly have argued that elephants are less troublesome than deer.

of sustaining the lives of the country people in times of trouble. 47 The reverse is the benefit conferred on an enemy's *sthānīya*.

Thus ends the topic of afflictions.

48 Internal (hindrance) is hindrance by the chiefs, external the hindrance caused by enemies or forest tribes.

Thus ends the topic of hindrances.

- 49 Affected by those two (hindrances) and by the afflictions as described, appropriated by chiefs, impaired by exemptions, scattered, wrongfully collected, (and) carried off by neighbouring kings and forest tribes, these are stoppages of (payment to the) treasury.
 - 50 The (king) should strive to prevent the afflictions from arising and to overcome those that have arisen, as well as to destroy the hindrances and stoppages (of payment) for the sake of the country's prosperity.

CHAPTER FIVE

SECTION 133 THE GROUP OF CALAMITIES OF THE ARMY SECTION 134 THE GROUP OF CALAMITIES OF THE ALLY

- 1 The calamities of the army are: (the state of being) unhonoured, dishonoured, unpaid, sick, newly arrived, come after a long march, exhausted, depleted, repulsed, broken in the first onslaught, caught in an unsuitable season, caught on an unsuitable terrain, despondent
- 46 sthānīya: see 2.3.3, also 2.1.4. The upakāra is help rendered in times of difficulty. Cn explains 'durbhikṣādiṣu krayavikrayavyavahāraḥ'. Such help may be given even to an enemy's sthānīya. The upakāra on a sthānīya is regarded as a pīḍana, perhaps because it is done at the cost of the rest of the country. However, such an upakāra on one's sthānīya is said to sustain jānapadas in times of difficulty. It seems, therefore, that jānapada means only 'natives' as contrasted with foreigners in the parasthānīya.
- 48 stambha refers to hindrances or obstructions caused to state undertakings by officers themselves or by enemies etc. As suggested by Meyer an avagraha should be read after bāhyo, so that amitra is understood, not mitra. Forest tribes are invariably mentioned together with enemies, not with allies. It may be that this vyasana is principally that of a durga; for the vyasanas of this prakṛti are not mentioned elsewhere in this Book.
 - 49 saktah 'elinging to,' i.e., misappropriated, not paid into the treasury.

8.5

The two Sections are to be found in ss. 1-21 and 22-30 respectively.

1 Here and in s. 9 below Meyer's proposal to read *kalatragarbhi* (for *-garhi*) has been adopted, being necessary for the sense required. It is supported by Kāmandaka, 14.69,80. — *parikṣiptam* is from Cs for *upakṣiptam*; it is supported by s. 13; cf. also Kāmandaka, 14.67,73.

of hope, deserted, with women-folk inside, with 'darts' inside, with a rebellious base, split inside, run away, widely scattered, encamped near, completely absorbed, blocked, encircled, with supplies of grains and men cut off, dispersed in one's own land, dispersed in an ally's land, infested by treasonable men, with a hostile enemy in the rear, with its base denuded (of troops), not united with the master, with head broken, and blind.

- 2 Among these, as between an unhonoured and a dishonoured (army), the unhonoured would fight when honoured with money, not the dishonoured, with resentment in its heart.
- 3 As between an unpaid and a sick (army), the unpaid would fight if given pay at once, not the sick, unfit for work.
- 4 As between a newly arrived (army) and one that has come after a long march, the newly arrived would fight after learning about the region from others and being mixed with old troops, not the one that has come after a long march, being troubled by the long march.
- 5 As between an exhausted and a depleted (army), the exhausted would fight after getting refreshed with bath, food and sleep, not the depleted, with its draught-animals and men reduced in a fight elsewhere.
- 6 As between a repulsed (army) and one broken in the first onslaught, the repulsed, thrown back in the first encounter, would fight, being rallied by heroic men, not the one broken in the first onslaught, with its heroic men slain in the first encounter.
- 7 As between an (army) caught in an unsuitable season and one caught on an unsuitable terrain, the one caught in an unsuitable season would fight when equipped with vehicles, weapons and armours suited to the season, not the one caught on an unsuitable terrain, with its foraging raids and operations impeded.
- 8. As between an (army) despondent of hope and a deserted one, the despondent would fight when its desires are fulfilled, not the deserted one, from which its chiefs have run away.
- 2 kṛtārthamānam: 'which is honoured by giving money' seems better than given money and shown honour' (Meyer).
- 4 Here, as in s. 1, the mss. show $d\bar{u}ray\bar{a}ta$; but $d\bar{u}r\bar{a}y\bar{a}ta$ from Cs seems preferable. It is supported by Kāmandaka, 14.67,76. Cn seems to have read $d\bar{u}r\bar{a}-gata$.
- 7 yathartuyugya- is as proposed by Meyer for yathartuyogyayugya-. When yathā is there, yogya is unnecessary. prasāra 'a foraging raid'; ef. 10.2.5.
- 8 apasrtamukhyam is from Cs. Cn seems to have read parisrtamukhyam. Meyer remarks that parisrptam is a mistake for parasrstam 'abandoned'. Kāmandaka, 14.69,83, has avamukta for parisrpta.

- 9 As between an (army) with women-folk inside and one with darts inside, the one with women inside would fight after getting rid of the women, not the one with darts inside, having enemies inside it.
- 10 As between an (army) with a rebellious base and one split inside, the one with a rebellious base would fight when its resentment is overcome by conciliation and other means, not the one split inside, divided from one another.
- 11 As between an (army) run away and one widely scattered, the army that has run away, having crossed over to a single realm, would fight with diplomacy and military activity, finding shelter in a fastness or an ally, not the widely scattered one, gone to more than one realm, because of there being many dangers.
- 12 As between an (army) encamped near (the enemy) and one completely absorbed (in his forces), the one encamped near, having separate marches and halts, would fight by over-reaching the enemy, not the one completely absorbed, with its halts and marches one with the enemy.
- 13 As between a blocked and an encircled (army), the blocked one would fight the obstructor by getting out in another direction, not the encircled one, obstructed on all sides.
- 14 As between an (army) with supplies of grains cut off and one with reserves of men cut off, that with supplies of grains cut off would fight after bringing grains from elsewhere or by subsisting on animal and vegetable food, not the one with reserves of men cut off, being without help.
- 9 The explanation of the reading *kalatragarhi* in Cs is 'finding fault with the womenfolk, i.e., the retinue, for being a burden and a hindrance in the work of fighting'; that is highly problematical.
- 10 kupitamūlam: Cn Cs understand mūla in the sense of 'principal officers'; that is better than understanding it in the sense of 'the hereditary army (maulabala)' as in Meyer, though in Kāmandaka, 14.70,83, kruddhamaula appears for kupitamūla.
- 11 It seems that the army has run away or been scattered, because it is defeated and the kingdom is conquered. In apasṛta, the whole of it goes into one other land; in atikṣipta it is split up and scattered in many lands. sattra is, in particular, a fortress.
- 12 upaniviṣṭam: this happens when there is a joint expedition. Meyer's 'on whose neck the enemy has sat, i.e., hard-pressed by the enemy 'is not possible. atisaṅadhāyārim is proposed for atisaṅadhākāram (or -tāram). The mention of ari in the next clause suggests its use also in this. And the question is not of fighting the enemy trying to cheat (atisaṅadhātṛ), but a third king along with the enemy. -saṅadā- in the text is a misprint. samāptam 'completely joined', because under a single command of the enemy. It cannot mean 'captured' (Meyer). Kāmandaka, 14.84, regards upaniviṣṭa also as incapable of fighting.

- 15 As between an (army) dispersed in one's own land and one dispersed in an ally's land, that dispersed in one's own land, being disbanded in one's own territory, can be collected together in case of trouble, not the one dispersed in an ally's land, because of the distant place and time.
- 16 As between an (army) infested by treasonable men and one with a hostile enemy in the rear, that infested by treasonable men would fight when officered by trustworthy men and kept apart, not the one with a hostile enemy in the rear, being frightened of an attack in the rear.
- 17 As between an (army) with a denuded base and one not united with the master, that with a denuded base would fight with full mobilisation, after protection is secured through the citizens and the country people, not the one not united with the master, being without the king or the commander-in-chief.
- 18 As between an (army) with head broken and a blind (army), the one with head broken would fight under the command of another (commandant), not the blind one, being without a guide.
 - 19 Removal of defects, insertion of (fresh) troops, overreaching by remaining in a strong place, and peace with the superior party, are the means of overcoming the calamities of an army.
 - 20 Being ever active, he should protect his own army, in its calamity, from the enemies; and being ever active, he should strike at the weak points of the army of the enemies.
- 14 anabhisāram: abhisāra refers to help or rescue. Cn reads anāsāram which comes to the same thing.
- 15 vikṣipta is explained in Cn Cs as 'sent on some mission or task'. However, no mission or task can be thought of in 9.2.11 and other places. āvāhayitum from Cn provides the action necessary in the case of vikṣipta, not avasrāvayitum. The latter can hardly mean 'to bring together' as Cs interprets it; cf. 8.3.51. For āvāhay in this sense, cf. 7.7.13.
- 16 asamhatam, i.e., kept as a separate unit. Meyer suggests adūṣyasamhatam and thinks that Kāmandaka, 14.85, presupposes sampūtam 'purged'. Cn seems to have read mitho 'samhatam.
- 17 $ś \bar{u} nyam \bar{u} lam : m \bar{u} la$ is the country and its capital from which the troops have come; these are now without troops. It is clear that $sv \bar{a} min$ refers to the commander-in-chief besides the king.
 - 18 $k\bar{u}ta$ 'head' is the commandant; his death is implied in bhinna.
- 19 sattrasthānātisamhitam from Cn Cs is metrically preferable, though the bhāve kta is a little awkward. A single idea seems intended 'over-reaching the enemy after taking up a position in a strong place like a fort,' though the commentators understand two ideas 'remaining in a strong place and over-reaching.'

- 21 The (king), ever diligent, should take steps right beforehand against that cause because of which he might suffer a calamity of the constituents.
- 22-27 An ally against whom one has marched oneself after joining forces (with others) or under the influence of others, or who is deserted through weakness or greed or regard (for another), or who is sold to the attacker by turning away from the battle or by planning to march against another enemy in another direction when pursuing the dual policy, or who after being inspired with confidence is over-reached either in a separate or a joint march, or who is not rescued from a calamity through fear or disrespect or laziness, or who, being kept out of his own lands, has gone away from one's side through fear, or who is humiliated by snatching (something) away (from him) or by not giving (something to him)
- uttarapakṣasya: we expect the instrumental, 'with the stronger party,' i.e., with the enemy, if he is stronger.
- 21 Cn Cs read this stanza at the end of the chapter, after the discussion of the mitravyasanas. That may appear reasonable since mitra also is one of the prakṛtis. Nevertheless, the present place would seem all right for the stanza as it refers to the prakṛtis that are part of the same state, regarding which steps can be taken right before calamities overtake them. A mitra is not on the same footing. A provision for preventing a mitravyasana is separately mentioned in stanza 30.

 yatonimittam is a bit awkward as an adjective to vyasanam. Perhaps yatonimittād would simplify the construction.
- 22 svayam etc.: Cn Cs understand three cases 'oneself in one's own interest (svayam), in combination with others $(sambh\bar{u}ya)$ and at the instigation of another $(anyava\acute{s}ena)$.' It seems, however, that svayam is to be understood in any case and the alternative is only between $sambh\bar{u}ya$ and $anyava\acute{s}ena$.
- 23 abhiyuñjāne, i.e., to the enemy who has attacked one's ally. samgrāme apavartinā refers to one method of 'selling'; instead of going to the ally's help, the vijigīṣu turns away from the fight, leaving the attacker free to overcome the ally. This would be for some consideration; that is the price received for the sale. dvaidhībhāvena: Cn reads dvaidhībhūtena, which is slightly better. The idea is, the vijigīṣu, in following the dual policy, makes peace with the attacker of his ally because he wants to march against some enemy (anyam amitram) of his own elsewhere (anyatah); the ally is thus 'sold' to his attacker. Because of the second vā (after yāṣyatā), Cn Cs find two situations in the second half; but the two situations as explained in them do not differ at all. The vā seems used a second time merely for the sake of metre.
- 25 avaruddham etc.: the idea seems to be that the ally is obstructed when returning to his own land; he thus gets frightened and manages to escape from the vijigīṣu's side. The two were apparently on a joint expedition on the vijigīṣu's account. ācchedanāt of the ally's land. adānāt of what was due to him for his part in the expedition.
- 26 atyāhāritam: cf. 1.6.7. bhanktvā seems used intransitively 'being broken' in attempting the very heavy task, and then gone over to the enemy, who had proved to be very strong. Cn Cs have 'who is set a very heavy task

or even by giving (something to him), or whose wealth is extorted from him by oneself or through another's agency, or who, being assigned a very heavy task, is broken (in the attempt) and has gone over to the enemy, or who, neglected because of weakness, is antagonised after making a request, (such an ally) can be secured with difficulty, and (even) when secured becomes quickly disaffected.

28-29 An ally, who has exerted himself or is worthy of honour, but is not honoured through one's folly, or is not honoured in a suitable manner, or who is prevented from gaining strength, or who is frightened because of harm done to (another) ally, or who is suspicious of oneself making a treaty with the enemy, or who is divided (from oneself) by treasonable persons, is easy to secure and remains (loyal, when) secured.

30 Therefore he should not allow these defects harmful to allies to arise, or, when they have arisen, he should remove them by qualities capable of removing the defects.

Herewith ends the Eighth Book of the Arthaśāstra of Kauţilya 'Concerning the Topic of Calamities'

when he has just broken the enemy.' It is doubtful, however, if the vijigīṣu would think of dietating terms to a victorious ally. — upasthitam from Cn is preferable to avasthitam.

27 upekṣitam etc.: Cs has 'who, though treated with indifference because of his weakness, approaches again with a proposal for alliance but is antagonised.' It is doubtful if mitram can be the subject for prārthayitvā. The vijigīṣu alone can be thought of as making the proposal. Cn's reading prārthayitrā makes this clear. It is, in any case, a bit strange that a proposal for alliance should antagonise the ally. Perhaps that is because of the upekṣā that has led to resentment. Understanding prāthay in the sense of 'to attack' (Meyer in a foot-note) appears to improve matters; but that case seems covered by abhiyātam svayam in s. 22.

28 śaktito vā nivāritam: Cn Cs read bhaktito for śaktito and explain 'weaned away from his devotion to the vijigīṣu by others.' That is possible, but 'prevented from growing strong' might appear slightly better.

29 arisamhitāt: when the vijigīṣu has made a treaty or pact with his enemy.

BOOK NINE

THE ACTIVITY OF THE KING ABOUT TO MARCH

CHAPTER ONE

SECTION 135 ASCERTAINMENT OF THE (RELATIVE) STRENGTH OR WEAKNESS OF POWERS, PLACE AND TIME SECTION 136 SEASONS FOR MARCHING ON AN EXPEDITION

- 1 After ascertaining the (relative) strength or weakness of powers, place, time, seasons for marching, time for raising armies, revolt in the rear, losses, expenses, gains and troubles, of himself and of the enemy, the conqueror should march if superior in strength, otherwise stay quiet.
- 2 'Of (the powers of) energy and might, energy is superior. 3 For, the king himself, if brave, strong, healthy, trained in the use of missiles, is able to conquer a king possessed of might with the aid of the army alone. 4 And even his small army becomes capable of achieving its object because of its spirit. 5 But a king without energy, though possessed of might, perishes when overpowered by valour,' say the teachers.
- 6 'No,' says Kautilya. 7 The king, possessed of might, over-reaches the king possessed of energy, by his might, by inviting another king superior to him (in energy), by hiring or purchasing heroic men. 8 And his army, richly endowed with abundant might, horses, ele-

The Ninth Book deals with preparations to be made before starting on an expedition and the precautions that have to be taken at the time.

9.1

The two Sections are to be found in ss. 1-33 and 34-52 respectively.

- 1 śaktideśa- etc. contains a list of all the topics discussed in this Book.
- 3 dandadvitiyo'pi: the point of api is, he may have no other resources except an army; particularly he may have no treasury. Meyer proposes adanda-'even without an army'. That is not likely. The next s. refers to this king's army though it may be small. And Kāmandaka, 18.44, does speak of the use of an army (dandam adhike nayet), though he gives the illustration of Paraśurāma.
- 7 tadvišistam: tad would refer to utsāha, not to bala or forces (Cn Cs). The king is already prabhāvavān; he will not be in need of superior forces. bhṛtvā is proposed for hṛtvā, in accordance with the explanation in Cs 'having hired for wages'.

phants, chariots and equipment, moves unhindered everywhere. 9 And winning over and purchasing men of energy, those possessed of might, even women, children, lame and blind persons, have conquered the world.

- 10 'Of (the powers of) might and counsel, might is superior.
 11 For, one, though richly endowed with the power of counsel, has only barren wisdom, if without might. 12 And lack of might ruins his works decided upon after deliberation, as lack of rain ruins the grains in the womb (of the earth),' say the teachers.
- 13 'No,' says Kautilya. 14 The power of counsel is superior. 15 For, the king with the eyes of intelligence and science, is able to take counsel even with a small effort and to over-reach enemies possessed of energy and might, by conciliation and other means and by secret and occult practices.
- 16 Thus the king, superior in each later one among the powers of energy, might and counsel, over-reaches (the enemy).
- 17 Place means the earth. 18 In that, the region of the sovereign ruler extends northwards between the Himavat and the sea, one thousand *yojana*s in extent across. 19 There the various types (of land are): forest land, village land, mountainous land, marshy land, dry land, level land and uneven land: 20 In them, he should start work that would augment his own strength.
- 21 That in which there is terrain suitable for the operations of one's own army and unsuitable for those of the enemy, is the best region, the opposite kind is the worst, alike to both is middling.

hr in its usual sense is little likely in the case of brave warriors. 9 utsāhavatah in the accusative as in Cn Cs is quite necessary. — jitvā 'winning over' rather than 'conquering in battle'.

15 prajñāśāstracakṣuḥ: prajñā is one eye and śāstra the other. — -prabhāvataś ca of the mss. is an obvious corruption. — yoga is described in Books 12 and 13 and upanisad in Book 14.

18 udicinam 'to the north,' i.e., from the sea in the south to the Himālayas in the north. tiryak is explained as 'between the eastern and the western ocean,' i.e., the extent breadthwise (Cn). The extent of 1,000 yojanas would be that of the breadth rather than that between the north and the south; it could possibly apply to both, but hardly to north-south alone. Usually, however, 1,000 yojanas is given as the extent from north to south; cf. kumārīpurāt prabhrti bindusarovadhi yojanānām dašašatī cakravartiksetram — Kāvyamīmāmsā, p. 92 (Kane, HD, III, p. 66, fn. 96). In either case one thousand yojanas which is a little more than nine thousand miles is far outside the actual measurements. It is quite impossible to accept navayojanasahasrapramānam as the reading on the strength of the quotation in Samkarārya on Kāmandaka, 1.39 (D. R. Bhandarkar, Some Aspects etc., p. 96). — The cakravartiksetra does not seem intended to include regions beyond the borders of India,

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- 22 Time is of the nature of cold, heat and rain. 23 Its various parts are: night, day, fortnight, month, season, half year, year and yuga. 24 In them, he should start work that would augment his own strength.
- 25 That in which the season is suitable for the operations of one's own army, unsuitable for those of the enemy, is the best time, the opposite kind is the worst, alike to both is middling.
- 26 'Of power, place and time, however, power is superior,' say the teachers. 27 For, one possessed of power is able to counter-act (the difficulties of) marshy or dry region and (those of) time with cold, heat or rain. 28 'Place is superior,' say some. 29 'For, a dog on land drags a crocodile, a crocodile in water drags a dog.' 30 'Time is superior,' say some (others). 31 'By day a crow kills an owl, at night an owl kills a crow.' 32 'No,' says Kautilya. 33 Power, place and time are mutually helpful.
- 34 Grown superior in these, keeping a third or a fourth part of the army as protection in the base, in the rear, and in forests on the borders and taking with him treasury and troops capable of carrying out the undertaking, he should march against the enemy, whose old stocks of food are exhausted, who has not yet collected the new food-grains and whose fort is unrepaired, on an expedition in Mārgaśīrṣa, with a view to destroy his monsoon crops and winter sowings. 35 He should march on an expedition in Caitra, with a view to destroy his winter crops and spring sowings. 36 He should march on an expedition in Jyeṣtha, against the enemy, whose stores of grass, timber and water are exhausted and whose fort is unrepaired, with a view to destroy his spring crops and monsoon sowings.
- 37 He should march in winter against a country which is very hot or which has little fodder, fuel and water. 38 He should march in summer against a country with showers of snow, or consisting mostly of deep water or with dense grass and trees. 39 He should march when it is raining against a country suited to the operations of his own army and unsuited to those of the enemy.

²⁷ nimna refers to water, watery regions.

³⁴ mūle, i.e., in the kingdom from which the expedition starts. 35 In this case there is no reference to the enemy's difficulties. Perhaps in Caitra, conditions described in kṣīṇapurāṇa- etc. are not expected to arisc. 36 Meyer thinks that Jyeṣṭha is absurd and that Śrāvaṇa was expected. But monsoon sowings so late as in Śrāvaṇa are not very likely. And s. 40 supports Jyeṣṭha, as it supports Mārga-śīrṣa and Caitra.

³⁸ tuṣāradurdinam 'always having showers of snow' (Cn Cs) is preferable to 'rich in mist and clouds' (Meyer).

THE ACTIVITY OF THE KING ABOUT TO MARCH [9.1.51

- 40 He should march on an expedition of long duration between the Mārgaśirṣa and the Pauṣa full moon days, on one of medium duration between the Caitra and the Vaiśākha full moon days, on one of short duration between the Jyeṣṭha and the Āṣāḍha full moon days, on the fourth (expedition), if desirous of burning up (the enemy) in his calamity. 41 Marching in (the enemy's) calamity has been explained in (the Section on) 'marching after making war'.
- 42 And in general the teachers advise, 'One should march in the enemy's calamity.' 43 'On accession of strength one should march, there being uncertainty as to calamities,' says Kautilya. 44 Or, he should march when by marching he would be able to weaken or exterminate the enemy.
- 45 At a time when excessive heat is over, he should march with elephant divisions for the most part. 46 For, elephants, sweating inside, become leprous. 47 And not getting a plunge in water or a drink of water, they become blind through internal secretion. 48 Hence in a region with plenty of water and when it is raining he should march with elephant divisions for the most part. 49 In the reverse case, (he should march) with troops consisting mostly of donkeys, camels and horses, in a region with little rain and mud. 50 In a region mostly desert, he should march with the fourfold army when it is raining.
- 51 He should regulate the expedition in accordance with the evenness or unevenness of the road, the presence of water or land on it, or the shortness or length of the march.
- 40 Mārgašīrṣīm etc.: the feminines refer to the full moon days. Cs reads Mārgašīrṣām etc., as names of months. But with antarcṇa 'between', particular days appear preferable to months. upoṣiṣyan (from upa-uṣ 'to burn') should be construed with vyasane rather than with the preceding hrasvakālām (as in Cn Cs). caturthīm is from Cn Cs. We have to supply yātrām yāyāt. The point seems to be that it is different from the three just mentioned, in not being restricted as to duration and season. The only occasion is the enemy's calamity. Meyer supplies pūrṇimām 'on the fourth full moon day'. But in view of antareṇa, the full moon days themselves are not to be thought of as days for starting. 41 vigṛhya yāne, i.e., in 7.4 above.
- 43 anaikāntikatva 'uncertainty' as to there being a vyasana at all and as to any benefit that can be derived from it.
- 45 atyuṣṇopakṣṇe kāle, i.e., when summer is past. Cs explains 'which ends in excessive heat, i.e., in summer,' and consequently reads ahastibalaprāyaḥ 'without elephants'. Such a negative description of troops to be used does not appear very likely. 49 Cs removes the stop after -pankam, so that alpavarṣapankam goes with maruprāyam. But the order of words favours the other punctuation.
 - 51 sama- etc. stand for samatva- etc.

52 Or, all expeditions should be of short duration in conformity with the lightness of the undertaking, or of long duration in conformity with the heaviness of the undertaking, and (then there may be) camping during rains in the foreign land.

CHAPTER TWO

SECTION 137 OCCASIONS FOR THE EMPLOYMENT OF (THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF) TROOPS

SECTION 138 MERITS OF EQUIPPING FOR WAR (THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF TROOPS) .

SECTION 139 THE WORK OF (EMPLOYING SUITABLE) TROOPS
AGAINST ENEMY TROOPS

- 1 Occasions for the employment of the hereditary, the hired, the banded, the ally's, the alien and the forest troops are:
- 2 When hereditary troops are in excess of what is required for the defence of the base; or, when hereditary troops, being over-strewn with treasonable men, might create trouble at the base; or, the enemy has plenty of loyal hereditary troops or a strong army, (hence) it is necessary to fight with military operations; or, because on a long march or on one of long duration, hereditary troops can bear losses and expenses; or, when plenty of loyal troops being got together, no trust can be placed in other troops, hired and other, through fear of secret instigations by the enemy against whom one is marching; or, when the strength of all (other) troops is depleted;—these are occasions for the use of hereditary troops.

52 yātavyāḥ is used as a substantive in the sense of yātrāh.

9.2

The three Sections are to be found in ss. 1-12, 13-24 and 25-29 respectively.

- 1 samuddāna is synonymous with upādāna.
- 2 maula is derived from mūla, the kingdom or the capital, of which the troops are natives. The word, however, conveys the sense of hereditary troops loyal to the dynasty from generation to generation. atyāvāpa: see 10.5.28. bahulānuraktasampāte: the mss. show -sampādite, which would imply that the many loyal troops of the vijigīşu create (sampādita) distrust in his mind (avišvāsa) regarding bhṛta and other troops. This would appear to be a very strange idea. Meyer therefore proposes bahulānanuraktasampādite 'created by many faithless troops'. With -sampāte, Cn Cs understand 'the coming (sampāta) of many loyal agents of the enemy and their engaging in upajāpa.' The idea would rather appear to be 'when a large number of loyal troops (of the maula type) can be collected (sampāta) and other troops cannot be trusted because of instigations etc.' The expression is a little odd.

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- (When he thinks), 'I have a large hired army and only a small hereditary army; or, the enemy has a small or disaffected hereditary army or a hired army consisting mostly of weak troops or without strong troops; or, it is to be a fight with diplomacy with slight military operations; or, the distance is short or duration brief, involving few losses and expenses; or, my army is with few treasonable men in it, with secret (enemy) instigations frustrated, and trustworthy; a small raid of the enemy is to be repelled; '-these are occasions for the use of hired troops.
- 4 (When he thinks), 'I have a large army of warrior bands, capable of being used at the base and in the expedition; the distance is short, the enemy, having mostly an army of warrior bands, intends to fight with diplomacy and military operations; use of armed forces is to be made; '—these are occasions for the use of an army consisting of bands.
- (When he thinks), 'I have a large allied army that can be used at the base and in the expedition; the distance is small and war with military operations is to be more extensive than diplomatic war; or, having first engaged in fight the forest troops or the site of the capital or the allied troops of the enemy with my allied troops, I shall then engage them in fight with my own troops; or, my undertaking is shared in common with the ally; or, the success of my undertaking is dependent on the ally; or, my ally is close to me, deserving to be favoured; or, I shall destroy the excess of traitors (in his troops) for him; -these are occasions for the use of an ally's troops.
- (When he thinks), 'I have a large alien army, with alien troops I shall fight at the site of the (enemy's) capital or against (his) forest troops, in that case I shall gain in either eventuality, as does the Candala in
- 3 alpāvāpam is proposed in the sense of 'with few treasonable men in it' as contrasted with atyāvāpam 'having many treasonable men in it' (10.5.28). Cs reads alpasampātam 'to which few secret agents from the enemy come'; Cn seems to have read alpasamghātam or -samvādam in this sense. alpasvāpam 'with little sleep' hardly suits even in a figurative sense. — prasāraḥ, primarily a foraging raid (10.2.5), refers to a raid or advance.
- 4 Whereas in bhṛtabala the soldiers are recruited individually, the śrenībala is a band of fighting men under its own leader. — dandabalavyavahārah: cf 8.1.34, 38. This seems to be an independent substantive. Cn Cs treat it as an adjective to $pratiyoddh\bar{a}$ ' who has to fight with troops (bala) sent to him by his enemy through fear of chastisement (danda).' Meyer renders dandabala by 'professional troops'.
 - atyāvāpam: see 10.5.28.
- 6 śvavarāhayoh etc.: cf. 7.1.34. atyupacitam vā etc. up to -kopaśankāyāh is misplaced. The passage does not state any occasion for the use of alien troops. That they are not, however, a late gloss is shown by the fact that they are quoted in 15.1.50. The words should preferably be read after s. 11 below. — anyatra etc. :

a fight between a dog and a boar; or, I shall make these the means of crushing the thorns among allied or forest troops; '— or, when they have grown excessively large, he should always station alien troops in close proximity (to himself) for fear of a revolt, except in case of fear of a rising in the interior; — and when the time for (one's own) fighting is later than that for the enemy's fighting;—these are occasions for the use of alien troops.

- 7 By that are explained occasions for the use of forest troops. 8 When useful for showing the way; when suited for the terrain of the enemy; when capable of counter-acting the enemy's mode of fighting; or when the enemy has mostly forest troops, (on the principle) 'let the Bilva-fruit be destroyed by the Bilva-fruit'; when a small raid is to be repelled;—these are (further) occasions for the use of forest troops.
- 9 An army not in one unit, coming from many regions, which, whether asked or unasked, gets ready with the object of getting plunder is the volunteer army, not given food and wages, carrying out plunder, doing labour and heroic deeds, liable to be divided by the enemies, (but) not liable to be divided if consisting mostly of persons from the same region, caste or profession, united and large in number. These are occasions for the use of (various kinds of) troops.
- 10 Of these, he should remunerate alien and forest troops with forest produce or with booty. 11 Or, when an occasion has arisen for the enemy to raise troops, he should keep alien troops in his control, or send them elsewhere, or render them ineffective, or keep them dispersed, or should release them when the time for them is past.
- 12 And he should obstruct such raising of troops by the enemy and secure that for himself.

i.e., if stationing the alien troops near him were to lead to a rising by mantrin, senā-pati etc. For abhyantarakopa, see 9.3.12. — śatruyuddhāvara- etc., i.e., when the vijigīṣu wants to fight after the enemy (from whom the troops are received) has finished his own fighting.

- 8 ariyuddhapratilomam: it is not necessary to read -apratilomam 'not averse to fighting' as Meyer proposes. pratiloma can mean 'able to fight against'.
- 9 anekam 'not in one unit,' i.e., 'not under one leadership '(Cn Cs). anekastham is read as in Cn. anekajātīyam would also be possible, but not anekajātīyastham as found in the mss. vilomavrsti- is an obvious corruption of vilopavisti-. Cn Cs interpret -pratāpakara as 'carrying out the king's orders'. That would be an unusual sense.
- 11 śatrubalam is proposed for śatrum; that is necessary. aphalam etc.: cf. 7.8.28. Cn Cs understand 'should not give the stipulated money for the troops.' But 'should render them unserviceable' appears better. vikṣiptam: cf. 7.9.22 etc.

- 14 Because of their having the same feelings as the king and because of constant enjoyment of his regard (for them), hereditary troops are better than hired troops.
- 15 Being always proximate to him, quick in rising for action, and under control, hired troops are better than banded troops.
- 16 Being native to the country, actuated by a common purpose, and having the same rivalry, resentment, success and gain (as the king), banded troops are better than allied troops.
- 17 Being not restricted as to place and time and because of having a common purpose, allied troops are better than alien troops.
- 18 Being under the command of Āryas, alien troops are better than forest troops. 19 These two have plunder as their objective. 20 When there is no plunder or when there is a calamity, there might be danger from them as from a snake.
- 21 'Among Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra troops, each earlier one is better for equipping for war than each later one, on account of superiority of spirit,' say the teachers. 22 'No,' says Kauṭilya. 23 By prostration, an enemy may win over Brāhmaṇa troops. 24 A Kṣatriya army, trained in the art of weapons, is better, or a Vaiśya or a Śūdra army, when possessed of great strength.
- 25 Therefore, he should raise troops keeping in mind 'The enemy has these troops; for them these would be counter-troops.'
- 26 That with elephants, machines and carts at the centre, equipped with lances, javelins, spears, reeds and arrows, is a
- 13 samnāhayitum 'to equip with armour,' i.e., to make it ready for fight, to use it for fighting.
- 14 tadbhāvabhāvitvāt: Cn Cs understand bhāva as 'existence', and explain 'whose existence depends on that of the king.' bhāva as 'feeling' would also do; cf. mitrabhāvin, aribhāvin etc., 7.18.29. -satkāra- from the commentators is preferable to -samskāra- of the mss. Cn reads -anurāgāt in place of -anugamāt. Kāmandaka, 19.4, satkārād anurāgāc ca seems to support that.
- 16 ekārlhopagatam: Cn understands the common purpose to be that of members of the śrenī among themselves, not as that of the vijigīṣu and the śrenībala. Cs includes aparimita-...-gamāc ca from the next s. at the end of this s., making ekārthopagamāt an adjective to mitrabalāt. That is hardly right. With that punctuation there would be no statement of reasons for preferring a mitrabala to an amitrabala.
- 18 Clearly forest troops had their own non-Āryan or Mleccha commanders. 20 ahibhayam: cf. 1.17.9.
- 24 bahulasāram 'possessed of great strength,' is understood as 'having many brave men in it' (Cn Cs Meyer).

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counter-force against elephant divisions. 27 The same, equipped mostly with stones, clubs, armours, hooks and 'hair-seizers', is a counter-force against chariot divisions. 28 The same is a counter-force against cavalry, or mailed elephants or mailed horses. 29 Mailed chariots and armoured infantrymen are a counter-force against the fourfold troops.

30 Thus he should carry out the raising of troops so as to withstand enemy troops, in conformity with the strength of his own troops, (and) in accordance with the various types of divisions (that may be necessary).

CHAPTER THREE

SECTION 140 CONSIDERATION OF REVOLTS IN THE REAR
SECTION 141 COUNTER-MEASURES AGAINST RISINGS OF CONSTITUENTS IN THE OUTER REGIONS AND IN THE INTERIOR

1 As between a small disturbance in the rear and a large gain in front, the small disturbance in the rear is of greater importance.

2 For, when he is gone, treasonable men, enemies and foresters augment the small disturbance in the rear on all sides, or a rising of

26 It would be better to read śakatagarbham separately as in the quotation in Śamkarārya on Kāmandaka, 19.26. Cn interprets śakaṭagarbha (in the compound) as 'a centre consisting of carts,' understanding hasti and yantra as two things or hastiyantra as one (machine against elephants? or machine to be used from elephants?). - hāṭaka is from the commentators for bharvaṭaka. It is 'of the size of the kunta and has three points' (Cn Cs). - venu 'a long whip' (Cn Cs). - śalya 'an iron club with spikes all round '(Cn Cs). It may also mean 'a dart, an arrow '. 27 kacagrahani: cf. 2.36.18. It is 'a long, broad bamboo with a hook' (Cn Cs). 28 tadeva 'i.e., rathapratibala, according to some, hastipratibala, according to others' (Cn). - varmino vā hastino 'śvā vā varminah: Cn Cs include these words in the next s. and explain 'mailed elephants against elephants, mailed horses against cavalry, mailed chariots against chariots and armoured infantrymen against infantry, this in general should be the counter-force against the fourfold army.' For this, the two $v\bar{a}s$ should be dropped or a $v\bar{a}$ read after kavacinah and $\bar{a}varaninah$. Even so the explanation does not appear convincing. The punctuation adopted is found in the quotation in Samkarārya on Kāmandaka, 19.26. — The ca after pattayah is from Cn; it seems to have dropped out because of the following ca- (in caturanga).

30 parasainyanivāraņam is an adjective to samuddānam. — angavikalpašah, i.e., according as one or the other of the four angas may be needed.

9.3

The two Sections are very closely related and it is difficult to find a demarcation line between the two.

2 prakṛti refers to such officers etc. as are mentioned in ss. 12,15,20 and 22 below. It may also refer to subjects. 3 bhṛtyamitrakṣayavyayāḥ is 'servants, allies, losses and expenses' rather than 'loss of servants and allies and expenses'. — bhṛte in

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the constituents (augments it). 3 And if this happens servants, allies, losses and expenses cat up the large gain in front even if obtained.

4 Therefore, the advantage from a gain in front being one in a thousand or (at most) one in a hundred when there is a disturbance in the rear, he should not march. 5 'Misfortunes, indeed, have the mouth of a needle' is a saying among the people.

- 6 In case of revolt in the rear, he should make use of conciliation, gifts, dissension and force. 7 For the gain in front he should make the commander-in-chief or the crown prince the commandant of the troops. 8 Or, if strong (and) capable of suppressing the revolt in the rear, the king (himself) should march to secure the gain in front.
- 9 In case of suspicion of a revolt in the interior, he should march taking with him the suspected persons, or in case of suspicion of a revolt in the outer regions, (taking with him) the sons and wives of these.
- 10 He should march after suppressing the (revolt in the) interior and appointing a regent with many types of troops under more than one chief, or he may not march. 11 That a revolt in the interior is a greater evil than a rising in the outer regions has been stated before.
- 12 A revolt by one of (the following), the minister, the chaplain, the commander-in-chief and the crown prince, is a revolt in the interior.

 13 He should overcome that by giving up his own faults or in accordance with the power and offence of the other. 14 In the case of the chaplain, even when his offence is great, the punishment should be confinement or exile, in the case of the crown prince, confinement or death, if there is another virtuous son.

G₁ is due to dittography. 4 'sahasraikīyaḥ etc.: Cn explains 'the gain in front is one-thousandth, while trouble in the rear is one-hundredth (with paścātkopaḥ nominative).' Thus Cs. vā does not seem properly explained in this. Cn has another explanation 'when the gain is one thousand and loss (-ayogaḥ) one; similarly when gain is one hundred and loss one.' Meyer (with paścātkope locative) has 'advantage from a gain is one in a thousand, or (at most) one in a hundred when there is trouble in the rear.' That explanation is adopted. In the text, paścātkopa should be read for paścātkope. For śataikīya in this sense, cf. Rājataraṅgiṇī, 8.1272 (śataikīyo yo 'vaśisto viplavakṣayite jane).

- 9 Cn Cs include abhyantarāvagraham kṛtvā at the end of this s., not at the beginning of the next. That is far from happy. avagraha can mean only 'suppression'; and the idea of keeping the wives and sons of bāhyas in charge of (avagraha) abhyantaras is quite unlikely. Moreover, s. 11 would have significance only if the words are read in s. 10.
 - 11 purastāt: in 8.2.3 above.
- 14 nigrahaḥ: 'death' (Cn Cs) seems clearly intended. tābhyān mantri-senāpatī vyākhyātau found in the mss. after s.14 are clearly an interpolation. The mantrin is not on the same footing as the purohita nor the senāpati on the same footing as the yuvarāja. Moreover, their case is specifically mentioned in s. 19.

- 15 He should overcome, with energy, a son, a brother or another member of the family, planning to seize the kingdom; if lacking in energy, by acquiescing in what is seized and by entering into a pact (with him), for fear that he might join the enemy. 16 Or, he should create confidence in him by grants of land to others like him. 17 Or, he should send (against him) troops superior to him, that are permitted to seize what they can, or a neighbouring vassal or a forest chieftain, (and) should over-reach him when he is fighting with these. 18 Or, he should make use of ways for securing a prince in disfavour, or secret ways of capturing an enemy's town. 19 By this are explained the minister and the commander-in-chief.
- 20 A revolt by any one of the officers of the interior except the minister and others is a rising of ministers of the interior. 21 In their case, too, he should use means as deserved.
- 22 A revolt by one of (the following), the chief of the countryside, the frontier officer, the forest chieftain and the vassal surrendering to force, is a revolt in the outer regions. 23 He should cause that to be suppressed through one another. 24 Or, if he is strongly entrenched in a fort, he should cause him to be suppressed by any one of (the following), a neighbouring prince, a forest chieftain, a pretender from his family or a prince in disfavour. 25 Or, he should make his ally win him over, so that he does not go over to the enemy.
- 26 Or, a secret agent should divide him from the enemy, (saying), 'This (enemy), looking upon you as a secret agent, will make you fight against the king himself, (and) with his object achieved, will employ you, in charge of troops, against his enemy or forest chieftain or in a difficult undertaking, or will post you at the frontier, separated from wife and sons. 27 If you fail in the fight (against your king),
- 15 putram: son other than the yuvarāja. utsāhena, i.e., by energetic action. 17 tadviśiṣṭam, i.e., superior to the rebel's troops. It can hardly mean 'commanded by the rebel' (Cs); that would be very risky. Meyer has '(after creating confidence) he should send him against one who is superior to him (tadviśiṣṭam) for plunder (svayaṅgrāham) or for execution of punishment (daṇḍam). 'This is unlikely. daṇḍa cannot be understood in this sense; in fact, svyaṅgrāham daṇḍam conveys a single idea. And Meyer's construction shows three accusatives (tadviśiṣṭam, enam and svyaṅgrāham) with preṣayet, which is very unlikely. 18 aparuddhādānam as in 1.18.13-16. pāragrāmikam yogam as in 13.1.
 - 20 antaramātya: 'dauvārika, antarvamšika and others' (Cn), i.e., palace officials.
- 22 $r\bar{a}$ stramukhya would principally include the $sam\bar{a}$ hartr. 24 $tatkul\bar{n}$ a and aparuddha show that the rebel has the status of a king; a vassal seems primarily thought of.
- 26 ayam refers to the enemy, whose aid the rebel has sought or is likely to seek 27 $tvay\bar{a}\ v\bar{a}\ samdhim\ krtv\bar{a}$: in this, no material gain is derived as in panyam

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he will sell you to the king, or making peace through you, will conciliate the king himself. 28 You should go to his best ally.' 29 If he agrees, he should honour him by the fulfilment of his wishes. 30 If he does not agree, the (agent) should divide the support from him, (saying), 'He is kept as a secret agent against you.' 31 And the secret agent should get him killed on the strength of letters carried by men condemned to death or through secret agents. 32 Or, he should win back warriors, who had left along with him, by granting their wishes. 33 The secret agent should (then) declare them as having been employed by him. 34 Thus is success to be achieved.

- 35 And he should cause these revolts to arise for the enemy, and suppress those against himself.
- 36 Secret instigations (to revolt) should be made to one who is capable of starting or putting down a revolt.
- 37 A response to instigations (to revolt) should be made to one who is true of promise, capable of helping in carrying out the undertaking and securing its reward and of saving in case of failure, and about him one should form a conjecture as to whether he has honest intentions or is a rogue.
- 38 A roguish officer from the outer regions instigates an officer in the interior (to revolt) with these motives: 'If after killing the king, he will make me accepted (as king), I shall make a double gain, death of the enemy and acquisition of land; or, the enemy will kill him, so that the party of kinsmen of the officer put to death and those frightened of punishment because of a like offence, will become for me a very large non-seducible party; or, the (king) will be suspicious even of others like him, and (then) I shall get his other chiefs killed one by one through letters carried by men condemned to death.'

karisyati; in either case, the rebel is handed over to his former master. 28 upakṛṣṭam vā: the vā is due to 5.5.14, where it is necessary. Cs reads gacchet as in 5.5.14; but the potential form is quite unlikely here. 30 samṣʿrayam is the enemy with whom the rebel has found shelter. 31 abhityakta: this is the usual form of the word for 'a person condemned to death'; that is adopted throughout on the authority of Cn Cs. The mss. show abhivyakta, which, if genuine, must be understood in the same sense. abhivyaktaṣʿāsana cannot mean 'a letter brought to light' (Meyer); cf. 9.6.29 and 13.4.28. A man condemned to death is preferred for carrying the implicating letter, as the enemy is likely to kill the person carrying it. 32 āvāhayet is the usual word; cf. 7.7.13. 33 tena, i.e., by their old master. As they have gone back, they are proved to have been his agents; the rebel also, therefore, must be one such.

36 This and the following ss. contain advice to rebels; the king comes in only as a victim of their intrigues.

38 pratipādayiṣyati : ef. 1.10.3. — tulyadoṣa- etc. need not be understood as an adjective to hatabandhupakṣaḥ ; in view of ca, a separate idea is better. —

- 39 Or, a roguish officer from the interior instigates an officer in the outer regions (to revolt) with these motives: 'I shall appropriate his treasury or I shall destroy his troops, or I shall get the wicked king killed by him; when he responds I shall make the officer from the outer regions fight against the enemy or forest chieftains (with the idea), "Let his army get stuck, let his enmity be firmly fixed, then he will be in my power, then I shall conciliate the king himself or shall seize the kingdom myself"; or, after imprisoning him, I shall secure both—the territory of the officer from the outer region and the territory of the king; or, inviting the officer from the outer region, when he has become hostile (to the king) and is full of trust (in me), I shall get him killed; or, I shall seize his base when it is without him.'
- 40 One with honest intentions, however, instigates (others to revolt) in the interests of those who live with him.
- 41 One should make a pact with one of honest intentions; agreeing 'So let us do,' one should over-reach a roguish one.
 - 42 Understanding all this,

the wise (king) should guard others from others, his own people from his own people, his own people from others, and others from his own people, and always guard himself from his own people and from others.

bhūyānakṛtya- is as proposed by Meyer for bhūyāt na kṛtya- of the mss. and bhūyān kṛtya- of Cn Cs. akṛtya implying that they cannot be seduced from his side by the king is preferable to kṛtya implying that he will have to make efforts to win them over to his side. — asya, i.e., of the king. — abhityaktaśāsanena: see s. 31 above.

- 39 vairam is apparently with the king. svayam vā rājyam: Cn Cs think that this is the kingdom of the $b\bar{a}hya$; that, however, is referred to in $s\bar{u}nyam$ vā asya $m\bar{u}lam$ later on. This is the master's kingdom. $\bar{a}v\bar{a}hayitv\bar{a}$: the invitation to come is as a fellow-conspirator.
- 40 sahajīvyartham: sahajīvin seems to refer to fellow officers who live in the same state and are fed up with the king. Cs makes sahajīvī 'living in close association with fellow-conspirators' an adjective to kalyāṇabuddhiḥ and understands artham' what is beneficial 'as the object of upajapati. That is not happy.
- 42 evam upalabhya is to be construed with the stanza; it is thus that the vijigişu is brought into relation with the discussion on rebel conspirators. pare sve: Cn remarks that pare in effect refers to $b\bar{a}hyas$ and sve to abhyantaras. That is possible in the context; 'those hostile' and 'those loyal' would, however, appear more likely. $rakṣy\bar{a}h$ can hardly mean 'should keep the roguishness etc. of one a secret from the others' (Cs). That is impossible with $\bar{a}tm\bar{a}$ with which also rakṣyah is to be understood.

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CHAPTER FOUR

SECTION 142 CONSIDERATION OF LOSSES, EXPENSES AND GAINS

- 1 The diminution of draught-animals and men is loss. 2 The diminution of money and grains is expense.
- 3 He should march when the gain is superior, because of many good points, to these two.
- 4 That which can be seized, which can be recovered, which is pleasing, which is rousing to anger, which requires a short time, which involves small losses, which requires small expenses, which is great, which leads to further increase, which is safe, which is lawful and which is foremost,—these are the excellences of gain.
- 5 That which is easy to obtain and protect, and cannot be recovered by the enemies is the (gain) which can be seized. 6 In the reverse case, it is one that can be recovered. 7 One, seizing it or staying there, meets with destruction.
- If, however, he were to see, 'After seizing the recoverable gain, I shall cause (the enemy's) treasury, army, stores and fortifications to disappear; I shall make the mines, the produce forests, the elephant forests, water-works and trade-routes denuded of all valuables; I shall impoverish his subjects, carry them away or conciliate them by suitable means, (while) the (enemy) will afterwards rouse them by contrary means; or, I shall sell this (gain) to his rival or make his ally or a prince in disfavour accept it; or, remaining here, I shall take steps against the harassment of my ally's or my own territory by robbers and enemies; or, I shall make his ally or support realise his deficiency,

9.4

³ bahuguṇaviśiṣṭe 'superior (to kṣaya and vyaya) because of many excellences '; we can also understand 'greater by many times (than the two).' But s. 24 shows that guṇa refers to qualities like ādeyatva etc.

⁷ tatros'ho: the lābha thought of is that of land.

⁸ apavāhayiṣyāmi: cf. 8.2.8. That makes āvāhayiṣyāmi of Cs little likely. The idea is, when the enemy recovers it, he would find it impoverished and deserted. — āyogena: this seems contrasted with pratiyogena that follows and may be understood as 'suitable means', while pratiyoga may be 'contrary means'. Meyer has 'application (to duty)'; Cn has 'not taking away their gains'. āyoga may also mean 'employing (them)' as in 9.5.11. — param, i.e., when the enemy tries to recover it; his ways would alienate the subjects, who would then support the vijigīṣu and prevent the recovery. Cn seems to have read paraḥ, though its explanation has 'paścāt'. — mitram aparuddham vā: the mitra is that of the enemy (Meyer) not of the vijigīṣu (Cs); the idea is to alienate the enemy's ally from him. — vaigunyam grāhayiṣyāmi: vaigunya is usually 'hostility'; cf. 5.6.8; 8.1.11. But here it seems to mean 'deficiency'. The idea is, the fact that his land is occupied by the vijigīṣu would show the enemy's weakness to his ally, who would

so that being disaffected with the enemy, he will accept a member of his family; or, I shall honour him and return the land to him, so that I shall have an ally bound to me and acting with me for a long time; in such cases, he should seize even a recoverable gain.

- 9 Thus the gains that can be seized and that can be recovered have been explained.
- 10 The gain, being obtained by a rightcous (king) from an unrighteous one becomes pleasing to his own people and to others. 11 The reverse rouses to anger.
- 12 A gain, not being obtained on the advice of ministers, leads to a rising, (as they think), 'He has been made to undergo losses and expenses by us.' 13 A gain, being obtained in disregard of treasonable ministers, leads to a rising, (as they think), 'Having achieved his object, he will destroy us.' 14 The reverse is the gain that pleases.
 - 15 Thus the gains that please and that rouse have been explained.
- 16 Because it can be secured by merely going (there), the gain is one requiring a short time. 17 Because it can be secured by diplomacy, it is one involving small losses. 18 Because there is only the expense of food, it is one requiring small expenses. 19 Because

thereupon be amitravirakta and extend his support to another member of the enemy's family (tatkulīnam) who may have a claim to the throne. Thus Cs; this explanation appears the least unsatisfactory. For this amitraviraktam should be read in the text as in Cs, in place of amitram viraktam. With the latter reading, amitra could refer to the enemy's enemy and virakta could qualify tatkulīna; even then a vā would be necessary to show the option between amitra and tatkulīna. Cn mentions pratipatsye or pratipatsyate as the reading, explaining 'I shall get that ally (tad) for myself, as he is disaffected with the enemy (amitraviraktam)'; or 'that ally will take that (tad, i.e., the enemy's kingdom), being disaffected with the enemy.' In neither explanation does tatkulīnam find a place. Meyer has 'I shall bring his ally to harm (vaigunya)' and then separately 'that (tad, i.e., gain) will fall to the lot of one hostile to him (amitram) or to one disaffected with him (viraktam) or to a pretender from his family (when the gain is ultimately recovered from me).' It is doubtful if tad can refer to the lābha, and if pratipatsyate could have lābhah for its subject.

12 lābho 'labhyamānaḥ kopako bhavati: the situation is: the king fails in an adventure recommended by the ministers and has incurred losses and expenses in the expedition. This is kopaka. This word is understood in Cs as 'producing hatred (pradveṣa) in the king and fear in the ministers'; Cn has 'bhayahetuḥ (cause of fear among the ministers).' Though the sense suits, that is not the usual meaning of kopaka. It would mean either 'rousing to anger,' which does not suit, or 'leading to a rising' by the ministers, who apparently think of revolting in order to forestall the king's anger; there may be hopes of the rising succeeding, as the king is weakened by losses and expenses. This latter meaning for kopaka is necessary in the next s. There the dūṣyas would rise in order to prevent the king from obtaining the gain and then wreaking his vengeance on them. 14 viparītaḥ, i.e., labhyamānaḥ in the first case and alabhyamānaḥ in the second (Cs).

- 24 When the gain is equal (from two expeditions), he should consider the place and the time, powers and means, agreeableness and disagreeableness, speed and absence of speed, nearness and distance, the present and consequences in the future, valuableness and continuousness, and abundance and richness in qualities, and seize that gain which is possessed of many good points.
- 25 Hindrances to gain are: passion, anger, nervousness, pity, shyness, ignobleness, haughtiness, a sympathetic nature, regard for the other world, piousness, illiberality, abjectness, jealousy, contempt for what is in the hand, wickedness, lack of trust, fear, failure to counter-act, inability to endure cold, heat and rain, and fondness for auspicious days and constellations.
 - 26 The object slips away from the foolish person, who continuously consults the stars; for an object is the (auspicious) constellation for (achieving) an object; what will the stars do?
 - 27 Men, without wealth, do not attain their objects even with hundreds of efforts; objects are secured through objects, as elephants are through elephants set to catch them.
- 22 praśastopādānāt refers to such ways of acquisition as conquest, purchase etc. 23 sāmavāyikānām anirbandhagāmitvāt: this seems to mean that one of the confederates receives a higher share in the joint expedition, without restrictions or objections by others. Cn seems to understand 'a higher share (bhāgāntarotkṛṣṭaḥ) because there is no restriction as to each one's gain (svasvalābhotkarṣaniban-dhābhāvāt).' In 9.7.59, apuroga is used of a confederate who is not the leader. We need not, however, understand that the puroga or leader alone gets a puroga share. Any one of the confederates may appropriate a higher share if the others do not object. Meyer has 'one in which one need not march (gam) together with the allies any further,' which hardly suits.
- 24 priyāpriyau, i.e., priyatva and apriyatva of the lābha. sāratvasātatye: for the contrast implied in the two terms, Cn compares 7.12.16.
- 25 kārunya, according to Cn Cs, leads to aversion to fighting, while sānukro-satā leads to forgiveness for an offender. hrīh: it prevents the use of force when the offenders cry for mercy (Cn Cs); it is the noble feeling that recoils from soiling itself with evil (Meyer). For atyāgitvam, Cs reads atyāsitvam 'consuming more than one's share'. apratīkārah is from Cn; Cs reads anikārah 'absence of contempt for the enemy'.
- 27 nādhanāh is from Cs for sādhanāh of the mss. The latter has to be understood as sādhanavantah and even then yatnaśatair api cannot be construed naturally with it. The Mahābhārata, 12.8.20 (adhanenārthakāmena nārthah śakyo vivitsatā, arthair arthā nibadhyante gajair iva mahāgajāh) supports nādhanāh.

CHAPTER FIVE

SECTION 143 DANGERS FROM (OFFICERS IN) THE OUTER REGIONS AND THE INTERIOR

- 1 The use of peace and other policies not in the prescribed manner is wrong policy. 2 From that spring dangers (of conspiracy or revolt).
- 3 Originating in the outer region and responded to from the interior, originating in the interior and responded to from the outer region, originating in the outer region and responded to from the outer region, (and) originating in the interior and responded to from the interior: these are the (four types of) conspiracies.
- 4 Where those in the outer regions instigate those in the interior, or those in the interior instigate those in the outer regions, in these cases where there is association between the two types, success over the one who responds is of greater advantage. 5 For, those who respond are full of guile, not those who instigate. 6 When they are subdued, the instigators would not be able to instigate others. 7 For, those in the interior are difficult to instigate for those in the outer regions, or these for the former. 8 There is a waste of great effort for the others and a continuous advantage for oneself.
- 9 When those in the interior respond, he should make use of conciliation and gifts. 10 Giving a position and showing honour is conciliation. 11 Favours and exemptions or employment in works is gifts.

9.5

As Meyer observes apad in this Chapter refers to conspiracies against the king or the state.

- 1 ayathoddeśa-, i.e., not as recommended in Book 7 above.
- 3 For abhyantara and bāhya, see 9.3.12,22.
- 4 ubhayayoge: ubhaya refers to abhyantara and bāhya, at the two ends of the realm. 5 suvyājāh: Cn explains vyāja by 'abhyupagamanimitta, an indication that he agrees', such as a bribe received, etc. That is not very happy. Meyer's 'easy to cheat (for the authorities) 'seems less likely. It seems we have to understand 'full of deceit or guile'. Success over them may be not easy, but for that very reason would be specially advantageous. 8 This s. seems to mention further advantages of overcoming the pratijapitrs. The instigators are referred to in paresam, while atmanah refers to the king. Cn, however, regards the s. as stating the reason why upajāpa, though difficult, should still be attempted: thereby the efforts of others are frustrated and one attains one's own objective. This hardly seems intended. Cs adds anyah after ātmanah and explains '(if the pratijapitrs were to reveal the plot to the king) there is great loss of effort (of the upajapitr), a great gain, viz., favour of the king to the others (pareṣām, i.e., pratijapitrnām) and the opposite of that (anyah), i.e., disaster for himself (i.e., the upajapitr). This appears even less likely. There is no reference to the revealing of the plot; and anya can hardly be 'opposite, reverse'.

- 12 When those in the outer regions respond, he should make use of dissension and force. 13 Secret agents, posing as friends of those in the outer regions should communicate to them (the following, as) secret information spied out, 'This king intends to over-reach you through these posing as treasonable men; beware.' 14 Or, secret agents, posing as treasonable men, employed with the treasonable men (in the interior), should divide the treasonable men from those in the outer regions or those in the outer regions from the treasonable men (in the interior). 15 Or, assassins, insinuating themselves should slay the treasonable men with weapon or poison. 16 Or, after inviting (to the capital) those from the outer regions, they should get them killed.
- 17 Where those in the outer regions instigate others in the outer regions or those in the interior instigate others in the interior, in these cases, where there is association at one end only, success over the instigator is of greater advantage. 18 For, when the evil (of treason) is removed, there remain no treasonable men. 19 But when treasonable men are over-come, the evil again makes others treasonable.
- 20 Therefore, when those in the outer regions are instigators, he should make use of dissension and force. 21 Secret agents, posing as friends, should say, 'This king himself intends to seize you; you are at war with this king; beware.' 22 Or, assassins, insinuating themselves in the troops of the envoy of the one responding, should strike at their weak points with weapon, poison and so on. 23 Then secret agents should accuse the one responding (of that crime).
- 13 vã here as well as in s. 21 has no significance. cāram: cf. 1.12.7 etc. Hence 'use of a secret trick (by the king)' (Cn Cs) is less likely. 14 dūṣyān bāhyair bhedayeyuḥ: it seems that the instrumental is used in the sense of the ablative. In any case, 'through the bāhyas who have instigated' (Cn Cs) is quite unlikely in the context where the bāhyas are the pratijapitṛs. The instigators are the abhyantaras, referred to here as dūṣyas. 15 anupraviṣtāḥ: insinuating themselves in their service is primarily meant, though the idea of first winning their confidence is also possible. Cf. 1.17.39 etc. 16 ghātayeyuḥ: the singular would have been better, with the king as subject. As it is, sattrinaḥ may be the subject, hardly tīkṣṇāḥ in view of the causal.
- 17 ekāntayoge from Cn Cs is read in conformity with ubhayayoge above. ekānta is one end of the realm, either the interior or the outer regions. 18 doṣa is the evil of treason that is there in the upajapitṛs. 19 dūṣya, i.e., pratijapitṛ.
- 21 ādātukāmaḥ: i.e., the king will seize you through the pratijapitṛs who are really his agents. 22 This s. describes the use of daṇḍa and hence is unrelated to s. 21; tataḥ found in the mss. has therefore no place in this s. and it is proposed to drop it. It seems to have been repeated here from the next s. by some copyist. The attempts in Cn Cs to explain tataḥ are far from satisfactory. cṣām, i.e., upajapitṛnām. 23 abhiśamseyuḥ: the accusation is of murder of the upajapitṛs.

- 24 When those in the interior instigate others in the interior, he should make use of the means as deserved. 25 He should use conciliation in the case of one discontented though showing signs of contentment, or the reverse of this. 26 Honouring under the pretext of (appreciating) integrity or capability or by showing consideration in a calamity or on a happy occasion, is the use of gifts. 27 Or, an agent posing as a friend, should say to them, 'In order to find out your feelings, the king will put you to test; you should disclose them to him.' 28 Or, he should divide them from each other, saying, 'So and so is thus whispering to the king about you'; thus is dissension (to be brought about). 29 And force should be used as in 'the infliction of (secret) punishment'.
- 30 Of these four conspiracies, he should first deal with that in the interior. 31 That a rising in the interior is a greater evil than a rising in the outer regions because of danger as from a snake has been stated before.
 - 32 Of the conspiracies, he should know each earlier one as a less serious conspiracy than each later one, or that starting from strong men as more serious, the reverse as less serious.

CHAPTER SIX

SECTION 144 (DANGERS) CONNECTED WITH TRAITORS AND ENEMIES

- I (That) from the treasonable only and (that) from the enemies only: this is the two-fold unmixed (danger).
- 2 In the case of unmixed (danger) from the treasonable, he should use against the citizens and the country people the (various)
- 27 upadhāsyati refers to the upadhās of 1.10. tad, i.e., 'your mind' (Cn Cs). upajapati seems used in the literal sense 'whispers'. Meyer proposes upajalpati, since the former has a technical sense. That, however, is not necessary. 29 dāndakarmikavat, i.e., as in 5.1 above.
- 30 abhyantarām 'where the abhyantaras are the upajapitrs' (Cn); 'where both instigators and responders are abhyantaras' (Meyer). 31 purastāt in 8.2.8.
- 32 $p\bar{u}rv\bar{u}m$ as enumerated in s. 3 above. Meyer, preferring the faulty $\hat{s}uddhim$ for $gurv\bar{v}m$ translates 'should know the removal $(\hat{s}uddhi)$ of the conspiracies to be, however $(v\bar{u})$, easy $(laghv\bar{v}m)$ against opponents (viparyaye) when it (i.e., $\hat{s}uddhi$) springs from the powerful (king, balavadbhyah).' This is quite unlikely.

9.6

We have to supply $\bar{a}padah$ as the substantive in the title, as is clear from the colophon after 9.7.66. Meyer understands 'events, situations', with the result that he is often misled in this Chapter. Cn Cs supply $b\bar{a}hy\bar{a}bhyantar\bar{a}h$ as well; but that is not intended.

means excepting force. 3 For, force cannot be used against a multitude of people. 4 Even if used, it might not achieve its object and at the same time might bring on another disaster. 5 But against the leaders among them, he should act as in 'the infliction of (secret) punishment'.

- 6 In the case of unmixed (danger) from enemies, he should seek success by conciliation and other means in that place where the enemy, whether the principal or the subordinate, is. 7 Success over the principal is dependent on the king, success over dependents is dependent on ministers, (and) success over the principal and the dependents is dependent on both.
- 8 Because the treasonable and the non-treasonable have joined hands, it is mixed (danger). 9 In the case of mixed (danger) success (should be sought) through the non-treasonable. 10 For, in the absence of the support, the supported do not exist.
- 11 Because allies and enemies have become one, it is (danger) mixed with the enemy. 12 In the case of enemy-mixed (danger), success (should be sought) through allies. 13 For, peace is easy to make with an ally, not with an enemy.
- 14 If the ally were not to desire peace, he should constantly instigate him secretly. 15 Then dividing him from the enemy through secret agents, he should win the ally. 16 Or, he should win over
- 1 śuddhā in the singular is necessary. This āpad is contrasted with āmiśrā and paramiśrā. In this Chapter āpad is more 'danger' than 'conspiracy'.
- 2 paureşu jānapadeşu vā: this shows that sedition is not restricted to officers. In this, dūṣyaśuddhā differs from bāhyābhyantarā āpad; also there is no upajāpa apparent in it. 5 mukhyeşu: these would be ring-leaders, not necessarily officers.
- 6 śatruśuddhā is nothing more than an actual or impending attack by an enemy, including intrigues by him to oust the king. yataḥ śatruḥ etc.: Cn Cs have 'on whom is dependent (yataḥ) the enemy or his minister (pradhānaḥ) or an officer other than the minister (kārya), these being the ally etc., the enemy himself and the minister respectively.' This seems doubtful; yataḥ can hardly mean 'yasmin adhīnaḥ'. And the next s. does not speak of śatrusiddhiḥ, as would have been expected if three persons were intended in this s. It seems therefore that pradhānaḥ kāryo vā is merely in elucidation of śatruḥ the principal enemy, i.e., the enemy king in person, or his kārya, i.e., dependent, such as a minister or general. yataḥ ... tataḥ may refer to the place or the situation, 'there ... where' or 'in respect of that ... which'. 7 āyatta is used as a substantive as well as an adjective in this s. Meyer remarks that this is strange wisdom. Over-zealousness in classification is responsible for what are often quite obvious statements.
- 8 $d\bar{u}sy\bar{a}d\bar{u}sy\bar{a}n\bar{a}m$: both the $d\bar{u}sya$ and the $ad\bar{u}sya$ are state subjects. For the time being they have joined in a conspiracy.
- 11 paramiśrā: Meyer thinks that parimiśrā with a preposition would be better as the name, like āmiśrā. That is possible, but not certain. 13 Cf. 7.13.17.

the (king) situated on the border of the confederacy of allies. 17 When one situated on the border is won over, those situated in the centre become divided. 18 Or, he should win over one situated in the centre. 19 When one situated in the centre is won over, those situated on the border do not remain united.

- 20 And he should use such means as would secure the defection of the support of these (confederates).
- 21 He should conciliate a pious king by extolling his birth, family, learning and conduct, by (mention of) relationship of ancestors (of both) or by rendering service and refraining from injury in all three times.

 22 He should win over by conciliation one whose energy has left him, one weary of war, one whose efforts are frustrated, one distressed by losses and expenses and by the expedition abroad, one seeking another (ally) with (his) integrity, one afraid of another or one of honourable intentions, attaching prominence to friendship.
- 23 He should win over a greedy or a weakened king with gifts after first making an ascetic or a chief stand surety. 24 Gift is five-fold: relinquishing what is due, acquiescence in what is taken, return of what is received, bestowal of one's own goods not given before, and permission to seize what he can from others' goods. 25 This is making gifts.
- 26 He should divide one frightened because of mutual hatred or enmity or afraid of seizure of his land, through one of these (causes of fear). 27 (He should divide) a timid king by (threat of) reprisals, 'After making peace, this king will take action against you; his ally has been sent (to negotiate); you are not in the peace (negotiations) even.'
- 28 Or, when for any king goods from his own land or from another's land should come as presents, secret agents should spread reports,
- 16 Cs reads mitrāmitrasamghasya for mitrasamghasya. But that is not necessary. It is a confederacy of allies from their own point of view, not that of the vijigīṣu.
- 20 Cn has vaiṣām for caiṣām; that might appear better. āśraya is the chief among the confederates.
- 22 It seems that kalyāṇabuddhim is to be construed with maitrīpradhānam only, not with nivṛttotsāham and others. Thus Meyer.
- 23 -avasthāpanā has reference to giving a surety. $\it tapasvin$ and $\it mukhya$ are to be distinguished ; cf. 7.17.8.
- 27 pratighātena 'by counter-attack,' i.e., by a threat of reprisals. nisṛṣṭām: cf. nisṛṣṭārtha dūta in 1.16.2. saṃdhau vā nābhyantaraḥ: we have to understand tvam as the subject. The idea is, you have no place in the negotiations, and, further, the terms of the treaty will not cover you, so that you will be at the mercy of the vijigīṣu.
- 28 panyāgāra is 'a present, primarily consisting of goods'; cf. 7.15.20. cārayeyuḥ, i.e., spread the report as news secretly spied out. 30 grāhayeyuḥ 'should

- 'These have been received from the king against whom we are to march.' 29 When (the report) is spread wide, he should send a letter with a man condemned to death, 'These goods have been sent by me to you as a present; attack your confederates or desert them; then you will receive the rest of the stipulated amount.' 30 Then secret agents should make the others realise, 'This was given by the enemy.'
- 31 Or, an article, well-known as belonging to the enemy, should go, unknown, to the conqueror. 32 Secret agents appearing as traders from him should sell it among enemy chiefs. 33 Then secret agents should make the others realise, 'This commodity was given to the enemy.'
- 34 Or, after favouring with money and honour persons who have committed great crimes, he should employ them against the enemy with weapon, poison and fire. 35 Then he should make one minister (seemingly) desert. 36 Taking his sons and wife under protection, he should have it proclaimed, 'They were killed at night.' 37 Then the minister should disclose those (criminals) one by one to the enemy. 38 If they were to act as directed, he should not get them seized. 39 Or, if unable (to do as told), he should get them seized. 40 Securing the position of a trusted counsellor, the (minister) should speak of the necessity of (the enemy) being on his guard against the chief (confederate). 41 Then an agent in the pay of both should get an order of the enemy for the chief's destruction seized.

make them understand'. The object can hardly be śāsanam here, in view of aripradattam, which can be understood of the goods only.

- 31 satruprakhyātam panyam is curious; satroḥ prakhyātam would be better. avijñātam, i.e., in effect, by theft. 33 grāhayeyuḥ: it can hardly mean 'have the goods seized by the guards' (Cn Cs). There is no need for seizing the goods. aripradattam: this may mean 'given to the enemy' by the particular confederate, or 'given by the enemy' to the traders. As arī is the vijigīṣu, with whom the particular confederate is thus proved to have been in league, the former meaning appears slightly better.
- 34 mahāparādhān: these seem to be ordinary criminals, who are pardoned and in return for that are asked to act as agents for killing the enemy. These are not likely to be amātyas, as Cn Cs think. amātyas would hardly be asked to serve as assassins. 35 ekam amātyam: this in reality is a very trustworthy minister who is assigned the task of bringing about bheda. He could not be mahāparādha in reality. One is reminded of Bhāgurāyāṇa in the Mudrārākṣasa. niṣpātayet: the desertion of the minister and the consequent disappearance of his wife and sons are only a pretence, used to outwit the enemy; he might think the desertion etc. to be real. For this trick, cf. 13.3.11-14 below. 37 tān, i.e., the mahāparādhas. prarāpayet 'point out, disclose'; cf. 4.5.18; 11.1.49. This is done one by one as they may be found to have failed in their mission of secretly killing the enemy. Thus the amātya wins the enemy's confidence; he is not concerned with the fate of the mahāparādh as at the hands of the enemy. 38 The two ss. 38 and 39 are pointless; it seems

- 42 Or, he should send a letter to one possessed of the power of energy, 'Seize the kingdom of so and so; our treaty stands as before.' 43 Then secret agents should have it seized among the enemies.
- 44 Or, (agents) should destroy the camp or supplies or allied troops of one (of the confederates). 45 Speaking of friendship with the others, they should suggest to him, 'You are sought to be destroyed by these.'
- 46 Or if a great warrior or an elephant or a horse of some one were to die or to be killed or carried away by secret agents, (other) secret agents should declare him as destroyed by others. 47 Then he should send a letter to the one who is accused, 'Do more of this; then you will receive the rest of the stipulated amount.' 48 Agents in the pay of both should get that seized.
 - 49 When they are thus divided, he should secure one of them.
- 50 By that are explained (dissensions among) commandersin-chief, princes and commandants of armies.
- 51 And he should make use of dissensions as for oligarchies.
 52 This is the work of creating dissensions.
- 53 Secret agents should dispose of a fiery or energetic enemy or one in a calamity or one entrenched in a fort, by weapon, fire, poison and so on, or one of them (should do so) because of ease in doing it. 54 For, an assassin, single-handed, may be able to achieve his end with weapon, poison and fire. 55 He does the work of a whole army or more.
- 56 This is the group of four means. 57 In that, each earlier one is lighter than each later one. 58 Conciliation is one-fold.

likely that they are a marginal gloss that has got into the text. 41 amitrasā-sanam mukhyopaghātāya is from Cn. amitra is the enemy with whom the vijigīṣu's minister is staying. The letter may be addressed to his officer or agent; 'to another confederate' (Cn) appears less likely. — grāhayet is here 'cause it to be seized,' i.e., let it fall into their hands. The ubhayavetana does this, as he is really the vijigīṣu's agent, working also as the enemy's agent. Cf. 1.12.18-19. — The idea is to divide the enemy from the chief confederate and others.

- 45 itareşu maitrīm bruvāṇāḥ: it is better to construe these words with the following than with the preceding ghātageyuḥ (as in Cs). For the ghāta, mention of friendship with others is unnecessary, but it is necessary for the upajāpa.
- 50 tena etc.: this means that the senāpati of one should be similarly divided from the senāpati of the other confederates and so on. This is when the armies of the confederates are led not by the respective kings, but by senāpati, kumāra and so on.
- 51 sāmghikam bhedam, i.e., ways of dissension recommended in the case of samghas in 11.1 below.
- 53 tīkṣṇam: cf. 1.14.5. sthitaśatrum: see 7.10.7. saukaryatah 'because of the ease in doing'. 55 sarvasamdoha, i.e., the full army mobilised; cf. 6.2.38 etc.

- Gifts are two-fold, being preceded by conciliation. 60 Dissension is three-fold, being preceded by conciliation and gifts. 61 Force is four-fold, being preceded by conciliation, gifts and dissension.
- 62 Thus has been declared (what is to be done) against those who attack.
- 63 But the same means (are to be used) against those in their own territories. 64 Special steps, however, are: 65 He should frequently send well-known envoy-chiefs with presents to one of the (confederates) who are in their own territories. 66 They should urge him to a treaty or to kill another (confederate). 67 If he does not agree, they should announce, 'We have made a treaty.' 68 Agents in the pay of both should communicate that to the others (adding) 'This king of yours is treacherous.'
- 69 Or, if any of them has fear of or enmity towards or hatred of another, (agents) should divide him from the other, (suggesting), 'This king is making peace with your enemy; presently he will overreach you; make peace yourself very quickly and try to restrain him.'
- 70 Or, establishing relationship by accepting or giving (girls) in marriage, he should divide those not so related.
- 71 He should cause their kingdoms to be destroyed by a neighbouring prince or a forest chieftain or a pretender from his family or a prince in disfavour, or (destroy) their caravans, herds and forests or troops approaching to render help. 72 And guilds of castes, supported by one another, should strike at their weak points, and secret agents (should strike) with fire, poison and weapon.
- 57 laghisthah: the comparative would have been better. laghu 'light,' i.e., easy to employ.
- 62 abhiyuñjāneşu: when the kings forming the confederacy have already attacked his territory.
- 65 abhijñātān dūtamukhyān: these envoys would be well-known to the other kings as those coming from the vijigīṣu. 67 kṛto naḥ samdhiḥ: apparently the denial of the king would not convince the other confederates, because the envoy was known to have frequently gone to him with panyāgāra.
- 69 Meyer construes purā tvām atisamdhatte 'before he deceives you' with the following clause; cf. 1.14.8.
 - 70 āvāhavivāhābhyām : see 7.15.22.
- 71 rājyāni ghātayet is from Cn's comment ' janapadādīni'; Cs has rājyam in the singular. — sārthavrajāṭavīr vā is from Cn Cs for -tavībhir vā of the mss. The instrumental in the latter is unlikely. These are objects to be destroyed, not means of destruction. -- abhisrtam 'come for rescuing' the rājya, sārtha etc. 72 jātisamghāh 'corporations or guilds of castes'. This could hardly be a reference to the ruling samghas, Licchivika and others mentioned in 11.1.4-5 below, as Cn Cs understand it. Clearly, castes were spread over many states and often caste loyalties transcended those to the state. These are intended to be exploited.

73 And in case of enemy-mixed danger, he, being deceitful, should kill the enemies by secret practices like a (fowler using a) cloak and a bait (to lure birds) by creating confidence and offering a bait.

CHAPTER SEVEN

- SECTION 145 (DANGERS) ASSOCIATED WITH ADVANTAGE, DIS-ADVANTAGE AND UNCERTAINTY (AS TO EITHER)
- SECTION 146 OVERCOMING THESE (DANGERS) BY THE USE OF THE DIFFERENT MEANS
- 1 Immoderation, such as passion and so on, rouses one's own constituents, wrong policy (rouses) foreign (constituents). 2 Both those amount to demoniacal conduct. 3 A change in one's cwn people is revolt.
- 4 In cases that cause advancement of the enemy, there may be advantage that is dangerous, disadvantage or uncertainty.
- 5 That gain, which when not obtained leads to the prosperity of the enemy, or when obtained is recoverable by enemies, or when being

73 vītamsagila- is proposed as the most likely reading. vītamsa is given in the lexicons the sense of 'a trap or snare for binding or catching birds and deer' or 'a cloak worn by fowlers to create confidence among birds and deer (when catching them).' The latter meaning is adopted as in Cn Cs. gila is 'a bait'. The idea is that the viji-gīṣu should act like a fowler who uses a vītamsa or a gila for catching birds. The two correspond to viśvāsena and āmiṣeṇa respectively. Meyer, with -gala, explains 'like a fowler who produces from his throat (gala) imitative luring cries.' That does not sound very likely. — paramiśrāyām: the paramiśrā āpad is nothing but an attack by confederates. The situation is similar to that in 7.8.1-4 (yātavyavṛttiḥ) and in 7.14.1-11, the present passage on paramiśrā being in fact only an expansion of the latter Section (hīnaśaktipūraṇam).

9.7

The two Sections are found in ss.1-66 and 67-84 respectively. In the first of the two Sections we have to supply *āpadaḥ* as the substantive.

1 $k\bar{a}m\bar{a}dir\,utsekah$: see 1.15.11. — $b\bar{a}hyah$ are foreign states, hardly state officers in the outer regions (Cs). The contrary of $b\bar{a}hyah$ here is $sv\bar{a}h$, not $athyantar\bar{a}h$. 3 Cn Cs read ss. 3 and 4 together, explaining 'revolt, which is change in the feelings of the subjects, when it leads to the prosperity of enemies, is an $\bar{a}pad$, which may be an artha or an anartha or a samsaya.' It seems, however, that s. 3 only defines kopa and is quite unconnected with the discussion on $\bar{a}pad$ s that follows, in which $svajanavik\bar{a}ra$ has no place at all. A kopa can hardly be described as an $\bar{a}pad$ which may be an artha. Moreover, ss. 5-6 show that $\bar{a}padartha$ is to be understood as a single idea ' $\bar{a}padar\bar{a}pah$ arthah, an advantage that may turn out to be disastrous'; a kopa cannot be so described. It is also possible that s. 3 is a marginal gloss.

5 aprāptah: because you do not seize the artha, the enemy grows stronger; its non-seizure is an āpad. 6 sāmantānām āmiṣabhūtah sāmantavyasanajah: one

obtained gives rise to losses and expenses, is a dangerous advantage. 6 For example, a gain which is a tempting morsel for neighbours being caused by a calamity of the neighbour, or a gain sought by the enemy obtainable (by him) by its very nature, or a gain in front contested by a rising in the rear or an enemy in the rear, or a gain repugnant to the circle (of kings) because of the extermination of an ally or the violation of a treaty, is an advantage that is dangerous.

- 7 The rise of danger from one's own people or from enemies is a disadvantage.
- 8 Concerning these two, 'Is it an advantage or no?' 'Is it a disadvantage or no?' 'Is the advantage a disadvantage?' 'Is the disadvantage an advantage?' is uncertainty. 9 (Thus) stirring up an ally of the enemy is uncertainty as to whether it is an advantage or no. 10 Inviting alien troops with money and honour is uncertainty as to whether it is a disadvantage or no. 11 Seizing land with a strong neighbour is uncertainty as to whether the advantage is a disadvantage. 12 Marching after joining forces with a superior king is uncertainty as to whether the disadvantage is an advantage.

 13 Among these, he should act in the case of the uncertainty associated with advantage.
- 14 Advantage followed by advantage, advantage without a consequence, advantage followed by disadvantage, disadvantage follow-

sāmanta is in a calamity; other sāmantas are waiting to benefit from it. If you do not seize the artha, some other sāmanta will; that will be an āpad (as this other sāmanta will be growing strong). It seems that this illustrates śatruvrddhim aprāptaḥ karoti of s. 5. Cn Cs, however, understand two types here, āmiṣabhūtaḥ and -vya-sanajaḥ, though there is no vā. — śatruprārthito etc.: this illustrates prāptaḥ pratyādeyaḥ etc. of s. 5. Hence the vā after svabhāvādhigamyo should be dropped as in Cn Cs.

- 7 svatah parato vā bhayotpattih: Cn Cs have 'danger when a gain (artha) is taken away from oneself and danger arising while one is seizing a gain from one's enemy (paratah)'. It is not easy to see why artha should be brought in at all. The latter at least would be an āpadartha, not an anartha pure and simple.
- 8 artho na veti (in this s.) and ss. 11-12 are from the commentators. There can be no question about their authenticity. artho 'nartha iti, i.e., is what appears to be an artha in reality an anartha? 9 śatrumitram utsāhayitum: the enemy's ally is roused against him; this would ordinarily be an artha, as it would weaken the enemy and place him in danger. The uncertainty arises because the enemy's ally may not be quite reliable. 10 Inviting enemy troops is ordinarily an anartha; but if treated with honour etc., they may prove loyal. 11 Seizing land is an artha, but if it has strong neighbours, it may turn out to be an anartha. 13 arthasam-śayam: Cn Cs understand only the first type. The third type could also be understood.
- 14 anubandhaṣaḍvargaḥ from Cn Cs is quite obviously necessary. anubandha is 'a consequence.' 16 phalena, i.e., for money received when giving troops. 17

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ed by advantage, disadvantage without a consequence, disadvantage followed by disadvantage: this is the group of six consequences. 15 Seizing the enemy in the rear after uprooting the enemy (in front) is advantage followed by advantage. 16 Helping the neutral king with troops in return for reward is advantage without a consequence. 17 Uprooting a buffer king of the enemy is advantage followed by disadvantage. 18 Helping the enemy's neighbour at the side with treasury and troops is disadvantage followed by advantage. 19 Desisting after stirring up a weak king is disadvantage without a consequence. 20 Desisting after rousing a superior king is disadvantage followed by disadvantage. 21 Of these, each earlier one is better for attaining than a later one.

- Thus has been laid down the nature of enterprises.
- The presentation of advantages simultaneously from all sides is the danger of advantages from all sides. 24 The same, when contested by the enemy in the rear, is the danger of uncertainty concerning advantages from all sides. 25 In the case of these, success (should be sought) by securing the support of the ally and the rear ally.
- 26 The appearance of danger from enemies from all sides is danger of disasters from all sides. 27 The same, when checked by the ally, is the danger of uncertainty concerning disasters from all sides. 28 In the case of these, success (should be sought) by securing the support of a mobile enemy and the rear ally or taking the steps (recommended) against enemy-mixed danger.
- 29 When there is gain from one side and gain from another side, that is danger of advantage from two sides. 30 In that and in the

antar is the antardhi, as in Cn Cs. Exterminating another king is ordinarily an artha, but if thereby you remove the buffer between you and a powerful king, that would be an anartha. 18 Giving kośa or danda without receiving anything in return is an anartha, but if it helps in putting down your enemy, that is a result to be welcomed. 21 pūrvaḥ pūrvaḥ śreyān: Cn Cs understand in the last three cases (anarthatrivarga) the earlier one as preferable for avoiding. That cannot be right. An anartha leading to artha cannot be 'more fit to avoid' than one without a further consequence and most certainly not than one leading to a further anartha. All six cases are arranged in a descending order for purposes of preference.

- 22 kārya 'the enterprise,' i.e., whether it is to be undertaken or not.
- 23 samantato'rthāpad: this is an āpad apparently because one cannot decide which artha to secure first. But it is an apad only technically. 25 tayoh: it would be better to read tasyām; for, the case of samantato'rthā is referred to in ss. 30-31 below and steps recommended here do not apply to it.
- 28 tayoh: here, too, tasyām would be better. For, measures in the case of samantato'narthā are stated in ss. 33-36 below. — calāmitra is an enemy who has no fort. Cf. 7.10.9. Such a foe, being easy to manage, should be tackled first; ef. 7.14.10. - paramiśrāpratīkāraḥ as recommended in 9.6.11 ff.

one with advantages from all sides, he should march to obtain the object possessed of the excellences of a gain. 31 If excellences of the gains are equal, he should march to secure that which is prominent or proximate or not brooking delay or in which he may be deficient.

- 32 When there is disaster on one side and disaster on another side, that is danger with disasters on two sides. 33 In that and in the one with disasters on all sides, he should seek success through allies. 34 In the absence of allies, he should overcome the disaster on one side with a less important constituent, the disaster from two sides with a more important (constituent), the disaster from all sides with his base. 35 If that is impossible, he should leave everything and go away. 36 For, the coming back to the throne of one continuing to live is observed as in the case of Suyātra and Udayana.
- 37 When there is gain on one side and an attack on the kingdom on the other, that is danger with advantage and disaster on the two sides. 38 In that, he should march to secure that object which would overcome the disaster. 39 Otherwise, he should ward off the attack on the kingdom. 40 By that is explained the danger with advantage and disadvantage on all sides.
- 41 When there is disaster on one side and uncertainty as to advantage on the other, that is danger with disaster and uncertainty as to advantage on the two sides. 42 In that he should first overcome the disaster; when that is overcome, (he should seek) the uncertain gain. 43 By that is explained the danger with disaster and uncertainty as to gain on all sides.
- 44 When there is gain on one side and uncertainty as to disaster on the other, that is danger with gain and uncertainty as to disaster
- 31 anatipātinam, i.e., urgent. ūno vā yena bharet: Cs has 'which, if not secured, would render him weak'. A more direct 'in which he may be deficient' appears, however, preferable.
- 34 laghīyasyā, i.e., by surrendering daṇḍa before koṣa, the latter before durga and so on. mūlena, i.e., by a surrender of the kingdom. 35 The mss. show samutsrjya for sarvam utsrjya. The latter is definitely better and is supported by the quotation in the Nāṭyadarpaṇa, p. 36. 36 jīvataḥ: Cs reads jīvatā to correspond to the instrumental in Suyātrodayanābhyām. It would perhaps be better to read dayanayoḥ in the genitive in the latter word, as the quotation in the Nāṭyadarpaṇa (p. 36) has it. Suyātra is Nala (Cn Cs).
- 39 $v\bar{a}rayet$: Meyer proposes $k\bar{a}rayet$, 'otherwise, he would be bringing about an attack on his kingship.' In spite of hi, however, this does not seem likely. The idea is simply, if the artha is not $anarthas\bar{a}dhaka$, steps to ward off the anartha itself should be taken first.
- 44 Meyer thinks that a s. to the effect 'in that case, he should try to overcome the real anartha and then the things that threaten anartha', is missing after s. 44. If at all a missing s. is to be understood, it should rather be to this effect, 'in that

on the two sides. 45 By that is explained one with gain and uncertainty as to disaster on all sides. 46 In that, he should strive to rescue each earlier one among the constituents from the possibility of disaster in preference to a later one. 47 For, it is better that the ally remain in peril of disaster, not the army, or the army, not the treasury. 48 If the entire (constituent) cannot be saved, he should strive to rescue parts of the constituents. 49 Then of constituents consisting of men, (he should rescue) the more numerous or the loyal, excepting the sharp and the greedy, of material constituents, that of high value or of great benefit. 50 By peace or staying quiet or the dual policy, (he should rescue) the insignificant ones, by the opposite (of these) the important ones. 51 And of decline, stationary condition and advancement, he should seek to attain each later one in preference to an earlier one. 52 Or, he may see a special advantage in the future by seeking decline and others in the reverse order.

- 53 Thus has been laid down place (in the matter of dangers).
- 54 By this is explained meeting with gain, disaster and uncertainty at the start, in the middle or at the end of an expedition.
- 55 And because gain, disaster and uncertainty are immediately effective, it is better to obtain gain at the start of an expedition, (as) it becomes (useful) for overcoming the enemy in the rear and his ally, for reimbursing losses, expenses and marches and for guarding the base. 56 Similarly, a disaster or an uncertainty becomes bearable to one staying in his own territory.
- 57 By this is explained meeting with gain, disaster and uncertainty in the middle of an expedition.
- 58 At the end of an expedition, however, after weakening an enemy fit to be weakened or exterminating one fit to be exterminated,

he should first overcome the anarthasamśaya and then proceed to secure the artha.' 49 tīkṣṇa-: it is not necessary to read kṣṇṇa- for this, as Meyer proposes. Cf. 1.14.5; 9.6.53. 50 laghūni ... gurūṇi: this seems common gender to cover prakṛti feminine and avayava masculine. 52 prātilomyena, i.e., by seeking kṣaya rather than sthāna or vṛddhi and so on. For a full discussion of this, see 7.1.20 ff.

- 54 yātrādi-: ādi is necessary in view of the discussion that follows. upa-samprāptum 'to meet with'.
- 55 nirantarayogitvāt, i.e., because artha etc. produce their effect or results immediately. Cs's 'in case all three simultaneously present themselves' seems unlikely. Meyer's 'because the three are intimately connected with each other' seems also little likely. pārṣnigrāhā- etc.: having three separate expressions in the locative appears better in view of ca than having a single long compound. 56 svabhūmiṣṭhasya: this is the case yātrādau.
- 58 The point seems to be that karśana etc. should be resorted to only if it leads to artha, not if it leads to anartha or samśaya. parābādha: the para is some other enemy, hardly the karśanīya etc. himself.

- 59 But for one not the leader among confederates, it is better to meet with disaster or uncertainty in the middle or at the end of an expedition, because of its affecting (all) without restrictions.
- 60 Material gain, spiritual good and pleasures: this is the triad of gain. 61 Of that, it is better to attain each earlier one in preference to each later one.
- 62 Material loss, spiritual evil and misery: this is the triad of disaster. 63 Of that, it is better to remedy each earlier one in preference to each later one.
- 64 'Is it material gain or loss?' 'Is it spiritual good or evil?' 'Is it pleasure or pain?': this is the traid of uncertainty. 65 Of that, it is better to secure the first alternative after overcoming the second (in each case).
 - 66 Thus has been laid down time (in the matter of dangers). Thus ends the topic of dangers.
 - 67 The means of overcoming these are:
- 68 In the case of a son, a brother or a kinsman, overcoming (dangers from them) through conciliation and gifts is appropriate, in the case of leaders among citizens, country people and in the army, through gifts and dissension, in the case of neighbouring princes and forest chieftains, through dissension and force. 69 This is the natural method; in the reverse case, it is unnatural.
- 70 In the case of allies and enemies, success (should be sought) by a combination (of the means). 71 For, the means help each other.
- 59 apurogasya, i.e., an ordinary or subordinate member of the confederacy.

 anirbandhagāmitvāt is proposed as in 9.4.23 and as suggested by Meyer. The idea seems to be that the anartha etc. would not be restricted to him, and would be shared by the confederates with him, or, if he alone is in trouble, the confederates would come to his rescue. Meyer, however, explains 'because then there is no urgent need further to march', which seems hardly meant. Cn Cs, with anibandha-, explain 'because he can go elsewhere being unrestricted in his movements.' This is doubtful. The confederate could hardly be so free.
- 60 It is significant that artha is placed before dharma; cf. 1.7.6-7; also s. 81 below.
- 66 ityāpadah is a sort of colophon for all three Sections 143-145 which deal with the various kinds of āpads.
- 69 anulomā, i.e., natural. It can hardly mean 'to be used in normal cases, i.e., when the sons etc. are obedient' (Cn Cs). In that case, there is no need to use any remedy at all. viparyaye, i.e., when sāmadāna is not used of sons etc., but bhedadaṇḍa instead.

- 72 Conciliation used in the case of ministers under suspicion of the enemy renders unnecessary the use of the remaining (means), gifts used in the case of treasonable ministers, dissension used in the case of confederates, (and) force used in the case of the powerful (render other means unnecessary).
- 73 And in accordance with the seriousness or lightness of the dangers, there is restriction or option or combination (in the use of means). 74 With this (means) only, not with another: this is restriction. 75 With this (means) or with another: this is option. 76 With this and with another: this is combination.
- 77 Of these, the use of one means at a time is four-fold, so is the use of three at a time; the use of two at a time is six-fold; the use of four at a time is single. 78 Thus there are fifteen (ways of using the) means. 79 The same number (of using them are there) in an unnatural way.
- 80 Of these, success with one means is single success, with two, two-way success, with three, three-way success, with four, four-way success. 81 And since material wealth is the root of spiritual good and has pleasure for its fruit, that attainment of material gain which continuously results in spiritual good, material gain and pleasures, is attainment of all gains.

These are ways of overcoming (dangers).

- 82 Caused by providence are the troubles: fire, floods, disease, epidemic, panic, famine and demoniacal creation. 83 Overcoming them is through prostration before gods and Brahmins.
 - 84 When there is excessive rain or drought or demoniac creation, then the means of overcoming it are rites prescribed in the Atharvaveda and undertakings by holy men.

Herewith ends the Ninth Book of the Arthasastra of Kautilya 'The Activity of The King About to March'

- 72 dūṣyāmātyeṣu: with this also śatroḥ is to be understood. saṃghāteṣu, i.e., confederacies.
- 79 $pratilom \bar{a}h$, i.e., when the means are used in an unnatural or wrongful manner.
- 81 dharmamūla- is a Tatpuruṣa compound rather than a Bahuvrīhi. Cf. ss. 60-61 above.
- 82 Cf. 4.3.1 and 8.4.1. Strictly speaking, fire, floods etc. are $p\bar{\imath}danas$ (8·4), hardly $\bar{a}pads$. The reference to them here is unnecessary. $pram\bar{a}rah$ is clearly the same as maraka. vidrava 'running away in panic'. $\bar{a}sur\bar{\imath}$ srshih: rats, serpents, spirits etc.
- 84 ativṛṣṭir avṛṣṭir vā is from Cn; the reading of the mss., asṛṣṭir atisṛṣṭir $v\bar{a}$, is impossible.

BOOK TEN

CONCERNING WAR

CHAPTER ONE

SECTION 147 SETTING UP OF THE CAMP

- 1 On a site, approved by experts in the science of building, the commandant, carpenters and astrologers should cause the camp to be set up, circular, rectangular or square or in conformity with the nature of the ground, with four gates, six roads and nine divisions, endowed with a moat, a rampart, a parapet, gates and towers, when there is danger and when the army has to halt.
- 2 In the ninth part to the north of the central (should be erected) quarters for the king, one hundred *dhanus*es in length and half that in width, (with) the royal residence in the western half of that. 3 The palace guards should be stationed on the borders. 4 In front (should be erected) the audience-hall, to the right the treasury and offices for issuing orders and carrying out works, to the left the place for elephants, horses and chariots intended for the king's use.

10.1

The description of the *skandhāvāra* shows that it is a strongly fortified cantonment area where troops raised are stationed over a long period before starting on an expedition. The standing army, at other times, must also have been stationed there.

- 1 vāstuka-: cf. 1.20.1; 2.3.3. nāyaka is the general who marches at the head of the army; cf. 10.2.4, also 10.6.45. navasamsthānam: apparently, samsthāna is the same as bhāga in the next s. According to an alternative explanation in Cn, samsthāna is a square formed by intersection of roads. That fits in with six roads. khāta- etc.: cf. 2.3.4 ff. sāla here is the same as prākāra there. bhaye sthāne ca: these are the two occasions when the setting up of a camp is recommended.
- 2 madhyamasya uttare navabhāge: perhaps we have to understand this in the same sense as vāstuhṛdayād uttare navabhāge in 2.4.7, i.e., in the ninth part to the north of the central one-eighty-first part on the paramasāyika plan of 81 squares. And by the ninth part we have probably to understand the one-eighty-first part lying to the north of the central square. Cf. Śamkarārya on Kāmandaka, 17.5, rājavāstukam: the quotation in Śamkarārya shows rājavāstuniveśam kārayet in place of rājavāstukam; that reading is adopted in the Punjab edition. Whereas rājavāstuka refers to palace grounds as a whole including the upasthāna.

- 5 Beyond this at a distance of one hundred *dhanuses* from each other (there should be) four enclosures, with carts, stretches of thorny branches, pillars and the parapet.
- 6 In the first (enclosure) in front, the councillor and the chaplain (should be encamped), to the right the magazine and the kitchen, to the left the store for forest produce and the armoury. 7 In the second, (there should be) quarters for hereditary and hired troops, for horses and chariots and for the commander-in-chief. 8 In the third, elephants, banded troops and the camp-superintendent (should be encamped). 9 In the fourth, the labour-corps, the commandant and allied, alien and forest troops under the command of their own officers (should be encamped). 10 Traders and courtesans (should be encamped) along the highways.
- 11 Outside (the camp), fowlers and hunters (should be stationed) with drums and fire, as well as secret guards.
- 12 In the path of the march of enemies he should cause to be placed (hidden) wells, concealed hollows and barbed wires.
- 13 He should cause a change of guards to be made in the eighteen groups. 14 And he should cause watches to be kept (even) by day in order to discover spying.
- etc. of s. 4, antahpura refers to the actual royal residence. Cf. 1.20.1. 3 antarvamšikasainyam: cf. 1.20.13 and 1.21.3. 4 śāsanakaraṇa can hardly be the akṣaṇaṭala (Cn Cs); the record-cum-audit office (2.7) is hardly likely to be shifted to the camp. Moreover, śāsana would seem to refer to the decrees or orders, the issuing of which would be so necessary in the camp. Similarly, kāryakaraṇa can hardly be 'dispensation of justice' (Cn Cs), in view of the separate mention of the upasthāna. It may be the staff headquarters for control of the camp.
- 5 methīpratati 'stretches of thorny branches' (Cn Cs). methī means 'a post, particularly at the threshing floor'; but in view of stambha, which is also used here, that sense is not very likely. Meyer understands pratatistambha as one, 'posts with creeper-entanglements'.
- 6 mahānasam: this is meant for the palace, hardly for the entire camp; cf. 2.4.8. 7 It is possible but not certain that in this and the following two ss., we have to understand purastāt, dakṣiṇataḥ and vāmataḥ respectively of the three groups mentioned in each s. 8 śrenyaḥ: this clearly refers to the śrenībala; a reference to Kāmboja, Surāṣṭra and other saṃghas of 11.1.4-5 (Cn) can hardly be understood. praśāstā: see s. 17 below. He is obviously not the same as the praśāstr mentioned in 5.3.5 and 1.12.6.
- 12 $\bar{a}p\bar{a}te$ 'in the path of advance'. $k\bar{u}pa$ etc.: cf. 2.3.15. $kantakin\bar{\imath}$ here is probably the same as kantakapratisara there. Cs explains by 'planks with thorns'. $kantakin\bar{\imath}$ is also the name of some thorny plants.
- 13 aṣṭādaśavargāṇām: Cn Cs have 'the six kinds of troops, each threefold because of the leaders, padika, senāpati and nāyaka (of 10.6.45).' This is not very convincing. Perhaps the positions mentioned in ss. 6-9 above can be understood, with aśvaratha as one, and mitra-, amitra- and atavī-bala each separately.

- 15 He should prohibit disputes, drinking, festive gatherings and gambling and secure the guarding of the seal.
- 16 The regent shall arrest a soldier returning from the army without a written order.
 - 17 The camp-superintendent should march ahead on the road, and should make carpenters and labourers prepare arrangements for protection and for water in the proper manner.

CHAPTER TWO

SECTION 148 MARCH FROM THE CAMP

SECTION 149 GUARDING (TROOPS) DURING THE CALAMITIES OF THE ARMY AND AT THE TIME OF ATTACK

1 After calculating the halts on the way in villages and in forests, in accordance with the supply of fodder, fuel and water, and (calculating) the time for camping, halting and marching, he should start on the expedition. 2 He should cause food and equipment to be transported in double the quantity required to meet the case. 3 Or, if unable to do so, he should assign it to the troops, or should store them at intervals on the route.

Or, places mentioned in ss. 2-4 may also be included for arriving at the number eighteen.

- 15 mudrārakṣaṇam may refer to allowing entry or departure only with a sealed pass, also perhaps to preventing fraud in connection with the seal.
- 16 senānivṛttam from Cn Cs alone makes sense. śūnyapālah also from the commentators is preferred to antapālah of the mss. As the camp is obviously still inside the state territory, a deserter from it is hardly likely to come across the antapāla. As the king is in the camp, a śūnyapāla or regent would be appointed to deputise for him.
- 17 rakṣaṇāni is from Cn Cs for grahaṇāni; the latter may mean 'taking up positions' for the halts on the way. But rakṣaṇa 'securing protection' on the way appears preferable. The commentators understand levelling of roads, removal of wild animals etc. yāyāt should have come before samyak, for the latter and rakṣaṇāni are to be construed with kārayet.

10.2

The two Sections are to be found in ss. 1-16 and 17-20 respectively. skan-dhāvāraprayāṇam is 'march from a camp' rather than 'march to a camp' (Cn Cs).

1 sthāna 'a halt of two or three months' (Cn), 'a long halt of a month or a fortnight' (Cs); āsana 'a halt of five or six days' (Cn Cs); gamana 'halt for the night' (Cn Cs). 3 āyojayet from Cs is preferable to prayojayet; Cn seems to have read sainyeşu vāyojayet.

- 4 In front (shall march) the commandant, in the centre womenfolk and the king, on the flanks horses as repellers as with arms, at the end elephants or extensive raids, in the rear the commander-inchief shall march (and) encamp.
- 5 Getting supplies from forests on all sides is a raid. 6 The flow (of equipment and men) from one's own country is supplies. 7 An ally's army is help. 8 The place where the women-folk are kept is a place of retreat.
- 9 In case of an attack in front he should march in the crocodile array, in the rear, in the cart array, on the two flanks, in the thunder-bolt array, on all sides, in the 'excellent-on-all-sides' array, in a region where march in a single file alone is possible, in the needle array.
- 10 In case of two alternate routes, he should march in a region suitable to himself. 11 For, those on terrain suitable to themselves effectively resist those on unsuitable terrain.
- 12 One *yojana* is the slowest (rate of marching), one and a half middling, two *yojana*s fastest, or, the rate of march may be as possible (for him).
- 4 The arrangement of ss. 4-12 is as in Cs, except that paścāt senāpatir yāyāt niviseta is read at the end of s. 4, not after s. 8 as in Cs., also with sarvato in s. 5 instead of after prasāravrddhir vā (s. 4) as in Cs. Thus we get a description of the order of the march in one place. - bāhūtsāraḥ: this seems to convey the idea of spreading out on the flanks and repelling an attack in those quarters, as a man does with his arms. Cf. 10.4.13-14. - cakrāntesu refers to the rear ends of the army (Cn Cs). - prasāravrddhir vā: this is an option to hastinah. It is horses that carry out prasāravīddhi (10.4.13). If there are no elephants, raids by horses in large numbers are recommended. If cakranteşu in the sense of the rear ends is to be understood with this, sarvatah is less likely to be used with it. - senāpatir yāyāt niviśeta: a ca seems obviously necessary. Cs, however, reads paryāyāt (for yāyāt) and explains 'in the rear (paścāt) of their respective army-divisions (svasvasenāpaścādbhāgakramāt) '. It is doubtful, however, if more than one senāpati is meant in this passage. Cf. 10.1.7 above. paryāyāt cannot be understood in the sense of ' by turns' as Meyer in the Nachtrag suggests. yāyāt is found in Kāmandaka, 19.47.
- 5 vanājīvaḥ 'living on the forests'; vana, it seems, stands for all places where supplies of food can be found, and prasāra seems to imply a foraging raid; often, however, an ordinary raid seems intended. 8 This definition of apasāra is not found in the mss. It may well be that all the definitions in ss. 5-8 are derived from some marginal gloss. Those of vīvadha, āsāra and apasāra are uncalled for here.
- 9 abhyāghāte seems to refer to an expected attack from the enemy, rather than one planned by the vijigīṣu himself. makareṇa: for the arrays, see 10.6.8 ff.
 - 11 pratilomah 'contrary', i.e., able to fight effectively against the others.
- 12 With sambhāvyā cāgatiḥ, Meyer translates 'and in accordance with that, one should calculate the arrival (āgatiḥ, at a particular place) '. This is unlikely.

- 13 When steps have to be taken against an enemy in the rear, his ally, the middle or the neutral king, who may give shelter (to the enemy) and destroy (one's) rich lands; when a difficult path has to be cleared; when the treasury, the army, allied, alien or forest troops, labourers or a suitable season has to be awaited; when (he thinks) 'There will come about a deterioration in the fortifications made (by the enemy), in his stores and in his precautions for protection, a feeling of despondency in his purchased troops and a feeling of despondency in his ally's troops; or, the instigators are not very quick; or, the enemy will fulfil my desires; '(then) he should march slowly, in the reverse case, quickly.
- 14 He should make the army cross waters with (the help of) elephants, pillar-bridges, embankments, boats, rafts of wood and bamboos and by means of gourds, leather baskets, skins, canoes, treestems and ropes. 15 In case the ford is seized (by the enemy), he should get (the army) across at another place at night with the help of elephants and horses and lie in ambush.
- 16 And in a waterless region, he should make carts and animals carry water according to their capacity, in conformity with the length of the route.
- 17 He should guard his own army when on a long march in a wilderness, when without water, when lacking in fodder, fuel and water,
- 13 āśrayakārī sampannaghātī: these are not independent occasions when a slow march is recommended (as in Cn Cs), but are only adjectives qualifying pārsnih āsāraķ etc. The idea is, when any of these is likely to give shelter to the enemy or to lay waste one's rich lands during one's absence, precautions are necessary beforehand (pratikartavyah); hence a slow march is recommended. āśrayakārī can hardly mean 'when one is seeking a shelter for oneself' or sampannaghātī 'when one plans to destroy the rich territory of the enemy.' In the latter case, it is not clear why one should march slowly. Meyer, understanding the passage up to pratikṣyāḥ independently of sanair yāyāt, translates, 'precautions have to be taken against the āśrayakārī and the sampannaghātī, no less than against the pārṣṇi etc.' This is unlikely in the absence of api and yathā ... tathā. And there is little doubt that the entire passage is to be understood with sanair yayat. - vṛṣṭir of the mss. (for viștir) would seem to be included in rtu. - upajapitaro natitvarayanti: these are his own agents trying to wean the enemy's officers etc. from their loyalty to him-These can hardly be 'the treacherous elements of the enemy 'with whom the vijigişu is conspiring (Cn Cs). upa-jap is 'to instigate to treason in order to win over to one's side '. - abhiprāyam etc.: this will be without having to fight.
- 14 stambhasamkrama: see 7.10.32. carmakaranda 'a wicker basket covered with hide '(Cn). dṛti 'animal skin filled with water '. 15 For sattra, see 10.3.24 below.
 - 16 adhvapramāṇena from Cn Cs is preferable to the locative -pramāṇe.
- 17 anudakam seems superfluous when the next expression has -udakahīnam. Cn remarks that this shows that waterlessness is the greatest calamity. Meyer pro-

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when marching on a difficult road, when broken by an attack, when exhausted by hunger, thirst or a long march, when engaged in crossing rivers deep in mud and water or climbing up and down valleys and mountains, when crowded on a road where march in a single file alone is possible or in a region uneven with mountains or in a narrow place, when without equipment whether in the camp or on the march, when engaged in meals, when tired after a long march, when sleeping, when troubled by diseases, epidemics or famine, when infantrymen, horses and elephants are ill, when not on terrain suitable to it, or when any of the calamities of an army has befallen it; and he should strike at the enemy's troops (when they are in these predicaments).

- 18 Ascertainment of the strength of the enemy's army (is made) by counting the number of troops marching out along a route allowing a march in a single file only, their fodder, foodstuffs, beds spread out, cooking fires laid out, banners and weapons. 19 He should conceal (all) that in his own case.
 - 20 After securing a mountain fort or a forest fort in the rear, with means of retreat and reserves, he should fight and encamp on land suitable to himself.

CHAPTER THREE

SECTION 150 VARIOUS TYPES OF COVERT FIGHTING

SECTION 151 ENCOURAGING ONE'S OWN TROOPS

SECTION 152 DISPOSITION OF ONE'S TROOPS TO COUNTER-ACT ENEMY TROOPS

1 When he is superior in troops, when secret instigations are made (in the enemy's camp), when precautions are taken about the season,

poses to read anugatam 'pursued', or dīrghakāntārāmanuṣyakam 'when in the wilderness superhuman beings (amanuṣya) threaten it'. This last is quite fanciful. — The participle in -praskannam (Cn Cs) is preferable to the noun -praskandanam. — -gambhīrāṇām goes with nadī- only in the compound. Cn seems to have read -gambhīranadī-, the whole in a single compound. That might appear better. — -avayāne, as Meyer says, might appear better than -apayāne. — abhūmiṣṭham is from Cn Cs for abhūyiṣṭham; the latter is unlikely, though -dvipabhūyiṣṭham is conceivable. — balavyasana: see 8.5.1-18.

18 senāniscāra 'marching out of the army' and grāsāhāra 'fodder and food' are both from the commentators. The other readings are obviously faulty.

20 vanadurgam vā is from Cn Cs for vānadurgam vā of G M. vā nadīdurgam is unlikely. 2.3.2 mentions vanadurga as a place of retreat in difficulties, apasāra being mentioned there. — pratigraha seems to refer to the place in the rear where the king remains with reserves. Cf. 10.5.58. In view of that passage, 'where the king meets the attacking enemy forces' (Cn Cs) seems less likely.

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- (and) when he is on land suitable to himself, he should engage in open fight. 2 In the reverse case, (he should resort to) concealed fighting.
- 3 He should strike at the enemy on the occasions of the calamities of his troops and on occasions for assault, or when he is on unsuitable terrain, being himself on suitable terrain, or (even) one on suitable terrain, if (he himself is) possessed of the support of constituents.
- 4 Or, feigning a rout with treasonable, alien and forest troops, he should strike at the (pursuing enemy when he has) reached unsuitable ground.
 - 5 He should break compact ranks through elephants.
- 6 He should strike by turning round at the (enemy) who is pursuing when a rout is first feigned and who is broken (in the attempt), himself remaining unbroken.
- 7 Or, striking in front, he should strike in the rear with elephants and horses, when the (enemy) is reeling or has turned back. 8 Striking in the rear, he should strike in front with strong forces, when the (enemy) is reeling or has turned back. 9 By these are explained attacks on the flanks. 10 Or, he should strike at the point where the treasonable or weak troops (of the enemy) may be stationed.
- 11 If the ground in front is uneven, he should strike in the rear.
 12 If uneven in the (enemy's) rear he should strike in front,. 13 If uneven on one flank, he should strike at the other flank.
- 14 Or, after first engaging (the enemy) in fight with treasonable, alien and forest troops, he should strike at him when he is exhausted, himself remaining fresh.
- 15 Or, making a show of a rout himself through treasonable troops, he should strike at the enemy, who is confident that he has won, by resorting to ambuscade, being himself on his guard.

10.3

The three Sections are to be found in ss. 1-25, 26-47 and 48-57 respectively.

- 1 prativihitakartuh of the mss. is faulty. Meyer's proposal to read prativihitadurgah is unlikely, as a reference to durga is out of place here. 2 śakata- for kūta- is also faulty.
- 3 avaskandakālas are occasions mentioned in 10.2.17. prakrtipragrahah: the prakrti would appear to be his own constituents (Meyer), rather than those of the enemy (Cs).
- 4 bhangam dā has the sense of 'to make a show of being broken in ranks, to feign a rout'. Most of the kūṭayuddhas are nothing but normal tactics common on the battlefield, and there is nothing wrong about them.
- 6 abhinnah is proposed for abhinnam as suggested by Meyer. That is in conformity with s. 22 and other parallel expressions.
 - 15 sattra, i.e., one of the places mentioned in s. 24 below.

- 16 Remaining ever vigilant he should strike at the (enemy) negligent when engaged in plundering a caravan, a herd of cattle, an encampment or transport.
- 17 Or, with strong troops concealed by weak troops, he should enter the ranks of enemy warriors and slay them.
- 18 Or, luring enemy warriors with (prospects of) cattle seizure or hunting wild animals, he should, concealed in an ambush, strike at them.
- 19 After keeping (enemy troops) awake at night by a sudden assault, he should slay them by day when they are overpowered by sleep or are asleep.
 - 20 Or, he should make an attack on those asleep (at night) with elephants having leather-cases on their feet.
 - 21 He should strike in the latter part of the day at troops exhausted by keeping fighting equipment on for the day.
 - 22 Or, he should strike at the enemy, whose elephants and horses are made ineffective through herds of cattle, buffaloes and camels carrying sacks of dry skins containing round pebbles and taking fright, who is broken and has turned back (in flight), remaining unbroken himself.
 - 23 Or, he should strike at all (kinds of troops) when they are facing the sun or the wind.
 - A desert, a forest, a strait path, a muddy place, a mountain, a marshy place, uneven ground, a boat, cattle, a cart array, mist and night: these are places for ambush.
 - 16 samvāha is understood in Cn Cs as 'guarding '; but troops engaged in guarding can hardly be described as pramatta. samvāha as 'transport' seems better, as another object of plunder.
 - 17 -cchannasārabalo is proposed for -cchannah sārabalo. Cf. Kāmandaka, 19.63 (phalgusainyapraticchannam kṛtvā vā sāravad balam).
 - 18 gograhaņena, i.e., 'for seizing cattle on the vijigīṣu's side' (Meyer) rather than 'for preventing vijigīṣu's men from seizing the enemy's cattle' (Cn Cs). So śvāpadavadhena is 'for engaging in hunting' rather than 'for preventing the vijigīṣu's men from hunting in enemy territory' (Cn Cs). One is reminded of Udayana lured with hunting.
 - 20 The leather-coverings on the feet of elephants are for protection against thorns etc. or 'against śvadamṣṭra' (Meyer).
 - 22 The idea seems to be that the herds are frightened (trasnu) by the noise of the pebbles $(\dot{s}arkar\bar{a})$ in the sacks they carry and run helter-skelter, thus creating confusion in the ranks of the enemy's elephants and horses.
 - 23 sarvam: Meyer thinks that we should read kharvam 'crippled', i.e., unable to see clearly. That is extremely doubtful.

- 25 And the occasions for assault mentioned before are also occasions for concealed fighting.
- 26 Open warfare, however, in which the place and time (for the fighting) are indicated, is most righteous.
- 27 Collecting the troops together, he should address them, 'I receive a wage like you; this kingdom is to be enjoyed together with you; the enemy should be attacked by you at my request.'
- 28 Even in the Vedas, on the occasions of the concluding baths of sacrifices in which fees have been fully received, it is declared, 'That will be your condition after death, which is obtained by the brave (fallen on the field).' 29 Moreover, there are two stanzas in this connection:
 - 30 Brave men, giving up their lives in good battles, reach in one moment even beyond those (worlds), which Brahmins, desirous of heaven, reach by a large number of sacrifices, by penance and by many gifts to worthy persons.
 - 31 A new vessel, filled with water, properly consecrated, with a mantle of *darbha* grass—may this not be the share of him and may he go to hell, who would not fight for the sake of the lump of food received from the master.
- 32 He should make the minister and the chaplain encourage the warriors by (pointing out) the excellences of the array.
- 33 And the group of his astrologers and others should fill his own side with enthusiasm by proclaiming his omniscience and asso-
 - 25 praharaṇakālāḥ are those of 10.2.17.
- 26 The punctuation is as in Cs, with a stop after dharmisthah. Open warfare is recommended as righteous. dharmistha as descriptive of the king in the next s. is not so happy.
- 27 mayā 'bhihitaiḥ is from Cn; that is preferable to mayā 'bhihitaḥ 'specified by me' or mayā 'bhihataḥ 'attacked by me'.
- 28 It seems that the passage in ss. 28-31 is a later addition. It is not part of the king's exhortation as is clear from the *iti* at the end of s. 27, nor can it be understood as part of the encouragement to be attempted by the *mantrin* and the *purchita* mentioned in s. 32. In any case, it is quite unlikely that anyone would say on the battlefield 'apīha ślokau bhavatah', in the manner of an expository treatise. The whole passage is obviously a marginal gloss that has crept into the text. The question of the indebtedness of this text to Bhāsa's Pratijňāyaugandharāyaṇa, where in Act 4, s. 31 occurs, is therefore hardly relevant. 31 navam śarāvam clearly refers to the vessel from which libations of water are offered to the deceased.
- 32 vyūhasampadā is included at the end of this s. as in Cn; it states the ground on which the minister and chaplain encourage the troops. It could hardly be appropriately used with $k\bar{a}rt\bar{a}ntik\bar{a}dih$ vargah in the next s.

ciation with divine agencies, and should fill the enemy's side with terror.

- 34 When 'to-morrow is the fight', he should observe a fast and sleep beside his weapons and vehicles. 35 He should offer oblations in the fire with Atharva-mantras. 36 He should make (Brahmins) recite blessings invoking victory and securing heaven. 37 And he should consign himself to (the care of) Brahmins.
- 38 He should make troops that are possessed of bravery, skill, nobility of birth and loyalty and that are not cheated in the matter of money and honour, the centre of the ranks.
- 39 A bare army, without standards, consisting of warriors related as fathers, sons and brothers, should be the place for the king.
 40 An elephant or a chariot should be the vehicle for the king, guarded by cavalry. 41 He should mount that (vehicle), of which the army mostly consists or in which he may be trained. 42 One appearing as the king should be stationed at the head of the array.
- 43 Bards and panegyrists should describe the attainment of heaven by the brave and the absence of heaven for cowards, and sing praises of the caste, corporation, family, deeds and conduct of the warriors. 44 Assistants of the chaplain should speak of the use of sorcery and black magic, mechanics, carpenters and astrologers (should speak) of success in their own works and failure in those of the enemy.
- 45 The commander-in-chief should address the ranks after they are carefully made well-disposed with money and honour, 'One hundred thousand (shall be the prize) for killing the (enemy) king, fifty thousand for killing the commander-in-chief or a prince, ten thousand for killing a foremost warrior, five thousand for killing an elephant or chariot warrior, one thousand for killing a horseman, one hundred for killing a chief of infantrymen, twenty per head (of infantrymen killed), beside double the wage and whatever one seizes.' 46 Heads of groups of ten should ascertain that about them.

³³ sarvajña-, i.e., sarvajñatva-. Cf. 1.8.6 etc. — daivatasamyoga is read as in 13.1.1,3.

³⁹ muṇḍānīkam 'like a shaven head, because of the absence of crest-like flags' (Cn). It cannot mean 'like the head, i.e., the principal army' (Cs). 42 vyuhādhi-sṭhānam is from Cn Cs; the reference is to the most prominent place in the array, 'the head' (Cs).

⁴⁴ kṛtyābhicāram: this is for the destruction of the enemy. — yantrika is from Cn, 'mechanics who had manufactured the machines of war like jāmadagnya etc.' sattrika, as secret agents, would hardly go about speaking of the success of their work. — mauhūrtika is in strange company with yantrika and vardhaki.

- 47 Physicians, with surgical instruments, apparatus, medicines, oils and bandages, and women in charge of food and drink and capable of filling men with enthusiasm, should be stationed in the rear.
- 48 He should arrange his ranks in a battle-array on ground suitable to himself in such a way that it does not face the south, has the sun at the back and the wind favourable. 49 And in a battle-array on land suitable to the enemy, they should set the horses moving.
- 50 Where a firm stand and speed in movements of the array have no favourable terrain, there he would be conquered in either case, whether standing firm or moving quickly. 51 In the reverse case, he wins in either case by standing firm or moving quickly.
- 52 Ground being level, uneven or mixed, its nature in front, on the flanks and in the rear should be ascertained. 53 On level ground (there should be) the staff and circle arrays, on uneven the snake and diffuse arrays, on mixed mixed arrays.
- 54 After breaking an (enemy) superior in strength he should ask for peace. 55 If sued for peace by one equal in strength, he should make peace. 56 He should continue to strike at one inferior in strength, but not at all at one who has reached his own land or is ready to sacrifice himself.
 - 57 The vehemence of one returning again to the fight and despairing of his life becomes irresistible; therefore, he should not harass a broken enemy.

- 45 śatasāhasrah: we cannot understand gold coins in the higher cases as Cn Cs do; paṇa must be understood throughout. bhogadvaigunyam svayamgrāhaś ca need not be restricted to the vimśatika, as Meyer does. 46 daśavargādhipatayah, i.e., patika, senāpati and nāyaka as in 10.6.45.
- 47 sastrayantra is a reference to surgical instruments and other apparatus, hardly to weapons and machines. uddharṣanīya has the sense of the active voice; 'uccair harṣanahetavaḥ' (Cn).
- 49 aśvāmś cārayeyuh: this is in order to prevent the enemy arranging his battle-array there.
- 50 abhūmir vyūhasya is one of the readings in Cn; that is better than abhūmi (Cs); abhūmau might be better still; but perhaps sthāne prajave ca abhūmir would be best.
- 57 Cf. Mahābhārata, 12.100.13 ' punarāvartamānānām nirāšānām ca jīvite, vegaļ suduļsaho rājams tasmānnātyanusārayet.'

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CHAPTER FOUR

SECTION 153 GROUNDS SUITABLE FOR FIGHTING
SECTION 154 FUNCTIONS OF THE INFANTRY, THE CAVALRY,
THE CHARIOTS AND THE ELEPHANTS

- 1 Suitable ground is desirable for infantrymen, horses, chariots and elephants, for fighting and for camping. 2 Battle-fields and seasons for men fighting in deserts, forests, water or dry lands and for those fighting in trenches, on open ground, by day or by night, and for elephants from rivers, mountains, marshes and lakes, and for horses are desirable for each as suited to him.
- 3 Level, firm, clear, not causing jolting, not causing wheels or hooves to get stuck, not obstructing axles, not broken with trees, thickets, creepers, tree-stems, fields under water, pits, ant-hills, sand and mud, and free from clefts, this is ground for chariots, beneficial (also) to elephants and horses as well as men, for fighting and for camping, in normal and in difficult (situations).
- 4 That with small stones and trees, with small pits that can be jumped over, and with the blemish of small clefts is the ground for horses.
- 5 That with big tree-stems, stones, trees, creepers, ant-hills and thickets is the ground for infantrymen.
- 6 That with traversable mountains, water and uneven places, with trees that can be uprooted and creepers that can be cut, broken with mud and free from clefts is the ground for elephants.

10.4

The two Sections are found in ss. 1-12 and 13-18 respectively.

- 3 abhikāśā, i.e., clearly visible. acakrakhurā 'nakṣagrāhiṇī: Meyer thinks that the original reading was asaktacakra- etc. It is also possible that it was acakra-khurākṣagrāhiṇī as a single compound 'not catching wheels, hooves or axles'. Both here and in s. 6 Cn has -bhanguradaraṇahīnā in a continuous compound, bhangura being understood as 'a wavy surface'. The word, however, is more likely to be an adjective 'broken'. same viṣame seem to refer to normal and abnormal situations. In the locative masculine or neuter the words can hardly refer to bhūmih for elephants etc. (as Meyer has it). We also cannot supply deśe after the words (as in Cs), since the bhūmi is described as samā only.
- 6 gamyaśailanimnaviṣamā is from Cn Cs. The idea is of land dotted with hills and streams which can be easily traversed by elephants and with uneven regions (viṣama) which elephants can easily cross. Kāmandaka, 20.14, supports the interpretation of viṣama as a noun in the sense of 'an uneven place' (Cn Cs). Cn reads bhañjanīya- for chedanīya-. paṅkabhaṅgurā, i.e., 'having mud in places' seems supported by the reference to the presence of kardama in the best kind of land for elephants in s. 9.

- 7 Without thorns, not very uneven, with room for retreat, this is excellence (of ground) for infantrymen.
- 8 With double the room for retreat, free from mud, water and bogs and devoid of pebbles is excellence for horses.
- 9 With dust, mud, water, reeds and growth of rushes, free from 'dog's teeth', and free from obstruction by big branches of trees, is excellence for elephants.
- 10 Possessed of water-reservoirs and shelters, not causing jolting, without fields under water, and enabling a turn round, is excellence for chariots.
- 11 Ground (suitable) for all has been declared. 12 By this camping and fighting of all kinds of troops becomes explained.
- 13 Investigation of the ground, the halting place and forests, securing land without unevenness, water, ford, wind and sun's rays, destruction of supplies and reserves or their protection, cleansing and steadying the army, extension of raids, repelling as with arms, making the first attack, penetration, breaking through, comforting, capturing, setting free, causing a change in the path of pursuit, carrying off the treasury or the prince, assault on the rear and the tips, pursuit of the weak, accompanying, and the work of rallying, these are the functions of cavalry.
- 7 Cn seems to have read bahuvişamā for abahuvişamā. The latter appears better. pratyāsāra is a place for retreat in the rear; 'vyūhasya paścādbhāgaḥ' (Cn).
- 9 śarādhāna appears to mean 'growth of grass, rushes etc.' Cn seems to understand 'pointed roots of grass'. śvadamṣṭra is the plant gokṣura, according to Cn Cs. Cf. 2.3.15.
- 10 -apāśraya which is found in Cn for -āśraya is the usual word. vyāvartana is turning round.
- 13 -vicayah in the sense of 'search' is preferable to -nicayah which means 'collecting'. aviṣama is from a reading in Cn, understood in the sense of 'land without unevenness'. viṣama as 'land inaccessible to the enemy' appears less likely. ghātah is that of those of the enemy, while rakṣā is that of those of oneself. viṣuddhih is clearing the wounded etc. from the army, hardly clearing it of treasonable elements. sthāpanā is steadying of the army. prasānavrdāhir bāhūtsārah as two separate items are necessary. Cf. 10.2.5. vyāvedhanam 'piercing' refers to 'breaking through'. grahanam, i.e., making prisoners; mokṣanam setting one's own prisoners free. mārgānusāravinimayah, i.e., making the enemy give up his pursuit of one's troops by going to his rear and pursuing him in turn. kośakumāra- may be those of the enemy or of oneself; the latter are carried off to safety. hīnānusāranam: the causal does not seem to have any significance. Meyer thinks that we should read dīnānusaranam as in Kāmandaka, 20.6. That does not appear necessary. anuyānam is simply accompanying one's troops in

- 14 Marching in the van, making new roads, halting places and fords, repelling as with arms, crossing and descending in water, remaining steadfast, marching forward and descending, entering difficult and crowded places, setting fire and extinguishing it, securing victory single-handed, reuniting broken ranks, breaking up unbroken ranks, protecting in a calamity, assault, frightening, causing terror, showing magnificence, capturing, setting free, breaking ramparts, gates and towers, bringing in and carrying away treasury, these are the functions of elephants.
- 15 Guarding one's own troops, repelling the fourfold army in battle, capturing, setting free, reuniting broken ranks, breaking up unbroken ranks, causing terror, showing magnificence, and making a frightful din, these are the functions of charoits.
- 16 Bearing arms in all places and seasons, and military activity are the functions of infantrymen.
- 17 The work of clearing camps, roads, water-works, wells and fords, carrying machines, weapons, armours, implements and food, and removing from the battle-field weapons, armours and wounded men are the functions of labourers.
 - 18 A king, with few horses, should yoke bullocks and horses to chariots; similarly, one with few elephants, should make the centre consist of carts driven by donkeys and camels.

order to guard them. Cn Cs have 'pursuing the fleeing enemy'. anu-sr is the usual root for 'to pursue'. — samāja is 'getting together,' i.e., rallying.

- 14 The first avataraṇa (with toya) refers to getting in water, while the second refers to descending from a height. viṣamasambādhapraveśaḥ as a single word (as in Cn Cs) is distinctly better than the three words separately. ekāngavijaya is 'victory with one arm of the army, viz., with the elephants' (Cn Cs); it can hardly mean 'victory over a single element of the enemy' (Meyer). abhighātaḥ may be construed with vyasane or understood independently. vibhīṣikā is 'frightening at mere sight', while trāsanam is by frightful deeds (Cs). audāryam is lending grandeur or magnificence to the army. kośavāhanāpavāhanam is from Cn Cs. According to Cn some read upavāhana as the last word in the compound in the sense of 'carrying (king and others) on the back'. apavāhana would refer to carrying away the enemy's treasury.
- 15 sangrāme is to be construed with the preceding -pratisedhah (Cn Cs), rather than with the following grahanam etc. (Meyer).
 - 16 vyāyāmaḥ refers to actual fighting.
 - 18 gavāśvavyāyogam, i.e., yoking horses to some chariots and bullocks to others.

CHAPTER FIVE

- SECTION 155 ARRANGEMENT OF BATTLE-ARRAYS IN WINGS, FLANKS AND FRONT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE STRENGTH OF TROOPS
- SECTION 156 DISTRIBUTION OF STRONG AND WEAK TROOPS
 SECTION 157 MODES OF FIGHTING OF THE INFANTRY, THE CAVALRY
 THE CHARIOTS AND THE ELEPHANTS
- 1 He should engage in fight after establishing a fortified place at a distance of five hundred *dhanuses*, or in accordance with the nature of the ground.
- 2 The commander-in-chief and the commandant should arrange the army in a battle-array, with chiefs assigned different positions, after detaching it out of sight (of the enemy).
- 3 He should place a foot-soldier at a distance of one sama (from the next), a horseman at a distance of three samas, a chariot or an elephant at a distance of five samas. 4 Or, he should arrange with double or treble the distance. 5 Thus one should fight in comfort, without being crowded.
- 6 A dhanus is five aratnis. 7 At that distance (from the next) he should place an archer, at a distance of three dhanuses a horseman, at a distance of five dhanuses, a chariot or an elephant.
- 8 Five dhanuses (should be) the juncture of the divisions of wings, flanks and centre.

10.5

The three Sections are to be found in ss. 1-40, 41-52 and 53-56 respectively.

- 1 It is proposed to read -pakṛṣṭaṁ durgam as separate words, so that durgam alone can be understood with bhūmivaśena vā. If a single compound is read as in the mss. the option in bhūmivaśena vā would have no meaning. The durga is a fortified place (not a regular fort) which is inaccessible to the enemy. It seems to be the same as pratigraha of s. 58, though that is 200 dhanuses behind the army, while the durga is 500 dhanuses away. The difference in distance as well as nomenclature may be due to a difference in sources.
 - 2 mokṣayitvā, i.e., detaching the main army from the reserves in the rear.
- 3 sama is a distance of 14 angulas; cf. 2.20.11. The distance is between two soldiers in a row. 4 dvigunāntaram: According to Cn, the greater distances are recommended when foot-soldiers are few in number and elephants etc. are of the middling or best types (as against lowest types in s. 3).
- 6 pañcāratni: the ordinary dhanus is 4 aratnis; cf. 2.20.18. Meyer thinks that ss. 6-7 are interpolations. Kāmandaka, 20.22, however, presupposes them. It is possible that these distances are for fighters with bow and arrow, while those in ss. 3-4 are for those fighting with swords, spears etc.
- 8 anīkasandhiķ: anīka seems used of the divisions of an array, such as pakṣa, kakṣa, etc., and samdhi is the open space between any two of these. 'pakṣas

- 9 For a horse, (there are) three soldiers as fighters in front. 10 (There are) fifteen for a chariot or an elephant, as well as five horses. 11 The same number of foot-guards should be arranged for horses, chariots and elephants.
- 12 He should place as the centre a division of three rows of three chariot-units, a flank and a wing of the same size on either side. 13 There are thus forty-five chariots in a chariot division, two hundred and twenty-five horses, six hundred and seventy-five soldiers as fighters in front and the same number as foot-guards.
- 14 This is the uniform array. 15 It may increase in size by two chariot-units at a time up to twenty-one chariot-units. 16 Thus the odd numbers become the ten bases of the uniform array.
- 17 In case of an unequal number in the wings, the flanks and the centre as compared to one another, there is uneven array. 18 It may also increase in size by two chariot-units at a time up to twenty-one chariot-units. 19 Thus the odd numbers become the ten bases of the uneven array.

are outside in front, kakṣas inside at the back and urasya is in the middle ' (Cn Cs). The terms are suggested by the figure of a flying bird.

- 10 rathasya hastino vā: chariots and elephants are generally not used together. Here a unit is based either on chariots or on elephants. 11 tāvantaḥ, i.e., 3 for a horse and 15 for a chariot or an elephant. Cs understands tāvantaḥ to mean 5, which seems hardly correct. Cn thinks that there are 5 horses and 15 foot-guards for a chariot, making 10 horses and 30 foot-soldiers in the unit. That also is hardly right. As each horse has 3 pratiyoddhṛs and 3 pādagopas, that would give 60 foot-soldiers, not 30. Meyer arrives at 1 chariot, 5 horses and 90 infantrymen. That is unlikely, as shown by s. 13 below.
- 12 trīṇi trikāṇi, i.e., three rows of three chariot-units each. 13 In view of the explicit statement here, 450 horses (in Cn) or 4050 foot-soldiers (in Meyer) cannot be right. rathavyūhe, which is read in the Punjab edition is quite necessary. Here we have a description of a rathavyūha only. It is proposed to drop vājirathadvipānām found after pādagopāḥ at the end. The expression is unlikely here in a description of a rathavyūha; it is clearly repeated by a copyist from s. 11 above.
- 14 sama-, i.e., one in which each of the five divisions of the $vy\bar{u}ha$ has the same number of units. 15 dvirathottarā is from Cn Cs. It seems that each row of chariots (trika of s. 12) is to increase successively by two, 5, 7, 9, etc., up to 21 chariots. The actual number of chariots in each of the five divisions of the array comes to 9, 15, 21 and so on up to 63, and in the array as a whole to 45, 75, 105, and so on up to 315. In the largest array we get 315 chariots, 1575 horses and 9450 foot-soldiers. 16 $oj\bar{u}h$: 3, 5, 7 etc. are odd numbers.
- 17 mitho is from Cn for ato, which has little significance. The unevenness of numbers is with reference to one another (mithall), e.g., 9 in urasya, 15 in pakṣa 17 in kakṣa and so on; the permutations can be very large in number. 18 tasyāpi etc. means little more than that the series 3, 5, to 21 is available for each of

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- 20 Troops left over after this array should be made an insertion. 21 He should insert two thirds of the chariots in the (outer) parts, the rest he should place as the centre. 22 Thus an insertion of chariots less by one-third should be made.
- 23 By that is explained the insertion of elephants and horses.
 24 The insertion should be so made that it does not cause crowding in the fighting of horses, chariots and elephants.
- 25 Excess of troops is insertion. 26 Excess of infantry is counter-insertion. 27 Excess of one arm is side-insertion. 28 Excess of treasonable troops is over-insertion.
- 29 Insertion should be made according to the strength of the troops up to four times or up to eight times the insertion or counterinsertion of the enemy.
 - 30 By the chariot-array is explained the elephant-array.
- 31 Or, (the array may be) mixed, of elephants, chariots and horses elephants at the ends of the army, horses on the flanks, cha-

the five divisions in different numbers. 19 These prakrtis do not differ in any way from those of s. 16.

- 20 āvāpaḥ 'an insertion'. The idea seems to be that of reinforcing or strengthening of the array. 21 dvau tribhāgau angeşu etc.: this would disturb the character of a sama vyūha; for, while in the latter the urasya has only one-fifth of the whole, the addition to urasya is to the extent of one-third of it. It may be assumed that the chariots added are accompanied by the usual number of horses and foot-soldiers. 22 tribhāgonaḥ etc.: the idea seems to be that the insertion is to be less by one-third, i.e., up to two-thirds; thus in an array with 45 chariots, the addition is to be of 30 chariots only (20 of these being in the wings and flanks and 10 in the centre). Thus Cn. Cs seems to understand that the total addition is to be less than one-third, e.g., less than 15 in a unit of 45. Meyer thinks that this s. only sums up the preceding statement; two-thirds in the angas is the only āvāpa; one-third placed at the centre is not to be considered an āvāpa, because it is not inserted in between any two parts. It is to be noted that in the quotation in Samkarārya on Kāmandaka, 20.40, this s. is not to be found; it is therefore quite possible that it is a marginal gloss that has got into the text.
- 25 $b\bar{a}hulyam$ 'excess, i.e., surplus left over after the array is formed '(Cn). This is the means of $\bar{a}v\bar{a}pa$. Cs has ' $b\bar{a}hulya$, i.e., strengthening by the insertion of the excess.' This sense of $b\bar{a}hulya$ does not fit in the case of $d\bar{a}syab\bar{a}hulya$.
- 29 The mss. read the ca after \bar{a} ; it is proposed to read it before, to make the construction smoother. The idea seems to be that the $\bar{a}v\bar{a}pa$ is to be four times or eight times that of the enemy's $\bar{a}v\bar{a}pa$ and $praty\bar{a}v\bar{a}pa$. It seems that $\bar{a}v\bar{a}pa$ refers to chariot (or elephant) units, while $praty\bar{a}v\bar{a}pa$ to foot-soldiers. $vibhavatah sainy\bar{a}n\bar{a}m$ is not a third option as Cn seems to understand it.
- 30 This clearly shows that a rathavyūha as described so far contains no elephants.
- 81 hastirathāśvānām: as Cn remarks, horses here are those used independently of chariot or elephant units. cakrānteşu: Cn Cs read cakrāntayoḥ 'in the

riots in the centre. 32 A centre of elephants, flanks of chariots and wings of horses — this is (an array) breaking with the centre. 33 The reverse is one breaking with the ends.

- 34 But the unmixed (array) of elephants is war-elephants at the centre, riding elephants in the rear, vicious elephants at the tips.
- 35 (An unmixed) horse-array is a centre of armoured horses, flanks and wings of unarmoured.
- 36 (An unmixed) infantry-array is armoured soldiers in front, archers behind. 37 Thus the unmixed (arrays).
- 38 Foot-soldiers (should be) in the wings, horses on the flanks, elephants in the rear, chariots in front, or a reversal of this (may be made) in accordance with the enemy's array. 39 This is disposition of troops with two arms. 40 By that is explained disposition of troops with three arms.
- 41 In the case of men, the excellences of an army constitute the best troops. 42 In the case of elephants and horses, special excellences are: pedigree, breed, mettle, youthfulness, vigour, height, speed, spiritedness, training, firmness, loftiness, obedience and possession of auspicious marks and good conduct.
- wings'. The dual is not quite necessary. The mss. add mukhyā after aśvā; Cs has aśvamukhyā in a compound. It is proposed to drop mukhyā, as it is unlikely either with aśvā or rathā. Cn adds that after urasye, the words ayam pakṣabhedī have to be read, having dropped out through a scribal error. It then reads antarbhedī in s. 33, understanding antar in the sense of kakṣa. However, it seems better to stick to the readings of the mss. Kāmandaka, 20.37-38, has only madhyabhedī and antabhid. And madhya and anta are the usual terms of contrast; cf. 9.6.16-19. 33 viparītah, i.e., with horses in the centre and elephants in the wings, as shown by Kāmandaka, 20.38. Cn Cs have 'horses in centre, elephants on the flanks and chariots in the wings.' The objection in Cn that the other arrangement would not differ from that in s. 31 is not quite valid; and it is not necessary to provide for the case where elephants are in the flanks (as Cn also objects).
 - 34 jaghana, i.e., kaksa and koti, i.e., paksa (Cn).
- 38 pattayah etc.: Cn Cs understand two arrays here, infantry and horses alone in one and elephants and chariots alone in the other. It seems rather that the s. states the general position of each of the four arms in an array whenever two arms are used, irrespective of the usual division into kakṣa, pakṣa and urasya. In any case, a combination of elephants and chariots alone would hardly be recommended. Meyer proposes caturaṅga- for dvyaṅga- in the next s. As, however, the preceding ss. 34-37 have referred to ekāṅgabalavibhāga, a reference to dvyaṅgabalavibhāga would seem expected. Nevertheless, the arrangement might appear applicable to caturaṅgabala also.
- 41 daṇḍasampat etc.: when men are possessed of qualities mentioned in 6.1.11, they make the best army (sārabala). 42 udagratā: Cn Cs have 'having a high or uplifted face.' A lofty bearing is what seems intended.

- 43 He should place one-third of the best among foot-soldiers, horses, chariots and elephants as the centre, two-thirds as flanks and wings on the two sides, behind them the second best, against the order the third best, weak troops against the order. 44 Thus he should make use of all.
- 45 By placing weak troops at the ends, he becomes able to over-power (the enemy) with his vehemence.
- 46 Placing the best troops in front he should place the next best at the ends, the third best in the rear, (and) weak troops in the centre.

 47 Thus it becomes capable of resisting.
- 48 After arranging the battle-array, however, he should strike with one or two out of the wings, flanks and centre; with the remaining he should support (the attack).
- 49 He should attack with plenty of best troops that army of the enemy which is weak, lacking in elephants and horses, with treasonable officers in it or seduced by secret instigations. 50 Or, when the enemy's army is most strong, he should attack it with double that number of best troops. 51 He should reinforce that arm of his which has few best troops with a large number of them. 52 He should arrange the troops near the place where the enemy has suffered a loss, or whence there may be danger.
- 53 Rushing forth, rushing about, rushing beyond, rushing back, holding together after pounding, enclasping, moving zigzag, encircling, scattering, turning back after fleeing, guarding broken ranks along
- 43 anulomam 'in the natural order', i.e., behind the best troops. pratilomam, i.e., in front of the sārabala, the phalgubala being stationed right in front of all.
- 45 vegābhihūlikah is an emendation suggested by Meyer for -hūlitah. The former may mean 'who wears down the enemy's vehemence, who withstands his vehemence' or 'who overpowers the enemy by his vehemence'. The latter reading would mean 'who is overpowered by vehemence', which is inapt in the context. Cn seems to read vegābhihutah, Cs vego 'bhihutah, the explanation being 'the enemy's vehemence is burnt up as an oblation in the fire of weak troops.' Cs overcomes the grammatical difficulty in his reading by understanding yudhyamānena after avadhāya. Cn Cs mention another reading vego 'bhihatah' the vehemence of the enemy becomes shattered.'
- $46\ kotisu$: the plural shows that the two wings alone are not intended. See s. $34\ \mathrm{ab}\,\mathrm{ove}$.
- 48 pratigrhnīyāt: Cn Cs understand 'should hold (the enemy's attack)'. In view of pratigraha as used in s. 58 below, also in 12.4.19 and 13.3.46, the root prati-grah seems to have the sense of 'to support an attack (made by oneself)'. The idea here may be that of supporting the attack (already made) at a later stage.
- 50 dvigunasāreņa: as the enemy's troops are sāriṣṭha, 'double' can only refer to quantity 51 bahunā: we should supply sāreṇa, rather than aṅgena (Cn Cs).

the lines, in front, on the flanks (and) in the rear, pursuing broken ranks—these are modes of fighting for horses.

- 54 These same with the exception of scattering, (and) destruction of the four arms whether combined or separate, smashing of wings, flanks and centre, making a sudden assault, and attacking those asleep—these are modes of fighting for elephants.
- 55 These same with the exception of holding together after pounding, (and) marching forth, marching away, fighting in a stationary position on land suitable to them—these are modes of fighting for chariots.
- 56 Striking in all places and at all times, and silent punishment are the modes of fighting for foot-soldiers.
 - 57 In this manner he should arrange battle-arrays, odd and even, in such a way that the strength of the four arms becomes suitably used.
 - 58 Retiring to a distance of two hundred *dhanuses*, the king should remain in the rear; from that (comes) the rallying of broken ranks; he should not fight without reserves in the rear.
- 53 unmathyāvadhānam: Cn Cs have 'holding together, keeping together (avadhānam) after pounding the enemy.' Meyer understands avadhāna as 'throwing down' or apadhāna as 'driving away'. valayah is a sort of pincer movement with two danda arrays (cf. 10.6.21). mandalam 'encirclement' of a part of enemy troops after cutting them off (Cn Cs). prakīrnikā 'scattering' is 'the use of all the above movements together' (Cn Cs). vyāvṛttapṛṣṭham seems to refer to making a show of flight (pṛṣṭha) and then turning round to attack. anuvamsam seems used adverbially to be construed with bhagnarakṣā. Cn Cs, however, understand it independently 'following one's troops that face the enemy' or 'retiring and coming back to fight'.
- 54 vyastasamastānām vā: the vā obviously shows the option between vyasta and samasta.
- 55 sthitayuddha: this can hardly mean 'fighting after remaining for a long time round the enemy's fortified wall $(pr\bar{a}k\bar{a}ra)$ ' (Cs). It only refers to fighting without manoeuvring or movements.
- 56 karmāṇi in 10.4.13-16 differ from yuddhāni here in that they include functions not involving actual fighting.
- 57 yugmān, i.e., even. The Chapter itself has mentioned only odd vyūhas.

 sadršah 'suitable,' i.e., suitably distributed or used.
- 58 pratigrahe is from Cn Cs; pratigrahah in the nominative would have to be construed with $r\bar{a}j\bar{a}$, which would be odd. pratigraha is 'rear of the army' according to Cn Cs. It is the place where reserves are kept; these are to be used to reinforce the fighting troops when need for it arises. bhinnasamghātanam tasmāt should be understood as a separate sentence. In the quotation in Samkarārya on Kāmandaka, 20.15, we have bhinnasamdhāranah (with pratigrahah for -grahe); in that case tasmāt in the sense of 'therefore' can be construed with the last clause na yudhyetāpratigrahah.

CHAPTER SIX

SECTION 158 ARRANGING THE STAFF, THE SNAKE, THE CIRCLE AND THE DIFFUSE ARRAYS
SECTION 159 ARRANGING COUNTER-ARRAYS AGAINST THEM

- 1 Two wings, a centre and reserves—this is the arrangement of a battle-array according to Uśanas. 2 Two wings, two flanks, a centre and reserves—this is according to Brhaspati.
- 3 According to both, arrays with wings, flanks and centre are the basic arrays, the staff, the snake, the circle and the diffuse. 4 Among them, that with crosswise operations is the staff array. 5 Operation of all (divisions) one after the other is the snake array. 6 Operation on all sides of advancing (divisions) is the circle array. 7 The separate operation of divisions as stationed is the diffuse array.
- 8 That operating evenly with wings, flanks and centre is the staff (array). 9 That, marching beyond with the flanks is the 'splitter'. 10 The same falling back with wings and flanks is the 'strengthener'. 11 The same, marching out with the wings is the 'unbearable'.

10.6

The two Sections are found in ss. 1-41 and 42-44, the rest of the ss. being miscellaneous in character.

- 1 In 15.1.41-42, this s. is quoted as an illustration of anumala 'another's opinion which is not contradicted'. However, kaksa which is not mentioned by Usanas is frequently referred to in the text. pratigrahah: see 10.5.58 above.
- as described below.' That is not very satisfactory. Perhaps the original reading was sapakṣa-. ubhayoḥ, i.e., according to both Uśanas and Bṛhaspati. This is strange, as Uśanas does not mention kakṣa at all in his scheme. Perhaps the word has wrongly got into the text. 4 tiryagvṛttiḥ: vṛtti seems to refer to the mode of operations during the fight, though Cn Cs render it by 'avasthāna, taking up a position'. tiryak may refer to the crosswise movements of the divisions, though the use of tiryak in describing something called daṇḍa does not seem quite appropriate. Perhaps atiryak is to be read; samam in s. 8 might seem to support this. samastānām: supply anīkānām. anvāvṛttiḥ 'coming one behind the other' as in a serpent's body. The idea seems to be that the divisions operate one behind the other. 6 saratām from Cn Cs is preferable to sutarām, which has little significance. saratām presents a contrast to sthitānām in the next s.
- 8 Cn Cs state that these definitions are in accordance with Bṛhaspati's ideas whereas the earlier ones were acceptable to both. This is hardly convincing. The two sets of definitions do not quite agree with each other. samam vartamānah may refer to simultaneity of operations by the various divisions, though 'operating in a straight line' may well have been meant. 9 kakṣātikrāntah 'breaking in through with the flanks,' the urasya and pakṣas remaining in their positions. 10 pakṣakakṣābhyām: Cn Cs have pakṣābhyām only. But the former is supported by Kāmandaka, 20.45. pratikrāntah 'falling back'; this is obviously the opposite of atikrāntah. 11 sa evātikrāntah is from Cn Cs, supported by Kāmandaka,

12 Marching out with the centre keeping the wings stationary is the 'falcon'. 13 In the reverse case, (these four become) the 'bow', the 'bow-flank', the 'established' and the 'well-established' (respectively). 14 That with wings of bows is the 'conqueror'. 15 The same, marching out with the centre, is the 'victory'. 16 That with wings like big ears is the 'pillar-eared'. 17 That with double pillars in the wings is the 'extensive-victory'. 18 That with wings augmented threefold is the 'army-face'. 19 In the reverse case, it is the 'fishmouth'. 20 The staff, in a straight line, is the 'needle'. 21 Two staffs is the 'bracelet'. 22 Four staffs is the 'invincible'. 23 These are staff arrays.

24 That operating unevenly with wings, flanks and centre is the snake array. 25 It is 'moving-like-a-serpent' or 'cow's-urination'. 26 That with two (divisions) at the centre and staffs in the wings is the 'cart'. 27 In the reverse case, it is the 'crocodile'. 28 The cart, inter-mixed with elephants, horses and chariots is the 'flying-about'. 29 These are snake arrays.

though niskrāntah of the mss. would mean the same thing. 12 pakṣāvavasthāpya: perhaps pakṣakakṣāvavasthāpya is to be read. 13 viparyaye, i.e., with pratikrānta for atikranta and vice versa in the earlier four cases. 14 capapakṣaḥ: this may mean 'with wings shaped like bows' or 'with a capavyūha in each of the wings'; in the latter case, there would be five divisions in each of the wings, besides the other three (2 kakṣas and an urasya), i.e., 13 in all, as Śamkarārya points out on Kāmandaka, 20.46. It is not certain that this is really meant. 16 It is proposed to read sthūlakarnapaksah as a single compound. According to Kāmandaka, 20.47, each of the wings has two anikas instead of one. 17 dvigunapakṣasthūṇaḥ: this seems to mean that the size of the pakṣa is twice that in the sthūṇākarna, i.e., 4 anīkas in each. Kāmandaka's definition is dvisthūnah, which Samkarārya understands as two sthūnākarņas one beyond the other, with 14 anīkas in all. 18 tryabhikrāntapakṣaḥ: Cn has 'when the wings go beyond three'; does this mean 'with more than three anīkas in each wing'? Samkarārya in fact understands four anīkas in each wing, and eleven anīkas in all. It is possible that we have to understand 'with three anikas in each wing'. 19 viparyaye, i.e., with the urasya and kakşa threefold. 20 ūrdhvarājih dandah, i.e., a danda going in a straight line. This seems to mean that the five divisions move one behind the other. 21 dvau dandau: danda here is evidently as arranged for sūcī. Two parallel columns seem to be meant, each with five divisions. 22 catvārah, i.e., four sūcī-formations.

24 viṣamam vartamānah 'moving unevenly', i.e., apparently not in a straight line. 25 According to Cn Cs (also Kāmandaka, 20.48) sarpasārī and gomūtrikā are names of two varieties of the bhoga vyūha; their definitions are not given, because the names are self-explanatory. The difference between the two is that in the former the divisions are close to each other, while in the latter they are broken and of various sizes (bahudhā vibhinnākārāh). Meyer thinks that these are not varieties of bhoga, only other names by which also it is known. 26 yugmorasyo daṇḍapakṣah: Samkarārya on Kāmandaka, 20.49, understands a double-sized urasya and the pakṣa and kakṣa arranged one behind the other as in daṇḍa, on either side, with six anīkas

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- 30 When the wings, flanks and centre become one, it is the circle array. 31 That with faces on all sides is the 'good-on-all-sides.' 32 That with eight divisions (or faces) is the 'invincible.' 33 These are circle arrays.
- 34' Because of the disjoined nature of the wings, flanks and centre it is the diffuse array. 35 By the formation of the figure with five divisions, it is the 'thunder-bolt' or the 'lizard'. 36 With four (divisions), it is the 'hearth' or the 'crow's-feet'. 37 With three, it is the 'half-moon' or the 'crab-horned'. 38 These are diffuse arrays.
- 39 One with chariots at the centre, elephants on the flanks and horses in the rear is the 'unharmed' array. 40 Foot-soldiers, horses, chariots and elephants, one behind the other is the 'immovable' array. 41 Elephants, horses, chariots, and foot-soldiers, one behind the other is the 'unrepulsed'.

in all. Cn Cs have 'with the centre shaped as a daṇḍa split into two and each wing like a full daṇḍa.' This would seem to give 15 divisions, if daṇḍa of the sūcī type is to be understood. — viparyaye, i.e., daṇḍarasyaḥ and yugmapakṣaḥ. Saṅkarārya does not explain beyond saying that it too has six anīkas. Perhaps he would understand two anīkas in the centre one behind the other and a kakṣa and a pakṣa on each side in a line. Cn Cs have 'urasya like one daṇḍa and the wings of the shape of a split daṇḍa.' 'A daṇḍa (five divisions one behind the other) in the centre and two divisions in each wing.' seems more likely. The exact nature of many of these arrays is far from clear. 28 vyatikīrṇaḥ: this seems to imply that an āvāpa of these is made in the regular śakaṭa array.

- 30 ekībhāve, i.e., when the distance between them (10.5.8) is not there. 32 aṣṭānīkaḥ, i.e., 2 urasyas, 2 kakṣas and 4 pakṣas (Cn Cs). Saṅkarārya has 2 urasyas, 4 kakṣas and 2 pakṣas. Meyer thinks that we have four types of maṇ-dala vyūha, without the description of any one of them. That is probably because of the plural -vyūhāḥ in s. 33. Cs states that the plural may serve to include varieties not mentioned here. Kāmandaka, 20.50, also has only two types. durjaya figures also among dandavyūhas (s. 22).
- 34 asamhatāt, i.e., asamhatatvāt. 35 ākrtisthāpanāt, i.e., the five divisions are so arranged that they present the appearance of a vajra and so on. The figure of the vajra is not at all clear. The description in Samkarārya on Kāmandaka, 20.52, does not throw much light. 36 uddhānakah is from Kāmandaka as suggested by Meyer for udyānakah. The former is a fire-place or hearth; the latter suggesting a park is not likely when some ākrti is expected. Whereas the uddhānaka would appear to be a square, the kākapadī would appear to be diamond-shaped, with the tip in front. 37 ardhacandrakah, i.e., with the centre moved forward of the two side-divisions. This seems meant, since in the karkatakaśrngī the sides would obviously be moved forward, not the centre.
- 39 Cn Cs state that in this array, the foot-soldiers are in the wings. That is possible, but not certain. 40 Cn Cs have 'infantry in the wings, cavalry in the centre, chariots in the flanks, and elephants in the rear.' The idea of urasya, certain the centre control of the centre contro

- 42 Among these, he should counter-act the 'splitter' with the 'strengthener', the 'strengthener' with the 'unbearable', the 'falcon' with the 'bow', the 'established' with the 'well-established', the 'conqueror' with the 'victory', the 'pillar-eared' with the 'extensive-victory', the 'flying-about' with the 'good-on-all-sides'. 43 With the 'invincible', he should counter-arrange against all other arrays.
- 44 Of foot-soldiers, horses, chariots, and elephants, he should strike at each earlier one with a later one, and an inferior arm with a superior arm.
- 45 The one commander of ten single units is the lieutenant, the one (commander) of ten lieutenants is the general, the one (commander) of ten of these is the commandant. 46 With drum-beats, flags and banners, he should establish signals for the divisions of the array, for dividing (themselves) into sections, for joining together, for halting, for marching, for turning back and for attacking.
- 47 In case the (opposite) arrays are equally matched, success (comes) from the possession of suitable place, time and strength.
 - 48-50. He should strike terror in the enemy with machines, by the employment of occult practices, through assassins slaying those engaged in something else, by magical arts, by (a show of) association with divinities, through carts, by frightening with elephants, by rousing the treasonable, through herds of cattle, by setting fire to camps, by attacks on the tips and in the rear, by creating dissensions though agents appearing as messengers (saying), 'Your fort has been burnt down or captured; a revolt

the rear.' — These arrays seem to be unconnected with the four basic $vy\bar{u}has$ and are, therefore, separately mentioned.

- 43 durjaya may be the one of s. 22 or of s. 38.
- 45 angadaśakasya: the anga is the unit as described in 10.5.9-11, viz., 1 chariot (or elephant), 5 horses and 30 infantrymen. patikah: this form is from Cn for padikah; it is more appropriate, since it is applicable to all arms. padika would refer to an infantry officer only. As Meyer says, this officer corresponds to the lieutenant. senāpatih: this officer here is clearly subordinate to the nāyaka and hence cannot be identified with the usual senāpati who is one of the highest dignitaries of the state. The nāyaka thus commands 1,000 units as described above. 46 dhvaja is a big flag, while patākā is smaller.
 - 47 The word -sāra- is from the commentators. It seems to be authentic.
- 48 yantraih is from Cn Cs for dandaih; the latter is hardly ever used in the plural.

 śakaṭair hastibhīṣaṇaih: -bhīṣaṇaih is proposed for -bhūṣaṇaih. With the latter Cn Cs have 'with carts whose appearance is concealed by accountrements etc. proper for an elephant', i.e., carts decked as elephants. That appears a very strange idea. Meyer proposes kapaṭair hastidūṣaṇaih 'with tricks destroying the enemy's elephants.' bhīṣaṇa, however, would appear better in view of vibhīṣikā and trāsana being mentioned among hastikarmāṇi in 10.4.14. 49 goyūthaih seems

CONCERNING WAR

[10.6.51

by a member of your family has broken out; or, your enemy or a forest chieftain has risen (against you).'

51 An arrow, discharged by an archer, may kill one person or may not kill (even one); but intellect operated by a wise man would kill even children in the womb.

Herewith ends the Tenth Book of the Arthasastra of Kautilya 'CONCERNING WAR'

to be a reference to 10.3.22. 50 durgam dagdham: ordinarily the word durga is masculine. — kopah kulyah seems to contain a single idea rather than two, 'an insurrection has broken out; a pretender from your family has arisen' (Meyer).

BOOK ELEVEN

POLICY TOWARDS OLIGARCHIES

CHAPTER ONE

SECTION 160 (WAYS OF) RESORTING TO THE POLICY OF (SOWING)
DISSENSIONS

SECTION 161 FORMS OF SILENT PUNISHMENT

- 1 The gain of an oligarchy is best among gains of an army and an ally. 2 For, oligarchies being closely knit are unassailable for enemies. 3 He should win over those of them who are friendly with conciliation and gifts, those hostile through dissensions and force.
- 4 The Kāmbojas, the Surāṣṭras, the Kṣatriyas, the Śrenis and others live by an economic vocation and the profession of arms.

saṅngha is a form of rule evolved from clan rule. Fairly big states were formed with councils of elders to rule over them. The Chapter clearly shows that a saṅngha had more than one chief or mukhya. In some saṅnghas, the chiefs styled themselves rājan or king. saṅngha is best rendered by 'oligarchy'. It seems to be assumed in the Chapter that the vijigīṣu has or proposes to have suzerainty over the saṅnghas. The Chapter is concerned with showing how he should maintain strict control over them.

11.1

The two Sections may be found in ss. 1-30 and 31-54 respectively.

- 1 -lābhānām uttamaḥ: the use of the comparative would have been better. Having a samgha under you and loyal to you is preferable to having an army of one's own or an ally. Meyer identifies samgha with śrenībala. But that would be part of danḍa; moreover, the samghas enumerated in ss. 4-5 cannot be looked upon as constituting the śrenībala of any king. 2 samhatatvāt: this is so because the ultimate basis of a samgha is the clan. 3 anuguna 'favourable', i.e., friendly to the vijigīṣu. For viguṇa in the sense of 'hostile', cf. 7.8.22.
- 4 Kāmboja-Surāṣṭra-Kṣatriya-Śrenyādayaḥ: As K. P. Jayaswal (Hindu Polity, I, 62) argues, the position of ādi in the compound is against our understanding 'Kāmboja, Surāṣṭra and other Kṣatriya bands', and that Kṣatriya and Śreṇi must also be understood as proper nouns. He identifies Kṣatriyas with the Xathroi of the Greek historians and Śreṇis with 'sinae' in Agesinae (i.e., agra-Śreṇī) of those historians. One cannot be sure about the latter. On has 'Kṣatriya bands such as Kāmboja and Surāṣṭra and (bands of) other (varṇas)'. Even for this, ādi should have come before Śreṇī. vārttāśastropajīvinaḥ, i.e., following agriculture and other vocations

- 5 The Licchivikas, the Vrjikas, the Mallakas, the Madrakas, the Kukuras, the Kurus, the Pāñcālas and others make use of the title of king.
- 6 In the case of all, secret agents close to them should find out one another's defects, and occasions for mutual hatred, enmity or strife among members of the oligarchy, and should sow discord in one who is gradually brought round to believe (them, saying), 'So and so is slandering you.' 7 When resentment is thus built up on both sides, agents serving as teachers should start quarrels among pupils concerning learning, skill, gambling and pleasure sports.
- 8 Or, assassins should start quarrels among the followers of the chiefs in the oligarchy by praising the opponents in brothels and taverns, or by supporting seducible parties.
- 9 They should stir up princelings enjoying low comforts with (a longing for) superior comforts.
- 10 And they should prevent inter-dining or inter-marriage of the superior with the inferior. 11 Or, they should urge inferiors to

in peace time, but taking to arms in case of need. 5 Licchivika- etc.: for these, see Jayaswal (op. cit., 58-60). The Licchivis, the Vrjis and the Mallas are well-known from Buddhist and other sources. Kukuras are a member of the Andhaka-Vrṣṇi league according to the Mahābhārata. The Kurus and the Pāṇcālas are monarchies in the Mahābhārata. Jayaswal has further pointed out that the suffix -ka indicates a political group, not a tribe, since it implies loyalty (bhakti) to other than one's country of origin, according to Pāṇnii 4.3.95-100 and Kātyāyana thereon (op. cit., 120-121). — rājašabdopajīvinaḥ: this simply means that the chiefs who formed the ruling council of the saṃgha styled themselves 'rājan'. — Most of the saṃghas mentioned belong to the north and the north-west of India. It is also clear that the second group is politically more developed; it is this group that seems to have had a ruling council, which wielded political authority. Kāmboja and others do not seem to have gone much beyond the state of a clan.

- 6 saṅnghānām, i.e., saṅnghamukhyānām. It is not a question of one saṅngha being set up against another, but of one mukhya being set up against another in the same saṅngha. nyaṅnga seems to stand for nyaṅngatva, some defect or deformity. Cn Cs render the word by 'slander', which is doubtful. kramābhinītam 'who has been gradually made to believe what is being suggested to him'. 7 vaihārika seems derived from vihāra 'pleasure sport'. Cn Cs, however, have 'answering riddles, recondite questions etc.' bāla 'pupils' are the chiefs, who are learning from the so-called ācāryas.
- 8 samghamukhyamanuṣyānām: this may refer to the servants or followers (manuṣya) of the different chiefs in the samgha or to the chiefs themselves; in the latter case, sya) of the different chiefs in the samgha or to the chiefs themselves; in the latter case, sya would be superfluous. In the former case, we can understand that the quarmanuṣya would be superfluous. In the former case, we can understand that the quarmels between the followers would be taken up by the chiefs. kṛṭyapakṣa: cf. 1.14.
- 9 chandik \tilde{a} ' pleasure, comfort '. Cn explains by ' paricchada, retinue, paraphernalia '.
- 10 ekapātram vivāham as separate words (cf. the next s.) with a vā after them are necessary. It is clear that inter-dining and inter-marriage were not easy even

inter-dining or inter-marrying with superiors. 12 Or, (they should urge) the very low ones to obtain a position of equality in the matter of family, valour or change of status.

- 13 Or, they should nullify a transaction that is settled by establishing its opposite.
- 14 Or, in cases of legal dispute, assassins should start quarrels by injuring objects, cattle or men at night.
- 15 And in all cases of strife, the king should support the weak party with treasury and troops and urge them to kill the rival party.

 16 Or, he should carry away those that have been divided. 17 And he should settle groups of five families or ten families of them on land suitable for agriculture. 18 For, if stationed in one place, they might be capable of bearing arms. 19 And he should fix a penalty if they come together.
- 20 He should appoint as crown prince a nobly born member of the (ruling) families, who is in disfavour or has been discarded by those using the title of king. 21 And the group of his astrologers and others should declare among members of the oligarchy the possession of marks of royalty by him. 22 And he should instigate the pious chiefs of the oligarchy, (saying) 'Observe your duties towards the son or brother of such and such a king.' 23 When they have agreed, he should send money and troops for supporting the seducible party. 24 At the time of fighting, agents appearing as vintners should offer, in hundreds, jars of wine mixed with a stupefying liquid, as libation to the deceased, under the pretext of the death of a son or wife.
- 25 And secret agents should point out the depositing (of an object) after an agreement, (such as) sealed (bags) with money and vessels containing money, at the gates of sanctuaries or temples and

among members of the same samgha. 12 avahīnān: these are apparently even lower than the hīna. We have to supply yojayeyuh.

13 vyavahāram 'transaction', rather than 'a legal case' (Cs). — nišāmaycyuḥ 'should extinguish,' i.e., make it inoperative. Cs has 'should let the litigant concerned know, by justifying the contrary view'. But sthāpana can hardly be mere samarthana. It is the upsetting of the vyavahāra that is likely to lead to quarrels. 16 apavāhayet, i.e., carry them to his own kingdom. That would weaken the saṃgha. 17 It is proposed to omit the words ekadeše samastān vā nivešya found in the mss. before bhūmau. They contradict s. 18; and nivešya and nivešayet in the same sentence do not appear likely. — bhumau ca etc. explains what is to be done after apavāhana.

- 20 rājaputratve sthāpayet, i.e., should give him recognition as the crown prince. 24 madanarasa: cf. 1.18.9 etc.
- 25 samayakarmanikṣcpam: this seems to refer to the placing of certain things at the places mentioned for one of the chiefs with whom the king is supposed to arrive at an

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near fortified places. 26 When members of the oligarchy are seen (approaching), they should declare, 'These belong to the king.' 27 Then he should make an attack.

- 28 Or, borrowing for temporary use vehicles or money from members of the oligarchy, he should give a well-known article to a chief of the oligarchy. 29 When it is demanded back by them, he should say, 'It has been given to such and such a chief.'
- 30 By this is explained (the method of creating) dissensions in the (enemy's) camp and among forest chieftains.
- 31 Or, a secret agent should make a son of a chief of the ruling council, who thinks highly of himself, come to believe, 'You are the son of such and such a king, kept here through fear of the enemy.' 32 When he agrees, the king should support him with treasury and troops and make him fight the members of the oligarchy. 33 When his object is achieved, he should get him also slain.
- 34 Keepers of prostitutes or acrobats, actors, dancers or showmen, employed as agents, should make chiefs of the ruling council infatuated with women possessed of great beauty and youth. 35 When passion is roused in them, they should start quarrels by creating belief (about

agreement (samaya). The objects placed would seem to be referred to in sahiranyaetc. In view of ca, two things are evidently to be understood, sealed packets with money inside or vessels full of coins. The places mentioned must be supposed to be in charge of the chief who is to be implicated. When the other chiefs find the articles to have come from the king, they come to believe that the particular chief has been bribed. Thus is dissension created. For this rājakīyāh from Cn is to be preferred to vikrītāḥ, which conveys little sense. — sahiranyābhijñānamudrāṇi: some noun conveying the sense of a bag or packet has to be understood with this. It may also be that we have to read only bhājanāni (for hiranyabhājanāni), and omit the ca after it; in this case the compound sahiranya- etc. would qualify bhājanāni. 26 rājakīyāh: we expect the neuter as describing bhājanāni. In the masculine it may refer to the chiefs; in that case, the plural might suggest that a number of chiefs come to take the hoard, these then are declared to be partisans of the king. This, however, appears to be a less likely idea. 27 avaskandam: the attack would be in support of the chief implicated, with whom the others may be supposed to have quarrelled. It may also be that the attack is for recovery of the hoard which belongs to the king; but that seems less likely.

- 28 prakhyātam: cf. 9.6.31. Meyer proposes aprakhyātam, comparing 9.6.31; but there we have prakhyātam and avijātam. We have to assume that the chief who has received the article does not inform his colleagues. That would lead to strife.
 - 30 This is incidental, unconnected with sanighas.
- 31 ātmasambhāvitam etc.: cf. 5.1.15-18; some of the tricks mentioned in this Chapter have parallels in Chapter 5.1. 33 pravāsayet 'should kill' (Cn).
- 34 bandhakīpoṣakāḥ: cf. 5.2.21,28. saubhika would appear to be one who puts up a dramatic or other show on the stage; cf. 7.17.34. 36 tīkṣṇāḥ: these

their love) in one and by going to another, or by forcible abduction (by the other). 36 During the quarrel, assassins should do their work, saying, 'Thus has this passionate fellow been slain.' 37 Or, if the one frustrated puts up with his disappointment, the woman should approach him and say, 'Such and such a chief is harassing me, who am in love with you; so long as he is alive, I shall not stay here,' and thus urge his murder. 38 Or, the woman, if forcibly abducted, should get the abductor murdered at night by an assassin at the edge of the park or in a pleasure house, or should herself kill him with poison. 39 Then she should proclaim, 'My lover has been killed by so and so.'

- 40 Or, an agent appearing as a holy man should create confidence in a chief, in whom passion is roused, by means of love-winning herbs and then killing him with poison should disappear. 41 When he has gone away, secret agents should declare that as the act of the other.
- 42 Or, female secret agents (posing as) rich widows or living by a secret profession, and contending for inheritance or a deposit should infatuate chiefs of the ruling council, or Aditikauśika women or dancers or songstresses (should do so). 43 When they have agreed and come to secret houses for the night's meeting, assassins should kill them or carry them off imprisoned.
- 44 Or, a secret agent should describe to a chief of the oligarchy who is fond of women, 'In such and such a village, the family of a poor man has migrated; his wife is fit for a king; seize her.'

claim to have been employed by the other chief. 39 amunā etc.: the other chief is thus implicated in the murder.

- 40 For the trick and expressions used, cf. 5.1.19. 41 para, i.e., the other chief, the rival in love.
- 42 ādhyavidhavā etc.: it seems that yogastriyah, i.e., female secret agents, are to pose as rich widows or carry on some secret profession (such as of a sorceress a counterfeiter of coins etc., as in 4.4). As rich widows they contend for daya, and as gūdhājīvāh they contend for a nikṣepa. — Aditikauśika- is from the commentators, read as in 1.17.19. They understand 'women earning their living by showing pictures of deities, and female snake-charmers (kauśika)'. But a single idea, 'females dedicated to some deity' might appear better. V. Raghavan (Journal of Oriental Research, vol. XV, December 1945, pp. 110-116) objects that mendicant women are very unlikely in the present context and suggests that Kauśika (a variant of Kaiśika) is the name of a community devoted to the arts of music, dancing, toilet etc., and frequently engaged in aiding love-affairs; he compares Kauśikī of the Mālavikāgnimitra. But the Kauśikas are Brahmins, and it is extremely doubtful if the women-folk of any Brahmin community were engaged in the sort of work expected of them here. It is impossible to believe that the noble Kausikī of the Mālavikāgnimitra could have played such a role as the one described here. However, kaiśikastriyah may appear possible. 43 -pravistān in the accusative as in Cs is necessary for sense.

- 45 When she is seized, after a fortnight, an agent appearing as a holy man should cry out in the midst of the chiefs of the treasonable oligarchy, 'That chief has violated my wife or daughter-in-law or sister or daughter.' 46 If the ruling council were to chastise him, the king should support him and make him fight against those hostile to him. 47 If he is not punished, assassins should slay at night the agent appearing as a holy man. 48 Then others appearing in the same disguise should cry out, 'So and so is a Brahmin-slayer and the paramour of a Brahmin woman.'
- 49 Or, an agent appearing as an astrologer, should describe a maiden chosen as the bride by one (chief) to another, 'The daughter of so and so is destined to become the wife of a king or the mother of a king; get her by spending all you have or by force.' 50 If she cannot be obtained, he should rouse the other party. 51 If she is obtained, the strife is (at once) brought about.
- 52 Or, a female mendicant should say to a chief fond of his wife, 'Such and such a chief, conceited by reason of youth, sent me to your wife; through fear of him I have brought a letter and ornaments from him; your wife is innocent; steps against him should be taken secretly; in the meantime I shall accept (on your wife's behalf).'
- 53 On these and other occasions of strife, whether the strife has arisen of its own accord or has been created by assassins, the king should support the weak party with treasury and troops and make him fight against those hostile to him, or should carry him away.
 - 54 The single monarch should deal with oligarchies in this manner.
- 44 apasrtam: this has to be understood in the sense of 'that has come away (from some other place)'. It is also possible that the idea to be understood is that of apasrtamukhyam' with the head of the family away from home'. Cn Cs understand 'gone away elsewhere for livelihood'. In the context of what follows that appears less likely. 45 dūṣyasamghamukhyamadhye is read as suggested by Meyer instead of dūṣyah samgha- etc. Outside the compound, dūṣyah would be a description of the siddhavyañjana. But it is doubtful if a real dūṣya would be employed to serve as a secret agent in this manner. It is, however, possible that an abhityakta, a man condemned to death and apparently reprieved, might be asked to undertake such work. asau me etc.: cf. 5.1.51. mukhyo for mukhyām is also from Meyer, and is necessary. mukhyām is pointless. 47 siddhavyañjanān pravāsayeyuh: if the siddhavyañjana is not an abhityakta as suggested above, this would be a case of a state servant being sacrificed for reasons of state. Perhaps that is why the mss. read dūṣyah in s. 45 above. 48 tadvyañjanāh, i.e., siddhavyañjanāh.
 - 50 para, i.e., the one who had chosen her as his bride.
- 52 pratipatsyāmi, i.e., will make a show of accepting his proposal on your wife's behalf, so that a meeting may be fixed, giving you an opportunity to have your revenge. It can hardly mean 'I shall be by your side till you kill him '(Cs).

11. 1. 55]

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55 The oligarchies also should thus guard themselves against these deceitful tricks by the single monarch.

56 And the head of the oligarchy should remain just in behaviour towards the members of the oligarchy, beneficial (and) agreeable (to them), self-controlled, with devoted men, and following the wishes of all.

Herewith ends the Eleventh Book of the Arthasastra of Kautilya 'Policy Towards Oligarchies'

- 54 ekarājaḥ: Kātyāyana on Pāṇini, 4.1.168, distinguishes ekarāja the single monarch from a samgha in which rule is shared by a number of persons. Cf. Jayaswal, op. cit., I, 34.
- 55 With its usual impartiality, the text offers advice to both sides. ckarājād in the ablative, as read in Cs, is necessary, unless we read ckarājasya. rakṣeyuḥ: the object is ātmānam.
- 56 nyāyavrttir hitah as in Cn is decidedly better than nyāyavrttihitah of the mss. yukta may be 'diligent in their work', perhaps also 'attached to him'.

BOOK TWELVE

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CONCERNING THE WEAKER KING

CHAPTER ONE

SECTION 162 THE MISSION OF THE ENVOY

- 1 'A weak king, attacked by a stronger king, should everywhere remain submissive showing the characteristics of a reed. 2 For, he submits to Indra who submits to a stronger king,' says Bhāradvāja.
- 3 'He should fight with the mobilisation of all troops. 4 For, valour overcomes a calamity. 5 And this is a Kṣatriya's special duty, whether there be victory or defeat in war,' says Viśālākṣa.
- 6 'No,' says Kautilya. 7 One submissive everywhere lives despairing of life like a ram (strayed) from a herd. 8 And one fighting with only a small army perishes like one plunging in the ocean without a boat. 9 He should, however, act finding shelter with a king superior to him or in an unassailable fort.
- 10 There are three kings who attack: the righteous conqueror, the greedy conqueror and the demoniacal conqueror. 11 Of them, the righteous conqueror is satisfied with submission. 12 He should submit to him, also when there is danger from others. 13 The greedy

ābalīyasam is 'what concerns the abalīyas, one who is not stronger'. Meyer understands ā-balīyasam 'till one gets stronger', which seems grammatically doubtful. The Book, for the most part, expands ideas already found elsewhere, particularly in 7.14-17 above.

12.1

- 1-2 Cf. Mahābhārata, 12.67.11 'etayopamayā dhīraḥ samnameta balīyase, Indrāya sa praṇamate namate yo balīyase.'
 - 3 samdohena: cf. 7.4.7,14.
- 7 kulaiḍakaḥ: Meyer proposes akulaiḍakaḥ 'a sheep lost from the herd '. Cn Cs get the same meaning from kulaiḍaka. Cf. 13.1.16. 9 tadviśiṣṭam: tad is the balavān king. Cf. 7.15.1. durgam: cf. 7.15.9.
- 10 dharmalobhāsura- from Cs is in accordance with the order that follows. 12 pareṣām api bhayāt: i.e., even when the dharmavijayin is not threatening him, but danger from another source is feared.

conqueror is satisfied with the seizure of land and goods. 14 He should yield money to him. 15 The demoniacal conqueror (is satisfied only) with the seizure of land, goods, sons, wives and life. 16 By yielding land and goods to him, he should take counter-steps, remaining out of reach himself.

- 17 When one of these is making ready to start, he should make a counter-move through peace or diplomatic war or concealed warfare.

 18 (He should win over) the party inimical to him with conciliation and gifts, his own party through dissension and force.
- 19 Secret agents should destroy his fort, country or camp with weapons, poison or fire. 20 He should cause his rear to be attacked from all sides. 21 Or, he should cause the kingdom to be destroyed through forest tribes or to be seized by a pretender from his family or a prince in disfavour. 22 And at the end of (such) injurious acts, he should send an envoy (for peace). 23 Or, peace (may be sued for) without doing any injurious act.
- 24 If he marches even then, he should sue for peace with a successive increase of one-quarter of the treasury and troops or a successive increase of a day and night.
- 25 If he were to sue for peace with the offer of troops, he should give him dull elephants and horses, or such energetic ones as are administered poison.
- 26 If he were to sue for peace with men, he should give him treasonable, alien or forest troops under the command of secret agents.

 27 He should so manage that the destruction of both would take place.

 28 Or, he should give him troops with a fiery temper which,
- 17 mantrayuddhena as in 12.2 below. kūṭayuddha does not seem to refer to the tactics on the field described in 10.3; for, there is no attack yet on the weak king. Perhaps secret murders are to be understood, as detailed in 12.2-5 below. 18 asya, i.e., of the stronger king. sva- also refers to the stronger king. We have to understand the idea of sādhayet in the sentence.
- 24 pādottaram, i.e., 'by offering him one quarter more than what was offered before but not accepted; thus one lac and a quarter if one lac is not accepted or 125 horses if 100 are not accepted' (Cn Cs). ahorātrottaram: Cs has 'increasing the period during which to do a work by more days'. This is not satisfactory. Meyer suggests period for disbanding or surrendering troops to be reduced successively by one day, (i.e., in 9 days instead of 10). This gives a good sense, but it is doubtful if uttara can be so understood.
- 25 sah: in view of yāceta, this is the weak king (Cn Cs), hardly the attacking king (Meyer). The acceptance of the terms by the latter is implied. daṇḍa, as distinguished from puruṣa (in s. 26), refers to horses and elephants. kuṇṭham 'ineffective' or 'cowardly'; cf. 7.12.9 ff. gara 'poison, which would kill after a month or a fortnight' (Cs). Cf. 14.1.6-7. For the idea, cf. 7.3.30,
 - 27 ubhaya, i.e., the enemy as well as the dūṣyabala etc.

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when insulted, would injure him, or hereditary, loyal troops that would injure him in his calamity.

- 29 If he were to sue for peace with treasury, he should give him articles of high value, for which he would not find a purchaser, or forest produce that is unfit for use in war.
- 30 If he were to sue for peace with land, he should give him land which can be easily recovered, or which has constant enemies, or which is without a shelter, or such that settlement on it would involve heavy losses and expenses.
- 31 Or, he should sue a stronger king for peace with the offer of all his possessions, with the exception of the capital.
 - 32 That which the other might seize by force, he should offer through one of the means. He should preserve his body, not wealth; for, what regret can there be for wealth that is impermanent?

CHAPTER TWO

SECTION 163 FIGHT WITH (THE WEAPON OF) DIPLOMACY SECTION 164 ASSASSINATION OF (THE ENEMY'S) ARMY CHIEFS

1 If he were not to accept a peace-treaty, he should say to him, 'Such and such kings, under the influence of the group of six enemies, have perished; it does not behave you to follow in the foot-steps of those who were without self-control. 2 You should pay regard to spiritual and material well-being. 3 For, those are really enemies, wearing the mask of friends, who make you undertake a rash deed, an impious act and the forgoing of material good. 4 To fight with brave men who have given up all hope of life is a rash deed, to bring about the loss of men on both sides is an impious act, to give up a good in hand and to forsake a blameless ally is forgoing of material good. 5 And that king has allies and with this object he will raise

- 29 sāram etc.: cf. 7.12.16.
- nityāmitrām: cf. 7.10.12. anapāśrayām: the shelter meant is a fortress.
- upāyataķ: particularly by resorting to samdhi, as in Cs.

12.2

The first of the two Sections is restricted to ss. 1-7, the rest of the Chapter together with the next is concerned with the other Section. - mantrayuddha amounts to cajoling, warning, threatening etc. through an envoy.

1 sa cet: this is in continuation of the last Section; sah is the stronger king. - śatruṣadvarga-: see 1.6. 3 mitramukhāḥ from Cs is quite necessary. mitramukhyāḥ of the mss. is unlikely. $5 ext{ sa } r\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ is the weak king, for whom the envoy is speaking. - elena arthena ' with this object that was offered to you by him,

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more allies, who will attack you from all sides. 6 Nor is he forsaken by the middle and neutral kings or by the circle of kings; you, however, are forsaken (by them), since, while you are ready to fight, they are looking on (with the idea), "Let him meet with further losses and expenses, let him be divided from his ally; then we shall easily exterminate him when he has left his kingdom". 7 It does not behove you, therefore, to listen to enemies masquerading as friends, to frighten your allies and to confer good on your enemies and to face the risk of (losing your) life and meet with disaster; 'thus he should (try to) restrain him.

- 8 If he starts even then, he should engender a revolt among the constituents as explained in the 'policy towards oligarchies' and in 'drawing out by means of stratagems'. 9 And he should employ assassins and poison-givers. 10 He should employ assassins and poison-givers at those points which have been declared as fit to be guarded in 'concerning self-protection'.
- 11 Keepers of prostitutes should make the (enemy's) army chiefs infatuated with women possessed of great beauty and youth. 12 When many or two of the chiefs feel passion for one woman, assassins should create quarrels among them. 13 (Agents) should urge the party worsted in the strife to go away elsewhere or to render help to their master in the expedition.
- 14 Or, agents appearing as holy men should cause poison to be given to those among the chiefs who are under the influence of passion, along with love-winning medicines, in order to overreach them.

but rejected by you.' 6 yat tvā from M is preferable to ye tvā. The ye in the latter would refer to madhyama etc., hardly to mitramukha amitra of the next s. as Meyer understands it. — yacchet: this seems to be from yam 'to restrain, to check'. Cs has 'should give (the object that was offered before)'; but this presupposes acceptance of the suggestions on the enemy's part.

- 8 sanghavṛtte: actually in 11.1 there is little about stirring constituents or subjects (prakṛti) to revolt. yogavāmane, i.e., in 13.2. 10 ātmarakṣitake, i.e., in 1.21.
- 11 $bandhak\bar{\imath}poṣak\bar{a}h$: cf. 11.1.34. 13 bhartuh 'to the master (of the agents) ', i.e., to the weaker king.
- 14 kāmavašān vā: it would have been better if mukhyeşu had come before kāmavašān. Cn seems to have read kāmavašād vā, which cannot be construed properly. In any case Jolly-Schmidt's rendering of it 'under the pretext of giving them an aphrodisiae' is altogether unlikely. Meyer proposes kāmavašāḥ (strīḥ) 'make women under the influence of love administer poison etc.' But it is doubtful if the women, who are merely agents, have to be themselves in love in order that the siddhavyañjana may make use of the love-winning potion on the mukhyas. The mukhya is in love and wants it to be reciprocated by the woman and therefore

- 15 Or, an agent appearing as a trader should shower wealth on an intimate maid of the favourite queen (of the enemy) for the sake of love and then leave her. 16 An agent appearing as a holy man, recommended by an agent appearing as an attendant of that same (trader), should give a love-winning medicine, saying, 'This should be placed on the person of the trader.' 17 When this has succeeded, he should advise this remedy also to the favourite queen, saying, 'This should be placed on the king's person.' 18 Then he should overreach with poison.
- 19 Or, an agent appearing as an astrologer should declare to a high officer, whose confidence has been gradually won, that he is possessed of the marks of a king. 20 A female mendicant (should declare) to his wife, 'You will be the wife of a king or the mother of a king.'
- Or, a female agent who is the wife of a high officer should say to him, 'The king wants to keep me in his harem; this letter and these ornaments have been brought to your house by a female mendicant.'
- 22 Or, an agent appearing as a cook or a waiter should inform (a chief) about the king's instruction for administering poison (to him) and the money offered to tempt him (to do so). 23 An agent appearing as a trader should corroborate that (information) of his, and should speak of the success of the undertaking.
- 24 Thus with one or two or three means, he should incite the high officers one by one to fight or to desert him.

uses the potion to make himself loved by her. Cf. 11.1.40 for the same trick. If we suppose that the *mukhya* is cold and his passion is to be roused, it is difficult to see how the *siddhavyañjana* could induce him to drink the potion.

- 16 vaidehakaśarīre 'vadhātavyā: in this case, the medicine is apparently used on the person of the individual in whom passion is to be roused. The vaidehaka, of course, pretends to be in love again, so that the power of the medicine is proved. That would induce the queen to try it on the king.
 - 19 kramābhinītam : cf. 11.1.6. 20 Cf. 11.1.49.
- 21 bhāryāvyañjanā: we must suppose that a female agent had earlier got herself married to one of the high officials of the enemy; this is a long term plan. The idea that an agent appears in the garb of a wife of the officer is less likely, as the officer would certainly see through the disguise of any one posing as his wife.

 avarodhayiṣyati clearly refers to making her an inmate of the harem. lekhyam ābharaṇam: cf. 11.1.52.
- 22 rājavacanam from Cs is necessary in view of the ca after artham. The enemy king is himself represented as planning the officer's murder through the cook etc. abhinayet: cf. 5.2.25. 23 kāryasiddhim, i.e., 'the effectiveness of the poison in killing instantaneously' (Cn Cs). Meyer has 'the successful outcome of the affair (by the officer taking revenge on the king)'; this is little likely. It may simply mean 'success in his work (of selling the poison)'.
 - 24 ckaikamasya; ekaikasya of the mss. is quite obviously faulty.

- 25 And in his fortified cities, secret agents serving in close proximity to the Regent, should declare among citizens and country people, (as if) out of friendship, 'The Regent has said to warriors and heads of departments, "The king is in a difficult position; he may or may not come back alive; obtain wealth by force and slay your enemies."' 26 When the rumour has spread far and wide, assassins should rob citizens at night and slay chiefs, (saying at the time), 'Thus are dealt with those who do not obey the Regent.' 27 And they should leave blood-stained weapons, articles and binding ropes in the quarters of the Regent. 28 Then secret agents should proclaim, 'The Regent is slaying and robbing (the subjects).'
- 29 In the same manner, they should divide the country people from the Administrator. 30 But assassins should kill the subordinates of the Administrator in the midst of villages at night and say, 'Thus are dealt with those who oppress the countryside unrighteously.'
- 31 When trouble has (thus) started, they should cause the Regent or the Administrator to be killed by a rising of the subjects.

 32 They should get a pretender from his family or a prince in disfavour accepted as a ruler.
 - 33 They should set fire to royal palaces and city gates, to stores of articles and grains, or should kill those (officers there) and, crying piteously, should declare that as done by him.

²⁵ maitrīnimittam: the friendship pretended is for the persons addressed. It can hardly mean 'in order to produce loyalty towards the śūnyapāla' (Cs). This loyalty, in fact, is to be undermined. — bahulībhūte: the subject is 'report' or 'rumour'. Cf. 12.3.2. — Jayaswal's translation 'when the Pauras held a general meeting (bahulībhūte) to give their votes on the subject, the leaders were to be done away with secretly' (Hindu Polity, II, 88 ff.) has little relation either to the context or to the words used. — evan kriyante etc.: this is in order to throw the blame for the robberies and murders on the śūnyapāla.

²⁹ Apparently, the śūnyapāla had jurisdiction only in the fort; the samāhartr continued to wield power in the countryside. 30 samāhartr puruṣān, i.e., gopa, sthānika etc.

³² pratipādayeyuh: cf. 1.10.3.

^{33 -}dvāram is a Samāhāradvandva. — tān refers to officers stationed there. — asya refers to the śūnyapāla or the samāhartr on whom the blame for the fire and murder is to be thrown. It can hardly refer to 'citizens and country people' (Cs),

CHAPTER THREE

SECTION 164 (Continued) SECTION 165 STIRRING UP THE CIRCLE OF KINGS

1 Secret agents working in close proximity to the (enemy) king and the king's favourites should inform those in the position of friends to chiefs of infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants that the king is enraged with these, by showing confidence as in a friend. 2 When the rumours have become thick, assassins, after taking precautions against (dangers arising from) moving at night-time, should go to their houses and say, 'At the king's order, come (with us).' 3 They should slay them even as they come out and say to those near, 'This is the king's message.' 4 And to those who have not been slain, secret agents should say, 'This is what we had told you; he who wants to remain alive should go away.'

- 5 And to those to whom the king does not give (some object) when asked for it, secret agents should say, 'The Regent was told by the king, "Such and such persons are asking me for something that ought not to be asked for; refused by me, they have joined the enemy; strive to exterminate them." ' 6 Then he should act as before.
- 7 And to those to whom the king gives (something) when asked for it, secret agents should say, 'The Regent was told by the king, "Such and such persons ask me for something that ought not to be asked for; I gave it to them to ensure trust (in me); they are in league with the enemy; strive to exterminate them." 8 Then he should act as before.
- And to those who do not ask him for something that ought to be asked for, secret agents should say, 'The Regent was told by the king, "Such and such persons do not ask me for something which

12.3

Section 165 is to be found only in ss. 18-21 as a sort of a tag at the end; it is really a continuation of the preceding topic.

- 1 suhrdviśvāsena, i.e., divulging it as a secret, which could be done only to a trusted friend. - mitrasthānīyesu, i.e., to those who are the friends of the mukhyas (with whom the king is supposed to be angry). 2 kṛtarātricārapratīkārāḥ: e.g., providing themselves with passes for moving in the camp at night time. 3 āsannān is from Cs; āsannāh of the mss. can only go with tīkṣṇāh, which makes little sense. 4 ye cāpravāsitāh is as suggested by Meyer. pravāsita, either as 'murdered' or 'gone away' does not fit in with apakrantavyam addressed to them.
- 5 cāsau from Cs is missing from the mss. through a scribal error; that it is necessary is shown by ss. 7 and 9. 6 pūrvavat, i.e., assassins killing some officers ostensibly under orders from the Regent and frightening away others, as in ss. 2-4.
 - 9 svadoşa-; the doşa is that of treason.

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ere. and Cs), ought to be asked for; what else (could there be) but their being apprehensive because of their own guilt? Strive to exterminate them."' 10 Then he should act as before.

- 11 By this is explained the whole party of seducible persons.
- 12 Or, a secret agent, serving in close proximity, should give the (enemy) king to understand, 'Such and such a high officer is in communication with men of the enemy.' 13 When this is believed, he should show treasonable men carrying letters from him and say, 'This is it.'
- 14 Or, after tempting with land or money the principal officers among the chiefs of the army, he should make them fight their own people or should carry them away.
- 15 He should cause that son of his, who may be staying near or in a fort, to be instigated through a secret agent, 'You are a son possessed of greater personal excellences, yet you have been set aside; why then are you indifferent? Fight and seize (the kingdom); the crown prince will soon destroy you.'
- 16 After tempting with money a pretender from his family or a prince in disfavour, he should say to him, 'Crush his troops inside (the kingdom) or the troops on the frontier or the frontier fort.'
- 17 After winning the forest chieftains with money and honour, he should cause his kingdom to be destroyed.
- 18 Or, he should say to the enemy in the rear of the (enemy), 'This king, after exterminating me, will indeed exterminate you; attack
- 11 krtyapakşah: see 1.14 above.
- 12 sambhāṣate: the passive in the reading of the mss. (sambhāṣyate) is unnecessary. 13 dūṣyān etc.: the bearers of letters are treasonable men, whose rough treatment by the enemy when they are caught would be welcome to the weak king. asya, if referring to the weak king, would be construed with śāsanaharān; if referring to the enemy, it would be construed with darśayet.
- 14 senāmukhyaprakṛtipuruṣān: this seems to contain a single idea, 'the principal officers (prakṛtipuruṣa) among the army chiefs'. Cf. 8.4.15, where we have prakṛtipuruṣamukhya. Meyer, in the Nachtrag, has 'army officers and administrative officers in the army'. In any case, 'army chiefs, ministers (prakṛti) and servants (puruṣa)' (Cn Cs) is quite unlikely.
- 15 samīpe, i.e., near the weak king's territory. durge, i.e., in the strong king's capital fort. ālmasampannataraḥ: the comparison is with the yuvarāja. purā vināśayati: for the idiom, cf. 9.6.69, also 1.14.8.
- 16 antarbalam, i.e., troops left for the protection of the kingdom. antam this seems to refer to the frontier fort, the place for the antapāla. Cn explains it by janapada etc.; Cs reads anyam, supplying skandham from the preceding, 'other troops'. That is far from happy.

him in the rear; if he turns round on you, I shall attack him in the rear.'

- Or, he should say to the allies of the (enemy), 'I am your dam; with me broken, this king will overwhelm all of you; let us join together and frustrate his expediton.'
- 20 And he should send (letters) to those united with him and to those not united, 'This king, after uprooting me, will indeed take action against you; beware; it is better for you to help me.'
 - 21 He should send (appeals) to the middle king or again to the neutral king, according as the one or the other may be near, making a surrender to him of all possessions, in order to be saved.

CHAPTER FOUR

SECTION 166 SECRET USE OF WEAPONS, FIRE AND POISON SECTION 167 DESTRUCTION OF (THE ENEMY'S) SUPPLIES, REIN-FORCEMENTS AND FORAGING RAIDS

1 And those agents who are living disguised as traders in the fortified towns of the (enemy), disguised as householders in his villages, disguised as cow-herds and ascetics in the frontier posts of the country, should send, along with presents, (word) to a neighbouring prince, a forest chief, a pretender from his family or a prince in disfavour, 'This region can be seized.' 2 And when secret agents of these have come to the fortified town, they should welcome them with money and honour and show them the weak points of the constituents. 3 They should strike at those (weak points) along with them.

18-19 Through an obvious copyist's slip, the words eşa khalu. . . .vā 'sya brūyāt (in ss. 18-19) are missing in the mss., showing that they are all derived from a single exemplar. Cn presupposes the passage which is quite necessary. ahan vah setuh could not be addressed to a pārṣṇigrāha.

- 20 abhyupapattum is read for abhyavapattum; the latter has the sense of 'to submit to, to surrender', from which the former must be distinguished. Cf. 2.10.24,35 and 5.5.7.
- 21 sarvasvena tadarpanam: what seems meant is sarvasvasya tadarpanena. Cs seems to have read tvadarpanam, though its text shows tadarpanam. One can hardly look upon tadarpanam as the object of prahinuyāt as in Cn Cs.

12.4

The whole Chapter really contains a single Section, the second of the two Sections being disposed of in half of s. 20 in the middle of the Chapter.

1 janapadasamdhi: see 3.1.1. — panyāgāra: cf. 7.15.20 etc. — ayam deśaḥ: this is some region in the enemy's country. 2 durge, i.e., in the enemy's fortified capital.

- 4 Or, an agent appearing as a vintner in his camp, showing a person condemned to death as his son and killing him by poison at the time of an attack, should offer, in hundreds, jars of wine as libation in honour of the dead. 5 He should give on the first day unadulterated wine or wine with one quarter (poison), on the next, (wine) mixed with poison. 6 Or, giving unadulterated wine to the army chiefs, he should give them (wine) mixed with poison when they are in a state of intoxication.
- 7 Or, an agent, serving as a chief in the army, (should show) a condemned person as a son and so on, as before.
- 8 Or, agents disguised as dealers in cooked meat or cooked rice or vintners or dealers in cakes, should advertise their special goods and, in mutual rivalry, call the enemies, proclaiming 'This is given on credit, this is very cheap,' and mix their goods with poison.
- 9 Or, women and children, purchasing wine, milk, curds, butter or oil from dealers in these commodities, should pour them in their own vessels containing poison. 10 (Saying) 'Give us at this price, or give us of better quality again,' they should pour that back in the same place. 11 Agents appearing as traders or those who bring goods for sale (to the camp, should sell) these same articles (after mixing them with poison).
- 12 Those near should mix poison with the fodder and grass for elephants and horses. 13 Or, agents appearing as workmen should sell grass or water mixed with poison.
- 4 For the trick, cf. 11.1.24. madanamadya- found in the mss. is unlikely in view of the details given in the next s. madya- alone is therefore proposed. 5 $p\bar{a}dyam$ seems to mean 'with one-quarter madanarasa, the rest wine'. Cs has 'with a quarter of the dose sufficient to kill a person'. Meyer's suggestion to read $m\bar{a}ndyam$ 'very mild' seems hardly plausible. The expression is odd; it is quite possible that the words $p\bar{a}dya\bar{m}$ $v\bar{a}$ madyam are due to a scribal error and are not authentic. Cn does not show them.
- 7 dandamukhyavyañjano: this presupposes a secret agent serving in the enemy's army as an officer for quite some time. A mere disguise would not be convincing and might even arouse suspicion.
- *kālikam: cf. 2.25.7. apacārayeyuḥ should be read and understood in the
 *sense of 'mix'. The text has a misprint here.
- 9 tadvyavahartrhastesu is from Cs, though hasta is not quite necessary. Perhaps tadvyavahartrsu should be read, as in ms. T. In either case, however, we expect the ablative rather than the locative. 10 visistam, i.e., better in quality. tatraiva, i.e., in the containers of the shopkeepers. The whole stock of the shopkeepers becomes poisoned, to be sold later to the troops by the unsuspecting shopkeepers. 11 etänyeva seems to refer to surā, kṣīra etc., 'poisoned' being understood and vikrīnīran being supplied. The liquids as poisoned by the women need not be understood; for, the vaidehakavyañjanas could themselves procure poisoned

- 14 Or, cattle-traders, long associated (with the camp), should let loose herds of cattle or of sheep and goats on the occasion of an attack, in places likely to cause confusion among the enemies, also (should let loose) the vicious among horses, donkeys, camels, buffaloes and other animals. 15 Or, agents appearing as above (should let loose) animals whose eyes have been smeared with the blood of muskrats. 16 Or, those appearing as hunters should let loose wild animals from their cages, or snake charmers, serpents with deadly poison, or those living by elephants, elephants. 17 Or, those living by fire should set fire to things.
- 18 Or, secret agents should kill the chiefs of infantry, cavalry, chariots or elephants, when they have turned back, or should set fire to the quarters of the chiefs.
- 19 Those appearing as treasonable or alien or forest troops, being employed (with the enemy), should make an attack on the rear or give support to the (weak king's) attack.
- 20 Or, those concealed in forests should lure out troops on the frontier and slay them, or (should destroy) the supplies, the reinforcements and foraging raids on a path where march in a single file alone is possible.
- Or, on the occasion of a night-battle, they should strike many drums, fixed beforehand as a signal, and announce, 'We have entered in; the kingdom is won.'
- 22 Or, entering the king's quarters, they should kill the king in the tumult. 23 Or, if he is trying to escape, leaders of Mleccha and forest troops, on all sides, should kill him, taking cover in places of
- goods. panyavikrayena āhartārah seems to mean something like hawkers, as Meyer implies. panyāni vikrayārtham āhartārah is what seems intended. Cn comes to an end with this s.
- 14 mohasthāneşu 'in places where the enemy ranks are thereby likely to be thrown into confusion'. Cs has 'when the enemy is at his wit's end as to what to do'. 15 tadvyañjanāḥ: tad refers to the govāṇijaka. cucchundarīśoṇitāktākṣān: apparently this makes the animals mad. Cf. 14.1.29.
 - 18 vimukhān ' who are turning back from the battle, who are in flight'.
- 19 dūsyāmitrātavikavyañjanāh: the idea is, loyal troops go over as deserters from the weak king, some of them his own troops pretending to be treasonable, others alien and still others forest troops. The unsuspecting enemy welcomes them. pratigraha is 'giving support'. Cf. 13.3.46.
- 21 samketa is a signal fixed with the weak king before the night attack. brūyuh: the subject seems to be the so-called deserters from the weak king. We must suppose them to be somewhere else in the enemy's kingdom, probably in the capital. When they cry labdham rājyam, the enemy may be expected to give up the fight and return to the kingdom to save it.

ambush or taking cover behind hedges of tree-stems. 24 Or, agents appearing as hunters should, in the tumult of an attack, strike at him on occasions fit for secret fight. 25 Or, they should strike at him when he is on a path where march in a single file alone is possible or on a mountain, or behind a hedge of tree-stems or in a marshy place or inside water, in accordance with the favourableness of the terrain to themselves. 26 Or, they should drown him through a rush of water by breaking dams in rivers, lakes and tanks. 27 Or, if he is in a desert fort, a forest fort or a water fort, they should destroy him with poisonous fire and smoke. 28 Assassins should do away with him by fire when he is in a narrow place, by smoke when he is in a desert, by poison if he is in his residence, by frightful crocodiles or persons moving in water if he has taken a plunge in water, or (kill him) as he is coming out of his quarters set on fire.

29 He should overreach the enemy, clinging to the places mentioned, by forcing him out through trickery and by secret practices or by using one of the secret tricks.

CHAPTER FIVE

SECTION 168 OVER-REACHING (THE ENEMY) BY TRICKERY SECTION 169 OVER-REACHING (THE ENEMY) BY FORCE SECTION 170 VICTORY OF THE SINGLE KING

1 On the occasion of a festival in honour of a deity, (there may be) many places for the enemy's coming to worship because of his devotion. 2 In those places, he should practise secret tricks on him.

23 stambhavāta seems to mean a hedge or fence made of tree-stems. 24 gūdhayuddha is not the same as kūṭayuddha (10.3). It is murder pure and simple. 25
Some mss. show stambhavanā- here for stambhavātā- (Cs). The latter may be
preferred in view of s. 23. — khañjana: cf. 10.4.8. 26 It seems that setubandhabheda is to be construed with nadī, saras and tatāka, though vega is conceivable of a river even without a dam breaking. 27 yogāgnidhūma: see 14.1.4-14. 28
nidhāna is little more than 'residence, abode'; 'store-house' or 'treasure-house'
seems less likely. — udakacaraṇaih: see 13.1.3-5 for ways of moving in water.

29 yogavāmana is described in 13.2 below. — yoga refers to the yogātisamdhāna of the next Chapter (Cs). — yogenānyatamena vā: this yoga would seem to refer to the tricks described in this Chapter. — uktāsu bhūmişu seems to refer to samkaṭa etc. of s. 28, perhaps also to ss. 23 ff.

12.5

The three Sections are closely inter-related and there is no clear demarcation line between them; at most we can say that the third begins at s. 43. eka in ekavija-yaḥ refers to the king being alone, with his fort in the enemy's possession.

1 daivatejyāyām yātrāyām: Cs Meyer have 'on the occasion of the worship of a deity or of a festival'; however, in the absence of a ca or a $v\bar{a}$, a single idea would ap-

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- 3 When he has entered the temple, he should cause a concealed wall or a huge stone to fall on him by the release of a mechanism. 4 Or, he should cause to be dropped down on him a shower of stones and weapons from an upper chamber, or a door panel thrown down or a door-bar placed in a wall and fixed at one end. 5 Or, he should cause the image, the banner and the weapons of the deity to fall upon him. 6 Or, in the places where he stays, sits or moves about, he should cause poison to be used along with the cow-dung smearing or with the scented water used for sprinkling on the floor, or with the offering of flowers and fragrant powder. 7 Or, he should carry over to him poisonous smoke concealed by perfume. 8 Or, he should make him drop down, by the release of a pin, into a well with spikes or a pit, underneath the bed or seat, where the floor is fixed by a mechanism.
- 9 Or, when the enemy has come near, he should carry over (into the fort) persons capable of withstanding a siege from the countryside.

 10 And from the fort he should remove those incapable of withstanding a siege or send them to the enemy's territory which is easily recoverable.

 11 And he should place the country people in one place in a mountain fort, a forest fort or a river fort, or in regions separated by forests, in charge of a son or a brother.
- 12 Reasons for entrenching oneself in a fort have been explained in 'the conduct of one surrendering with troops'.
- 13 He should cause grass and wood to be burnt up to one yojana (all round the fort). 14 And he should cause waters to be spoiled

pear better. — pūjāgama- is proposed for pūjyāgama-; pūjya in the latter is little likely. — bhaktitaḥ: Meyer construes this word with the next s. That seems less happy. 2 ubjayet: Cs paraphrases by prasārayet 'should spread'. Cf. s. 15 below. 6 puṣpacūrṇa-: these would be offered as prasāda to the enemy. 7 For poisonous smoke, cf. 14.1.9-14. 8 yantrabaddhatalam: the tala is the floor of the room; it sinks down when the pin is removed, and the bed or seat topples down into the well full of spikes.

9 avarodhakşamam: Cs has 'people from the enemy's country who are fit to be put in confinement.'; that appears very strange. 10 anavarodhakşamam etc.: the explanation in Cs 'should set free those not deserving to be confined, yet confined by the enemy' is still more strange. Can the weak king be supposed to bring about the release of such men when the enemy is drawing near? — pratyādeyam etc.: this is his own land, now in enemy occupation, which he hopes to recover later. 11 putrabhrātṛ: these are those of the weak king. Cs, however, understands the enemy's son etc. being placed in charge of his territory after dividing it. Would the weak king be able to do so? Cs is on a wrong track. The idea here is of preparing for a siege.

12 avarodha- is read here as in s. 9. However, since the title of the 119th Section has uparodhahetavah, we should retain uparodha- here as well. The hetus are enumerated in 7.15.12.

and to flow away. 15 And he should place wells, concealed pits and barbed wires outside.

- 16 Making an underground passage with many openings up to the enemy's camp, he should cause the chiefs of stores to be carried away, or the enemy (himself). 17 Or, if an underground passage is made by the enemy, he should cause the moat to be dug deeper till its water reaches the passage, or a well-shed along the rampart. 18 In suspected places, he should cause to be placed jars of water or bell-metal vessels, in order to find out any digging done there. 19 When the underground passage is known, he should cause a counter-passage to be dug. 20 Breaking it in the middle, he should let in smoke or water.
- 21 Or, making arrangements for the defence of the fort, and appointing a kinsman (as regent) in the base, he should go in the direction opposite to that of the (enemy), or where he might be united with allies, kinsmen or forest chiefs or with great enemies and traitors of the enemy, or where, by going there, he might be able to separate him from his allies or to attack him in the rear or cause his kingdom to be seized or to prevent his supplies, reinforcements and foraging raids, or from where he might be able to strike at him with a foul throw like a gambler, or from where his kingdom may be protected or he might be able to strengthen the base. 22 Or, he should go there where he might be able to secure desirable peace.
- 23 Or, those who have left (the fort) with him should send (word) to the (enemy), 'This enemy of yours has fallen in our hands; on the pretext of (the purchase of) a commodity or of (doing) injury, send
 - 15 kūpakūtāvapāta- etc.: cf. 2.3.15 and 10.1.12. ubjayet: see s. 2.
- 16 nicayamukhyān 'chiefs of stores' is not very satisfactory. Perhaps 'supplies (nicaya) and army-chiefs (mukhya)' is meant; but then the compound would be unusual. Cs has vicayamukhyān 'chief inspecting officers' which is little better. 17 udakāntikīm 'ending in water' implies water reaching down to the surungā and flooding it. kūpaśālām: i.e., a well is to be dug for flooding the passage. śālā is unusual with kūpa. 18 toyakumbhān is proposed for atoyakumbhān; since kāmsyabhāndāni may be supposed to contain no water, indicating only by their vibrations if digging is going on, atoyakumbhas would not materially differ from them. The water in the toyakumbhas may be supposed to indicate digging by its movement or by spilling over. 20 madhye bhittvā: the enemy's tunnel is breached and then flooded.
- 21 mūle, i.e., in the fort. *ākṣikavad a pakṣepeṇa *with a foul throw like a gambler '. This is not very satisfactory; but that appears to be the only meaning possible. Meyer's suggested āśmikapādapakṣepeṇa *by throwing stones and trees ' is quite fanciful.
- 23 panyam: the idea is that the weak king, who is supposed to be held in custody by his associates, is offered to the besieging king for a price, as a commodity for sale.

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money and a strong force, to which we should hand him over, bound or killed.' 24 When he agrees, he should appropriate the money and the strong force.

- 25 Or, the commander of a frontier fort, by offering the surrender of the fort, should get a part of the (enemy's) troops inside and destroy them when full of trust.
- 26 Or, (the regent) should invite a division of the enemy's army to destroy the country people stationed in one place. 27 Taking it to the enclosed region, he should destroy it when full of trust.
- 28 Or, an agent posing as a friend should send (word) to the besieger, 'In this fort, grains, fats, sugar or salt is exhausted; (new stocks of) it will come in at this place and time; seize it.' 29 Then treasonable, alien or forest troops should bring in poisoned grains, fats, sugar or salt, or others condemned to death (should bring it in). 30 By that is explained the seizure of all goods and supplies.
- 31 Or, making peace, he should give him a part of the (tribute-) money, the rest after a long delay. 32 Then he should cause his fortifications to be weakened. 33 Or, he should strike with fire, poison or weapon. 34 Or, he should favour those of his favourites who (come to) receive the money.
- 35 Or, if quite exhausted, he should surrender the fort to him and depart. 36 He should go out by an underground passage or an opening in the rampart, breaking through the side.

For the idea, cf. 8.2.8 etc. The *hiranya* asked for represents this price. The army is asked for ostensibly for taking charge of the weak king and to fight if the latter's troops offer any resistance.

- 25 balaikadeśam atinīya: these come in to take over the surrendered fort.
- 26 āvāhayet: the subject would be the son or the brother of s. 11, who is in charge of the people and is a sort of a regent in the place. 27 avaruddhadeśam: this apparently refers to the region to which the people have been taken, as in s. 11.
- 28 $b\bar{a}hya$ is the king outside the fort who has laid siege to it. 29 $d\bar{u}sy\bar{a}mitr\bar{a}tavik\bar{a}h$: these, if caught by the enemy, would not be a source of worry to the besieged king.
- 32 rakṣāvidhānāni; these are arrangements for the defence of his kingdom by the enemy. avasrāvayet: cf. 9.4.8. 34 hiranyapratigrāhinaḥ: Cs has 'who are used to receiving bribes' with anugṛhṇīyāt as 'should give a bribe (so that they may strike at their master)'. This is little likely. hiranya is the stipulated tribute which the vallabhas come to receive; the bribe is given so that they may go back without the tribute.
- 36 kukşipradarena etc.: apparently, the enemy troops are mainly concentrated at the gates for entering the fort; so that an escape through a hole in the side of the wall would not be noticed.

- 37 Making a sudden assault at night, he should remain if successful; if not successful he should go out by some stratagem. 38 In the disguise of a heretical monk, he should go out with a small retinue. 39 Or, he should be carried out decked as a corpse by secret agents. 40 Or, wearing a woman's garb, he should follow a funeral procession. 41 Or, (he should go away) leaving behind poisoned food and drink on occasions of offerings to gods, obsequial rites or festivals.
- 42 After making secret instigations, he should come out with apparently treasonable troops and strike with the concealed army.
- 43 Or, if his fort is thus seized, he should, after setting up a sanctuary with plenty of food to eat, remain concealed in a hollow inside the image of the deity or in a hollow wall or in an underground chamber endowed with the image of a deity. 44 When (things are) forgotten, he should enter the king's chamber at night by an underground passage and kill the sleeping enemy. 45 Or, loosening something that can be loosened by a mechanism, he should make it fall down (on him). 46 Or, as the enemy is sleeping in a house smeared with a poisonous fire-mixture or in a lac-house, he should set it on fire. 47 Or, when the (enemy) is careless in a place of recreation in a pleasure park or other recreation grounds, assassins, entering through underground chambers or tunnels or hollow walls, should slay him, or those employed in secret service (should do so) by poison. 48 Or, when he is sleeping in a secluded place, female secret agents should drop on him serpents or poisonous fire and smoke.

77 pārśvena 'by the side', i.e., by a stratagem or trick to be presently described (Cs). 38 For this and the following tricks, cf. 7.17.50-52 and 44. 41 The stop after avasrjya is as proposed by Meyer; Cs reads ss. 41-42 as one. It is doubtful, however, if the two ideas, leaving poisoned food and attacking with a concealed army can be combined. After avasrjya, we should supply nirgacchet. For this idea, cf. 7.17.44. The king would allow the poisoned food to fall into the hands of enemy troops who come in, while he makes good his escape.

42 The idea seems to be that secret agents assure the enemy that the army of the weak king is $d\bar{u}sya$; the officers, in fact, are in touch with the enemy, pretending to be traitors. When he comes out for the attack with these supposed traitors, the enemy thinks that the troops will desert and come over to him; as he is negligent in view of this expectation, the troops, firm in loyalty, overwhelm him. $g\bar{u}dhasainyah$ seems to mean that the army is concealed in the appearance of $d\bar{u}syas$. An army concealed somewhere outside the fort is conceivable, but does not appear very likely.

43 prāsyaprāsam seems intended as an adjective to caityam. The expression is awkward. As two words, it could mean 'having eaten food 'which is hardly likely. — daivatapratimāchidram: cf. 13.1.3. The image must be assumed to be fairly big, with openings for ventilation. — gūḍhabhittim 'a hollow wall 'in the palace itself. — daivatapratimā- etc.: the cellar has the image of a deity covering it. entrance, so that its existence is not suspected by the enemy occupying the palaces Cf. 1.20.2. 45 yantraviśleṣaṇam: a substantive such as a kapāṭam or parigham

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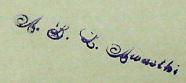
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- 49 Or, when an occasion arises, he should, moving about secretly, use everything that may be possible against the enemy staying in the palace. 50 Then he should go away in a secret manner, and give signals to his own men.
 - 51 Calling by signals of drums door-keepers, cunuchs and others secretly employed with the enemy, he should get the rest of the enemies killed.

Herewith ends the Twelfth Book of the Arthasastra of Kauţilya 'Concerning the Weaker King'

is to be understood. 46 avaliptam grham as well as jatugrham would be prepared before leaving the palace.

- 50 apagacchet: the reason for this is not obvious, perhaps to escape being regarded as a murderer. It is possible that agacchet was the original reading. svajanasamjñām: the signals are fixed with his own men in the palace, who continue in service with the occupying enemy.
- 51 pare is from Cs; paraiḥ of the mss. is unlikely. Similarly, ghātayet from Cs is preferable to kārayet. In any case, Meyer's 'should make (kārayet) only a few enemies left (dviṣaccheṣāṇi) 'is hardly possible.



BOOK THIRTEEN

MEANS OF TAKING A FORT

CHAPTER ONE

SECTION 171 INSTIGATION TO SEDITION

- 1 The conqueror, desirous of capturing the enemy's (fortified) town, should fill his own side with enthusiasm and fill the enemy's side with terror, by getting his omniscience and association with divinities proclaimed.
- 2 The proclamation of omniscience, however, (is to be made thus): after ascertaining secret information from their houses, communicating it to the chiefs; after finding out through spies used in suppression of criminals, bringing to light traitors to the king; announcing a request or a present (about to be made) through unnoticed signs and other things according to the science of association; (showing) knowledge of news from foreign lands on the same day through a domestic pigeon carrying a sealed communication.
- 3 The proclamation of association with divinities, however, (should be arranged thus): conversing with and worshipping agents appearing as deities in fire-sanctuaries, who have entered the hollow

Cj (on 1.1.15) says 'lambha for lābha is a wrong form grammatically.' — The capture of enemy forts is recommended mostly through stratagems.

13.1

- 1 grāma refers to the durga or the fortified capital. The reference to pāragrāmika yoga in 1.18.10 and 9.3.18 and to the pāragrāmika Section in 5.1.3 is clearly to details found in this Book. sarvajña- stands for sarvajñatva-, as elsewhere.
 - 2 pratyādeśaḥ 'communicating'; for this sense of the root, cf. 1.11.3, also 4.5.14.

 -avagamena is proposed for -āgamena or -apagamena of the mss. For the sense 'knowing, finding out,' avagama is clearly preferable. vijñāpyopāyana- seems to contain two ideas 'a request to be made (vijñāpya) and present to be given (upāyana).' It could hardly mean 'a present about to be offered (vijñāpya)' (Cs) or 'information (upāyana) yet to be communicated to the king (vijñāpya)' (Meyer). For samsargavidyā, see 1.12.1. adṛṣṭa is to be construed with samjñā, in the sense of 'not noticed by others'. gṛhakapotena: this would be sent by agents working in foreign lands.

images of deities in fire-sanctuaries by an underground passage; or, conversing with and worshipping agents appearing as Nāgas or Varuṇa risen from the water; showing a row of fires at night inside water by placing a container with sea-sand; standing on a boat held down by slings containing stones; application to the nose, of oil boiled a hundred times with the entrails of a spotted deer or the fats of crabs, crocodiles, dolphins and otters, to a person whose head without the nose is covered with water-bladder or an embroy-covering. 4 With that, the group of nocturnal creatures moves about. 5 These are ways of moving in water. 6 Through them (there is) use of speech by Varuṇa or by Nāga maidens and conversation (with them, and) the emitting of fire and smoke from the mouth on occasions of anger.

7 Soothsayers, interpreters of omens, astrologers, reciters of Purāṇas, seers, and secret agents, those who have helped and those who have witnessed it, should broadcast that (power) of the (king) in his own territory. 8 In the enemy's territory, they should speak about his meeting with divinities and the acquisition of a treasury and army from a divine source. 9 And when interpreting questions to deities, omens, crows' flight, the science of the body, dreams and utterances of animals and birds, they should predict victory for him, the reverse of it for the enemy. 10 And they should point to a meteor in the enemy's constellation with a beat of drum.

3 agnicaityadaivatapratimā is clearly an image of the fire-god in a temple dedicated to him. The image must be assumed to be fairly big to accommodate a human being inside. - - harina- in the mss. for -varuna- is an obvious corruption. — samudravālukākośam is not clear. Cs has 'bags of sand with their mouths sewn up'; how these are to produce fire in water is not explained. 14.2.36 states that samudraphena smeared with oil floats on water and burns. Perhaps that is meant here, though the words contain no reference to it. kośa seems to mean 'a container'; -kośān in the plural might have been expected to create the illusion of agnimālā. — udaka- is strange with basti. Perhaps some aquatic animal is meant; udakāhi of 14.3.67 is possible, but not certain. — śirovagūdhanāsah is also an odd expression. What seems meant is that the head is covered, leaving the nose out (to make it appear blazing). 'With the nose covered along with the head' (Cs) could hardly have been meant. As nastah prayogah is obviously to be construed with this expression, the genitive would have been better; or should we read -nasah (in the genitive singular from nas 'nose')? - -vasābhir vā: the $v\bar{a}$ apparently shows the option between presatantra and the vasa of the various animals. — tailam: we expect the instrumental, since it is this oil applied to the nose that will apparently make it glow. The whole clause appears loosely constructed. 5 udakacaranāni, i.e., moving in water or on the surface of water. 6 agnidhūmotsargah as described in 14.2.34.

7 sācivyakarāh, i.e., those who have helped him in manipulating these tricks.
9 vāyasa is 'crows' flight' rather than their cries. — angavidyā: see
1.12.1. 10 sadundubhim cannot be included in s. 9 (as is done in Cs), as fortunetelling with drum-beats does not appear likely. — ulkām: this is managed

11 Agents working as envoys, speaking to the chiefs of the enemy out of friendship, should tell them of the king's high regard for them, of the strengthening of his own party and the deterioration of the enemy's party. 12 They should tell ministers and soldiers of the same well-being and security (as before). 13 He should show consideration for them in calamities and on festive occasions, and honour their children.

14 In that way he should stir up the enemy's party (against him) as explained before. 15 And we shall explain further. 16 (He should stir up) the diligent by (speaking of) the ordinary donkey; the leaders of the army, by the stick and the striking of the branch; those frightened, by the ram (strayed) from the herd; those insulted, by a shower of thunder-bolts; those with hopes frustrated, by the cane bearing no fruit, balls of rice to crows and the cloud created by magic; those receiving the reward of honour, by decoration of a disliked wife by one who hates; those secretly put to test, by the tigerskin and the death-trap; those who constantly oblige, by the eating of the *pīlu*-fruit, the hail, the female camel and churning of the shedonkey's milk.

artificially as in 14.2.30. — parasya nakṣatre, i.e., when the moon is in the birth-constellation of the enemy.

of the enemy; it can hardly mean 'honour done to the dūta-agent (described so as to tempt the mukhya)' (Cs). — svapakṣabalādhānam: this and the following expression are construed in Cs with tulyayogakṣemam in the next s., the explanation being 'should declare svapakṣabalādhāna and parapakṣapratighāta as leading to a gain and security (yogakṣema) for ministers and soldiers, equal to that of the king himself (tulyam, i.e., rājñā samānam)'. This is hardly satisfactory, particularly the equality with the king. Meyer understands by tulya the same prosperity for ministers and soldiers, which would hardly tempt the mukhyas. tulya seems to refer to the same position as now enjoyed by them, though it must be confessed that this by itself would hardly be a sufficient temptation to change sides. 13 apatyapūjanam': according to Cs, this is done after the death of the mukhya. This is unlikely; the vijigīṣu would not be interested in their children for their own sake. Honouring the children is only a means of winning over the father.

14 purastāt, i.e., in 1.14.6 ff. 16 sādhāraṇagardabhena, i.e., by comparing them with a donkey that labours without getting adequate compensation. — lakuṭaśākhāhananābhyām, i.e., comparing them to a stick which strikes a branch so that others may get the fruits; so a general fights so that the king may enjoy himself. — kulaiḍakena: cf. 12.1.7; the suggestion is, like such a ram, he may be caught any time and killed. — aśanivarṣena implying that an insult is like a thunder-bolt. — vidulena avakeśinā, i.e., by comparing the enemy king with a reed that promises but does not bear fruit. — vāyasapiṇḍena, i.e., by comparing what is given by the king with an offering to a crow, suggesting its meagreness as well as contempt for the recipient. Cs understands vā āyasapiṇḍena 'or, an uneatable lump of iron '; that is very doubtful. — kaitavajameghena: by comparing the king with a magie cloud from which there is no rain. — durbhagālaṃkāreṇa dveṣiṇeti (this last is from Cs for dveṣiṇo'ti-). The king is compared to a husband

- 17 Those who agree (to desert), he should endow with money and honour. 18 And in their difficulties regarding goods and food, he should favour them with gifts of goods and food. 19 In the case of those not accepting (these), they should bring ornaments to their women and children.
- And on occasions of famine, or troubles by robbers or forest tribes, secret agents, stirring up the citizens and the country people, should say, 'Let us ask the king for help; if we do not get help, let us go elsewhere.'
 - 21 When, saying 'All right', they agree, help should be given to them by the grant of goods and grains. Thus is this great miracle of secret instigation.

CHAPTER TWO

SECTION 172 DRAWING OUT (THE ENEMY) BY MEANS OF STRATAGEMS

1 An ascetic with shaven head or with matted locks, living in a mountain cave, (and) declaring himself to be four hundred years old, should stay in the vicinity of the city with plenty of disciples with

who dislikes his wife and yet provides her with ornaments etc.; dvesinā describes the king or the husband. dvesinah in the other reading would describe the mukhyas, who would also appear as atipūjāphalān. But if they are already full of hate for the king, no instigation would be necessary in their case. $atip\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ also appears doubtful. The explanation in Cs 'those honoured by the king, by speaking of the gift (alamkāra) being defective (durbhaga) or that the king is displeased (dvesinā) ' is, however, quite unlikely. durbhagā is contrasted with subhagā of 8.4.24 etc.. Cf. 'durbhagā patisneharahitā ' (Trikāndaścsa). - vyāghracarmanā, i.e., suggesting that the king is ferocious like a tiger. - upahitān: this has reference to the upadhās of 1.10. - pīluvikhādanena: pīlu is a kind of fruit which apparently provides no nourishment, but is only a source of trouble; so is upakāra conferred on this king. - karakā 'hail' is understood as a kind of bitter vegetable in Cs., as a waterjug by Meyer. A hail-stone may signify harmfulness or uselessness. — ustryā: this also is a kind of bitter plant, according to Cs. One may understand the female camel as being useless for purposes of milk. - gardabhi- etc. apparently signifies great effort with no return. - dhruvopakārinah is an emendation from Meyer. dhruvāpakārinah 'constantly doing harm' seems little likely in the context.

- 18 chidra clearly refers to want or lack of the things mentioned.
- 21 parigraha seems to have the sense of 'favouring', i.e., granting or giving.

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vāmana 'emptying' refers to forcing the enemy king out of his fort and then getting him killed. Meyer understands 'emptying' to imply weakening of the king. But vamana refers to movement from one place to another; cf. 2.1.1. vāmana is the causal of that.

matted locks. 2 And his disciples, approaching with roots and fruits, should induce the ministers and the king to pay a visit to the holy master. 3 And, visited by the king, he should speak of identification marks of former kings and their countries (adding), 'When every one hundred years of my life are completed, I enter fire and become a child again; so here in your presence, I shall enter fire for the fourth time; you have necessarily to be honoured by me; choose three boons.' 4. When he agrees, he should say, 'You should stay here with sons and wife for seven nights, after arranging a festival with shows.' 5 He should attack him while he is staying there.

6 Or, an agent appearing as a seer of underground objects, with shaven head or with matted hair, having plenty of disciples with matted hair, should place in an ant-hill a bamboo-strip smeared with goat's blood, after smearing it with gold powder, in order that ants may follow it, or (place there) a hollow tube of gold. 7 Then a secret agent should tell the king, 'That holy man knows a flowering treasure-trove.' 8 Questioned by the king, he should say, 'Yes,' and point out that proof, or after placing more money in the earth. 9 And he should say to him, 'This treasure-trove, guarded by a cobra, can be obtained through worship.' 10 When he agrees, 'for seven nights' and so on as before.

Or, as an agent appearing as a seer of underground objects, with his body enveloped in a burning fire at night, is staying in a solitary place, secret agents should say to the king after making him gradually entertain faith (in him), 'That holy man is able to secure

1 nagara- is the enemy's capital. 3 abhijñānāni: these are, of course, learnt from history. — bhavān mānayitavyaḥ is from Cs; bhavānānayitavyaḥ of the mss. is an obvious corruption. 5 avaskandeta: the subject is the vijigīṣu.

6 sthānika, as the context shows, seems to mean one who is able to see what is underground in any particular place (sthāna); the usual meaning of a divisional officer is out of the question. — bastaśonita- is from Cs for the unlikely vastra-śonita- of the mss. — upajihvikānusaraṇārtham: apparently the ants would be attracted by the goat's blood and their presence may be regarded as an indication of a treasure-trove there. It is, however, quite likely that the absence of ants would indicate the presence of a cobra and the treasure guarded by him and that the goat's blood is in order to drive away ants. For this -apasaraṇārtham would have to be read. 7 puṣpitam nidhim: On the strength of parallels from other folk-tales, Meyer thinks that a light is supposed to appear at the place, indicating that the treasure is flowering, i.e., shooting forth and growing, the flower being the śalākā or nālikā. 8 bhūyo vā hiraṇyamādhāya: this may be in place of or in addition to the śalākā or nālikā of s. 6. 10 samānam, i.e., as in ss. 4-5.

11 tejanāgni is described in 14.2.18-26. — kramābhinītam: 'faith in whom is gradually created'; the meaning is slightly different from that in 11.1.6 and 12.2.19. — sāmedhikaḥ: cf. 1.11.16.

- prosperity.' 12 Promising to ensure what object the king were to ask for, (the seer should say), 'for seven nights' and so on as before.
- 13 Or, an agent appearing as a holy man should tempt the king with magical lores. 14 'What object the king' and so on as before.
- 15 Or, an agent appearing as a holy man, finding shelter in (the temple of) an honoured deity of the country, should, by frequent festivities, win over the chiefs among the constituents and gradually overreach the king.
- 16 Or, as an agent appearing as an ascetic with matted locks, all white, is staying in water, with means of getting away to an underground tunnel or chamber under the bank, secret agents should tell the king, after gradually making him believe, that he is Varuna or the King of Nāgas. 17 'What object the king' and so on as before.
- 18 Or, an agent appearing as a holy man, living on the border of the country, should induce the king to have a sight of the enemy. 19 When he agrees, he should make an effigy and invoke the enemy, and should kill (the king) in a secluded spot.
- 20 Agents appearing as traders, coming with horses for sale, should invite the king to purchase or receive (horses) as a gift, and kill him while engrossed in inspecting the goods or when mingled with horses and should strike with the horses.
- 21 Or, assassins, climbing a sacred tree near the city at nighttime, and blowing into jars through stalks or reeds, should say indistinctly, 'We shall eat the flesh of the king or the chiefs; let worship be offered to us.' 22 Agents appearing as interpreters of omens and astrologers should make that (utterance) of theirs known.
- 15 abhyarhitām, i.e., worshipped by all the people there. abhisamvāsya: making them stay with him and thus creating confidence in him. Cf. samvāsya 5.1.19; 11.1.40.
- 16 tatasurungā- from Cs is clearly necessary; tadasurungā- of the mss, conveys little sense.
- 18 śatrudarśanāya: the darśana is for working on his effigy for black magic.

 19 bimbam is the enemy's effigy, and āvāhayitvā refers to 'invoking' the enemy to come and be present in the effigy. It is this 'presence' that is apparently to be held responsible for the death of the king. Cs has 'giving a sign (bimba) and bringing in the enemy (in person)'. It is doubtful if the vijigīṣu is intended to be brought face to face with the enemy.
- 20 panyopāyananimittam: two separate purposes, sale and gift, are intended.

 aśvaiś ca prahareyuh: after killing him themselves, they get him trampled upon by horses, so that his death would appear as being due to a stampede of horses.
- 21 caityam, i.e., caityavṛkṣam. nālīn vā vidulāni: the vā is misplaced; it should have come after vidulāni. The idea seems to be to muffle the voice by blow-

13. 2. 23]

- 23 Or, agents appearing as Nāgas, with their bodies smeared with burning oil, should, at night-time, pound together iron clubs and pestles in a holy lake or in the middle of a tank and utter in the same way.
- 24 Or, agents robed in the skins of bears, giving out fire and smoke (from the mouths), and having the appearance of Rākṣasas, should go three times left-wise round the city and utter in the same way, in the intervals between the cries of dogs and jackals.
- 25 Or, making the image of a deity in a sanctuary burn at night with burning oil or with fire covered by a layer of mica, (agents) should utter in the same way. 26 Others should make that known.
- 27 Or, with blood (of animals) they should cause an excessive flow (of blood) from honoured images of deities. 28 Then others should declare defeat in battle in consequence of the flow of the blood of the deity.
- Or, on the nights of the month's junctures, they should point out a sanctuary in a prominent part of the cemetary as with men eaten standing. 30 Thereafter an agent appearing as a Rākṣasa should demand the offering of a human being. 31 And whoever, calling himself brave or some one else, were to come there to see, others should kill him with iron pestles, so that it would be known that he was killed by the Rākṣasas. 32 Those who have witnessed it and secret agents should report that miracle to the king. 33 Then agents appearing as interpreters of omens and astrologers should prescribe pacificatory and expiatory rites (adding), 'Otherwise a great disaster

ing through hollow reeds into jars, so that it would sound as the voice of a spirit. Cs, reading $vidal\bar{a}ni$, has 'by burning as incense (dhamantah) grain-stalks $(n\bar{a}l\bar{\imath}n)$ and splinters of wood $(vidal\bar{a}ni)$ '. It is doubtful if incense-smoke can be supposed to be created by spirits. Meyer suggests $v\bar{a}dayantah$ in place of $v\bar{a}$ 'playing on the reeds in the pots or blowing into rattan-sticks'. This does not seem meant. 22 After this, some rite is recommended to the enemy, during the course of which he is to be murdered. See ss. 33-34 below.

- 23 tejanataila as described in 14.2.25.
- 24 agnidhūmotsarga from the mouth, as described in 14.2.34. apasavyam: see 1.20.4. śvasrgāla- is from Cs for śivāsrgāla-: the latter may mean 'female and male jackals'; but the expression appears doubtful. The cries of the animals may be supposed to have been also imitated.
- 25 abhrapaṭalacchannena agninā: Meyer thinks that the mere application of mica would make the image burn at night. But the wording presupposes an inflammatory substance covered by mica.
- 29 saindhirātriṣu, i.e., full moon and new moon nights, particularly the latter.

 ūrdhvabhakṣitair 'eaten upright', i.e., eaten while they are alive, as in Meyer.

 Cs has 'with the upper part of the body eaten' which appears less likely. 34

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er. er. 84 will befall the king and the country.' 34 When he has agreed, they should say, 'In these (manifestations), for seven nights the king himself should make offerings of oblations with *mantras* on each single day.' 35 Then as before.

- 36 Or, showing these tricks practised on himself, he should overcome them, in order to convince the enemies. 37 Then he should employ the tricks (against them).
- 38 Or, by overcoming occult manifestations, he should replenish the treasury.
- 39 Keepers of elephant forests should tempt the (enemy) fond of elephants with an elephant possessed of auspicious marks. 40 When he agrees, they should take him to a dense forest or a path allowing only one person to march at a time, and kill him, or carry him off imprisoned.

 41 By that is explained the (enemy) fond of hunting.
- 42 Or, secret agents should tempt the (enemy) greedy of money or women with rich widows (or) women possessed of great beauty and youth, taken to him for the sake of inheritance or deposit. 43 When he agrees, they should, concealed in ambush, kill him with weapon or poison at the time of the meeting.
- 44 Or, on the occasions of his frequent visits to holy men, mendicants, images of deities in sanctuaries and *stūpas*, assassins, concealed in underground chambers or passages or inside hollow walls, should strike at the enemy.

eteşu refers to all the manifestations mentioned above in ss. 21 onwards. — ekaika seems to refer to bali or homa on each one of the seven days. Meyer has 'one single chant, offering and oblation, for seven days'.

- 36 pareṣām upadeśārtham, i.e., to show to the enemy that the manifestations can be successfully overcome and so to induce him to take the same measures when the manifestations are produced in his state, so that he could then be done away with. pareṣām can hardly refer to his own men, as Cs understands. It is unlikely that the king would be teaching these tricks to his servants. Meyer proposes apadeśārtham 'in order to have a pretext for using them against the enemies'; that is not necessary at all.
 - 38 This s. is repeated from 5.2.45 and is really out of place here.
 - 39 Cs rightly compares the capture of Udayana by Pradyota's men.
- 42 As it appears that women of great beauty and youth are to be distinguished from rich widows, it would be better to read the $v\bar{a}$ after $paramar\bar{u}payauvan\bar{a}bhih$ instead of after $\bar{a}dhyavidhav\bar{a}bhih$. It is also possible, however, that $paramar\bar{u}pa$ etc. only further describes the rich widows themselves. $d\bar{a}yaniksep\bar{a}rtham$ is proposed as in 11.1.42; there is little doubt that $d\bar{a}y\bar{a}da$ 'heir' is unlikely. A $viv\bar{a}da$ with respect to $d\bar{a}ya$ or niksepa is meant. 43 sattracchannah is as proposed by Meyer; sattricchannah of the mss. is little likely. sattracchanna is, in fact, a paraphrase of sattrin.

- 45 In those places, in which the king himself is witnessing a dramatic show, or is enjoying himself in a festival or where he is sporting in water;
- 46 On all occasions of speaking words of reproof and so on, during sacrifices and festive parties, during birth-rites, funeral rites and illnesses, on occasions of love, sorrow or fear;
- 47 Or, when at a festival of his own people, he, being full of trust, becomes careless, or when he moves about without a guard, on a rainy day or in crowds;
- 48-49 When he has strayed from the route, or when there is a fire or when he has entered a place without any men in it, assassins, entering with packages of clothes, ornaments and flowers, with beds and seats, or with vessels containing wine and food or with musical instruments, should strike at the enemy along with those employed there beforehand.
- 50 And in the same way as they may have entered on the occasions for an ambush of the enemy, they should depart. Thus has been described the drawing out (of the enemy) by stratagems.

CHAPTER THREE

SECTION 173 EMPLOYMENT OF SECRET AGENTS

- 1 He should make a trustworthy chief of a band (ostensibly) desert him. 2 Finding shelter with the enemy, he should bring over helpmates and associates from his own country on the pretext of their
- 45 yāḥ (in yāḥ prekṣāḥ) has little significance. yātrāvihāre: Meyer thinks that we should read yatra vihāre, since yātrā as 'festival' is not common in this text. But that is not correct. For yātrāvihāra, cf. 7.15.22 and for yātrā 1.21.28 and 12.5.1
- 46 dhiguktyādiṣu sarveṣu: Cs reads cāṭūktyādiṣu kṛṭyeṣu 'on occasions of panegyrics and on ceremonial occasions.' Meyer proposes ṛguktyādiṣu 'on occasions when ṛcs are recited.' This is little likely.
- 48 viprasthāne, i.e., when he has missed the road and is lost. 49 abhigatāh is an emendation from Meyer; abhihataih of the mss. implies that drums would be beaten when killing the enemy, which would be strange. And abhigatāh is necessary in itself. arim in the singular is also from Meyer; that is in conformity with the singulars in the earlier clauses.
- 50 dviṣataḥ: Cs understands this as accusative plural construed with pravise-yuḥ; that is not a happy construction. It is obviously genitive singular to be construed with sattrahetubhiḥ. These latter refer to the occasions enumerated in the preceding stanzas. tathaivā, i.e., with the phelās as in ss. 48-49.

13.3

1. śreni here obviously refers to the śrenibala. — nispātayet: cf. 9.6.35. That passage describes a similar stratagem. See also ss. 11 ff. below. 3 vitahastyaśvam

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being his (own) party. 3 Or, bringing about an influx of secret agents, he should, after securing the enemy's consent, destroy a treasonable town of his master, or an army devoid of elephants and horses with treasonable officers, or a (treasonable) ally in the rear (of his master), and should send word to the enemy. 4 Or, he should resort to a part of the country or a band or forest chiefs for obtaining help. 5 Winning (the enemy's) confidence he should send word to his master. 6 Then the master, pretending (an expedition for) catching elephants or destruction of forest tribes, should attack secretly.

- 7 By this are explained ministers and forest chiefs.
- 8 After making friends with the enemy, he should dismiss (some) ministers. 9 They should send a request to his enemy, 'Propitiate the master for us.' 10 He should upbraid the messenger whom he might send (with such a request), 'Your master is dividing me from the ministers; you should not come here again.' 11 Then he should make one minister desert him. 12 Finding shelter with the enemy, he should bring to the notice of the enemy treacherous spies, the disaffected and the treasonable, who are weak, or robbers and forest chiefs who harass both (kingdoms). 13 Winning (thus) a position of trust, he should bring to his notice the offence of brave men (of the enemy, such as) a frontier officer or a forest chief or a leader of the army, saying, 'So and so is surely in league with your enemy.' 14 Then afterwards he should get them killed through letters carried by men condemned to death.

dūṣyāmātyam: cf. 10.5.49. — With ākrandam, we have to understand dūṣya from the preceding. — The object is two-fold, to get rid of the dūṣyas and at the same time to convince the enemy that he really has become hostile to his old master. 4 janapadaikadeśam etc.: this seems to mean that instead of attacking the dūsyagrāma etc. of his old master, he goes to the countryside of the enemy to raise troops for him. These troops would be under him, so that he is in a position to get them destroyed by inviting a secret attack by his old master. Cs, however, understands the idea in this and the next s. as follows, 'he should secretly go to the country etc. to receive them as helpmates for his old master; when after receiving them he feels confidence in them, he should send them to his old master.' This is altogether unlikely. viśvāsa in the next s. refers to the trust which the enemy would be placing in the 'deserter,' not the latter's confidence in the troops. And presayet is as usual only 'should send word'; cf. 12.5.23, also ss. 9,10,17 below. Besides, it is unlikely that enemy's men are here intended to be won over to the vijigīṣu's side. The idea here is that of preparing for a secret attack on the enemy. 6 gudham eva praharet: the 'deserting' srenīmukhya would, of course, be helping in this attack to destroy the enemy's troops.

8 avakṣipet: cf. 1.10.2. 10 sa yam from Cs is clearly necessary for svayam. 11 athaikam etc.: for this stratagem, cf. 9.6.35-41. 12 yogāpasarpa seems to mean 'agents who have turned traitors' to the vijigīṣu. These and the aparakta and dūṣya are brought to the notice of the enemy by the deserting amātya in order to win his confidence. — aśaktimataḥ: the point seems to be that even if the enemy takes them in service, they will not be much use to him. — parasya

- 15 Or, he should get him destroyed by rousing the enemy with the use of armed forces.
- 16 Or, by supporting the seducible party, he should make the king who is the enemy's enemy do injury to himself and then should attack him. 17 Then he should send word to the enemy, 'This enemy of yours is doing injury to me; come, let us join forces and destroy him; you will have a share in (his) land or money.' 18 If he agrees and comes after honouring (these words), he should get him killed by the enemy in a sudden assault or in open battle. 19 Or, under the pretext of giving land or crowning his son or giving protection, in order to create confidence, he should get him seized. 20 Or, if he is unassailable, he should get him killed by silent punishment. 21 If he were to lend a force and not come himself, he should get it destroyed by his enemy. 22 Or, if he were to desire to march with troops, but not with the conqueror, even then he should get him destroyed by a squeezing from both sides. 23 Or, if, full of distrust, he were to wish to march, each separately, or were desirous of seizing a part of the territory of the king against whom they are marching, even then he should get him killed by the enemy or by mobilising all his troops. 24 Or, when he is engaged in a fight with the enemy, he should get his base seized from another direction by sending troops (there).
- 25 Or, he should bargain with the ally with the (offer of the) enemy's land, or with the enemy with the (offer of the) ally's land.
 26 Then making the ally do injury to himself when seeking to seize the enemy's land, he should attack him and so on, all the tricks exactly as before.

upaharet can hardly mean 'should present to the enemy as helpmates'; it could not possibly apply to the stena and āṭavika who harass both kingdoms. 13 pra-vīrapuruṣopaghāta is 'injury by brave men,' i.e., some offence of theirs. antapāla etc. illustrates pravīrapuruṣa and śatruṇā saṃdhatte illustrates the upaghāta.

- 15 dandabalavyavahārena: cf. 8.1.34,38. śatrum seems to be the enemy's enemy, though there is no asya to show that. The ss. that follow illustrate this s. The enemy himself as the object of udyojya appears little likely in the context.
- 16 kṛtyapakṣopagraha is the reason why the enemy's enemy would be doing injury to the vijigīṣu, who would then attack in retaliation. 17 parigrahaḥ 'allotment' or assignment of a share. 19 abhiviśvāsanārtham: this is when he is not killed, but is successful in defeating his enemy. He is invited to receive the promised share of land or get his son crowned there and so on. 20 aviṣahyam refers primarily to the fort in which he is safe. 22 ubhayatahsampīḍanena, i.e., between himself and the enemy's enemy.

25 mitram: this is the vijigīṣu's ally as in Cs. 26 sarva eva yogāḥ, i.e., those of ss. 17-24, substituting me mitram for te vairī in 17.

- 27 Or, he should help with troops the enemy, who has agreed, when he is seeking to seize the ally's land. 28 Then he should over-reach him, as he marches against the ally.
- 29 Or, after taking remedial measures, he should show a calamity for himself, and rousing the enemy through the ally, should get him to attack himself. 30 Then he should destroy him by squeezing or, catching him alive, make an exchange of the kingdom (for his life).
- 31 If, sheltered by the ally, the enemy were to wish to remain out of reach, he should get his base seized by a neighbouring prince and so on.
 32 Or, if he were to seek to protect it with troops, he should cause those to be destroyed.
- 33 If the two were not to become estranged, he should quite openly bargain with each other's land. 34 Then agents posing as friends or those in the pay of both should send messengers to one or the other, 'This king wants to seize your land, being in league with the enemy.' 35 (If) one of them is filled with apprehension or anger, he should act as before.
- 36 Or, he should banish chiefs of the fort or the country or the army, after proclaiming the grounds for their being the seducible party. 37 They should overreach the enemy in a battle or a sudden assault or a siege or a calamity. 38 Or, they should bring about his estrangement from his own groups. 39 They should get corroboration through letters carried by men condemned to death.
- 40 Or, secret agents appearing as hunters, remaining at the gates for the sale of meat, and given shelter by gate-keepers, should win the enemy's confidence by informing him of the approach of dacoits two or
- 29 tataḥ pratividhānena of the mss. is not right, since this trick is not connected with the preceding as would be implied by tataḥ. mitreṇa: this again is the vijigīṣu's ally; he is to urge the enemy to attack the vijigīṣu because of the pretended vyasana. 30 sampīḍanena, i.e., between his ally and himself; cf s. 22.
- 31 mitreṇa āśritaḥ: this is equivalent to mitram āśritaḥ, the ally being that of the enemy. The latter has gone to the ally's capital. agrāhye' in a position where he cannot be captured'. agrāhyaḥ might appear better as in 12.1.16. trātum: the object is mūlam.
- 33 tau, i.e., the enemy and his ally. -bhūmyā in the instrumental is preferable to -bhūmyām; cf. s. 25. 34 paraspa; am is not from the enemy to the ally and vice versa, but to the enemy or to the ally from third parties. mitravyañjanā ubhayavetanā vā: in view of vā, two separate words are proposed in place of a single compound. 35 jātāsankāroṣah etc.: we have to supply cet with this, for the subject for ceṣteta is vijigīṣuh.
- 36 kṛtyapakṣahetus are mentioned in 1.14. pravrājayet: the banishment is for hoodwinking the enemy, who unsuspectingly gives them shelter. 37 avarodha: cf. 12.5.9,10. 38 svavargebhyaḥ: these would be the enemy's own chiefs or officers.

three times, (then) getting their master's army stationed in two places, one for destroying a town and the other for a sudden assault, should say to the enemies, 'A band of robbers is close by; there is a great din; let a large force come.' 41 Handing that over to the troops (of their master) meant for destroying the town and taking the other troops to the gates of the fort at night, (they) should say, 'The band of robbers is killed; the troops, successful in the expedition, have come back; open the gate.' 42 Or, those secretly employed there beforehand should open the gates. 43 Along with them they should strike.

44 Or, he should station in the enemy's fort soldiers disguised as artisans, artists, heretical monks, actors and traders. 45 Agents appearing as householders should bring to them weapons and armours in carts carrying wood, grass, grains and other goods, or in flags and images of gods. 46 Then those disguised like them (should carry out) the slaughter of the unwary, the supporting of sudden assault, or a strike in the rear, or should announce by the sound of conches and drums, 'The (army of the enemy) has come in.' 47 They should open rampart-gates and towers, divide the enemy's divisions or destroy them.

40 māmsavikrayena dvāḥsthāḥ: apparently the hunters remained outside the gates to avoid duty. — grāmavadhe: one part of the vijigīṣu's troops is assigned the task of attacking a town (other than the durga) as dacoits, the other is intended for an assault on the durga. — dviṣataḥ: the plural has in view the officers in the enemy's fort. 41 tad, i.e., the large force of the enemy. — arpayitvā suggests absence of any fight, as the enemy's troops realise that they have been tricked. — itarad, i.e., that meant for the avaskanda. — The explanation in Cs is much beside the point and bristles with difficulties. The pratyaya won is supposed to be that of the master (not of the enemy), grāmavadhe and avaskande are understood as 'for defending against an attack on the town and against an assault,' the handing over is supposed to be for the purpose of warding off the attack on the town, and the hunters themselves are supposed 'to kill the enemy troops so that those who want to leave the fort may do so easily'; all this implies that a real attack by robbers is visualised, which is hardly conceivable.

44 āyudhīyān here and praharaṇāvaraṇāni in the next s. are from Cs and are obviously the only correct readings. 45 dhvaja: spears could be brought in with flags. 46 tadvyanjanāh: tad may refer to kāru etc. and grhapatika. It is also possible that it has reference to enemy troops, suggesting the putting on of their uniform. — pṛṣṭḥataḥ: after this kuryuḥ is to be understood. In fact, the words pramatta-...pṛṣṭḥataḥ do not seem to belong to this s. and should preferably be read at the beginning of the next s. In that case tadvyanjana might refer to putting on the appearance of those whose duty it is to announce something to the sound of conches etc. Cs construes pramattavadham etc. with praviṣtam 'should announce that pramattavadha etc. has appeared in the rear.' That is extremely doubtful. — vā seems to show the option between śankha and dundubhi. 47 ghāta is preferable to pāta in connection with the anīkas.

- 48 The carrying over of troops (into the enemy's fort) is to be along with those moving in caravans or groups, with escorts, with those accompanying brides, with dealers in horses, with carriers of implements, with sellers or purchasers of grains, with those bearing the marks of monks and with envoys; peace is to be made (during the period) for creating confidence.
 - 49 These are secret agents for (outwitting) the king.
- 50 These same are agents for forest tribes, also those mentioned in 'the suppression of criminals'. 51 Secret agents should cause a herd of cattle or a caravan in the vicinity of a forest to be destroyed by robbers. 52 And making the food and drink placed there, in accordance with an agreement, mixed with a stupefying liquid, they should go away. 53 Then cowherds and traders should cause the robbers carrying loads of stolen goods to be attacked when the stupefying liquid is having its effect.
- 54 Or, an agent appearing as an ascetic with a shaven head or with matted locks and posing as a devotee of god Samkarsana, should overreach (the forest robbers) by using a stupefying liquid after holding a festival. 55 Then he should make an attack.
- 56 Or, an agent appearing as a vintner should overreach foresters by using a stupefying liquid on the occasion of the sale or presen-
- 48 ātivāhikaiḥ: these are escorts for merchants etc. A fee is charged for this; cf. 2.16.18. Cs has 'those who want protection on difficult roads', treating it as an adjective to the other six clauses. That is quite unlikely. -kretrvikretrbhir vā: in view of the ca at the end, vā seems to show the option between kretr and vikretr. dyūtaih in the mss. is an obvious corruption. atinayanam: cf. 7.14.24. Cs has 'carrying enemy troops very far by pretending to escort them'. It would be a very strange army that would allow itself to be led astray by bridal processions and grain merchants. samdhikarma: this is while the soldiers are being smuggled in.
- 51 apasarpāh etc.: the agents win the confidence of the robber-bands and get them to attack a caravan etc. At the same time they get the merchants etc. to agree to poison their food etc. and let it fall in the hands of the robbers, who would be partaking of that, to their own cost. 52 apagaccheyuh: the subject would be gopālakavaidehakāh, rather than apasarpāh. It would be better to read gopālakavaidehakāh at the beginning of s. 52 instead of s. 53. 53 corān and -bhārān in the accusative is an emendation from Meyer; the accusative is quite necessary, as object for avaskandayeyuh.
- 54 Samkarṣaṇadaivatīyo is from Cs; -yogā at the end is a corruption. Samkarṣaṇa or Balarāma is represented as fond of wine, which may be supposed to be freely used in a festival in his honour. Both here and in s. 56, -yogena is read for -yogām or -yogābhyām, in conformity with 1.18.9. There is no point in the use of the dual.
- 56 upāyana 'present' rather than 'bringing in (for sale)' (Cs) or 'arrival (of the vintner for sale)' (Meyer). Cf. 13.2.20 above.

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tation of wine during festivities in honour of gods or funeral rites or festive gatherings. 57 Then he should make an attack.

58 Or, after scattering in many groups the forest tribes that have come for plundering the town, he should destroy them. Thus secret agents for robbers have been described.

CHAPTER FOUR

SECTION 174 THE WORK OF LAYING SIEGE (TO A FORT) SECTION 175 STORMING (A FORT)

- 1 The work of laying siege (to a fort) should be preceded by weakening (the enemy).
- 2 He should grant safety to the countryside as it may have been settled. 3 He should induce those, who have risen, to settle down through favours and exemptions, excepting those who go away. 4 He should settle them on land away from the battle-field or make them stay in one region. 5 For, there is no country without people and no kingdom without a country, says Kauṭilya.
- 6 He should destroy the sowings or crops of one entrenched in an inaccessible fort, also his supplies and foraging raids.
- 58 apasarpāḥ are principally agents who ingratiate themselves with persons whose ruin is to be brought about.

13.4

The two Sections are found in ss. 1-24 and 25-53; the last few ss. discuss the order in which conquest of lands should be made.

- 1 karśana- is described in ss. 6-7.
- 2 abhaye from Cs is clearly the original reading. utthitam: the rising is not in revolt against the conqueror, but only to get out of his way to make room for military operations. anugraha- etc.: cf. 2.1.15. anyatra apasaratah: the exception is that of those who wish to go away and do not wish to live under the conqueror. 4 samgrāmād anyasyām bhūmau (samgrāmād is from Meyer for samgrāmam): the idea seems to be that the people who are to be settled should be settled where there is going to be no battle. It is possible to construe anyatra apasaratah with this s., i.e., those who move away from their lands should be settled in a place where there is going to be no battle. Meyer, who has this punctuation, explains 'those who have run away from other places'; for this last clause, anyatah would be expected. Cs reads samagram and has 'those over and above (the number engaged in agriculture, utthita)'. This is highly problematical. 5 The point of this dictum is that the vijigīṣu, while engaged in conquest, should see to it that the country is not ravaged nor the people exterminated; otherwise the conquest will be fruitless.
 - 6 vişama refers to the inaccessible fort, not to any difficulty or danger.

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- 7 By cutting off foraging raids and supplies, also by destroying sowings and crops, by removing (from their place) and by secret murder, a deterioration of the constituents takes place.
- 8 (When he thinks), 'My troops are fully supplied with abundant and excellent grains, forest produce, machines, weapons, armours, labourers and ropes; the season is favourable (to me), unfavourable to the enemy; (he is suffering from) a deterioration of his stores and fortifications through diseases and famine, there is weariness among his purchased troops and weariness among the ally's troops;' then he should lay siege.
- 9 After securing the protection of the camp, of supplies and reinforcements and of the roads, he should encircle the fort along the moat and the rampart, defile the water, empty the moats or fill them, and cause the parapet and the rampart to be taken by means of an underground passage and storming by troops, and the breach by means of elephant-armour. 10 He should fill hollows with piles of earth. 11 He should destroy with machines what is guarded with many troops. 12 Dragging out (soldiers) from the run-way exit, they should strike with horses. 13 And in the intervals between fighting, he should seek success by the exclusive, alternate or combined use of the (four) means.
 - 7 vamanād: cf. 2.1.1. prakṛti 'constituents' rather than 'subjects'.
- 8 raśmi may be ropes (for scaling?) or reins. vyādhi and durbhikṣa are the causes that have led to the kṣaya of nicaya and rakṣā. For some of the expressions, cf. 10.2.13.
- 9 surungābalakuṭikābhyām is obscure. In spite of the dual, Cs has a single idea 'army huts (sainyapallibhih) dug crosswise in the ground'. What this means is hard to make out. Meyer renders balakutikā by 'a sort of vinea (?)'; he also suggests 'a false wall 'or 'a strong hammering'. Can it mean 'a sudden storming by troops'? - dāram: this refers to a breach in the wall. With this hārayet is to be understood from the preceding. Cs understands ācchādayet from what follows and, with gula in the sense of 'a lump for covering', has 'should cover the breach with a lump'. Why the besieger should cover the breach is not clear. guda (which is the form preferred) is given the sense of 'an elephant's armour' in the Medini; it is possible to understand the storming of the breach with armoured elephants. Meyer proposes dvāram for dāram, in which case we can understand the idea of storming the gate with elephants. bahulena is a faulty reading. 10 nimnam vā: vā serves little purpose. 12 nişkirād is read as in 2.3.14. Cs, reading nişkarād, has 'by means of a trick (kapatāt)' or 'by making the elephant put forth his trunk (kara)'. The second explanation is quite fanciful. — aśvaiś ca prahareyuh: the ca and the plural of the verb seem due to repetition from 13.2.20. — niyogaetc.: see 9.7.73-86. — Cs reads durgavāsinah at the end of this s. instead of at the beginning of the next and understands it as genitive singular 'of the enemy in the fort' over whom he is to seek success. It is, however, distinctly better to understand the word as describing the birds in the next s.

- 14 Getting hawks, crows, pheasants, kites, parrots, śārikās, owls and pigeons, with nests in the fort, caught, he should release them in the enemy's fort with fire-mixtures tied to the tails. 15 Or, from the camp stationed at a distance (from the fort) he should set fire to the enemy's fort with human fire, being guarded by bows with flags raised aloft. 16 And secret agents, serving as guards inside the fort, should place a fire-mixture in the tails of ichneumons, monkeys, cats and dogs, and let them loose in stores of reeds, fortifications and houses. 17 Placing fire in the interior of dried fish or in dried meat, they should have it carried in through birds by offering it to crows.
- 18 Balls of *sarala*, *devadāru*, 'stinking-grass', bdellium, pineresin, *sāla* resin and lac and the dung of donkeys, camels, goats and sheep, are (good) retainers of fire.
- 19 The powder of *priyāla*, the soot of *avalguja*, wax and the dung of horses, donkeys, camels and bullocks make a fire-mixture which can be thrown (into the fort).
- 20 Or, the powder of all metals, of the colour of fire, or the powder of $kumbh\bar{\imath}$, lead and tin, mixed with the flowers of $p\bar{a}ribhadraka$ and $pal\bar{a}sa$, the soot of kesa, oil, wax and pine-resin makes a fire-mixture, one that kills the trusting. 21 An arrow smeared with it (and) covered with hemp and the bark of trapusa, is a (means of) setting on fire.
- 14 naptr is 'vişkira' (Cs); the lexicons give the latter as 'a cock' or 'a pheasant'.

 15 The emendation to apakṛṣṭaḥ in the text should be rejected. The camp is to be at some distance (from the fort) so that it is not affected by the fire. —

 -dhanvārakṣo in the singular is read to conform with the verb ādīpayet of the mss.

 ucchritadhvajadhanvārakṣo vā: the purpose of the raised flags is not clear. Apparently they are intended as a sort of protection-from the human fire that is being used. Cs breaks the compound at -dhanvā (singular), with ārakṣāḥ (plural) as the option to it, understanding ādīpayeyuḥ with the latter. This is far from happy. Meyer suggests ucchritasthadhanvākṣepāḥ 'throwers of fire by means of bows, stationed on high ground', his verb being ādīpayeyuḥ in the plural. The suggestion is not satisfactory. mānuṣeṇa agninā as described in 14.2.38. 16 antardurga- is as suggested by Meyer; antadurga- of the mss. would refer to a frontier fort, which has no propriety here. kāṇḍa 'reed', used as an arrow.
- 18 pūtitṛṇa is apparently some kind of grass. śrīveṣṭaka is 'the resin of earala-pine' (Cs). It is not clear if the balls and the dung are to be mixed together or not; perhaps not.
- 19 avalgujama \tilde{s}_i : Cs understands ma \tilde{s}_i as a variety of the $\tilde{s}eph\tilde{a}lik\tilde{a}$ plant, instead of as 'soot'. All substances mentioned in this s. together form an incendiary compound, that can be hurled with the hand.
- 20 agnivarṇam: how the powder of all metals is to get the colour of fire is not at all clear. Meyer suggests agnipūrṇam 'with fire in it', which is not convincing. kumbhī is 'the śrīparṇī' (Cs); the latter means 'the silk cotton tree'. Meyer thinks that kumbhī may be some metal. -keśamaṣī-: 'keśa is the

22 However, when fighting is possible, he should not at all make use of fire. 23 For, fire is unreliable and is a divine calamity, the destroyer of innumerable creatures, grains, animals, money, forest produce and goods. 24 And a kingdom, with stores exhausted, even if obtained, leads only to loss.

Thus ends (the topic of) laying siege (to a fort).

- 25 (When he thinks), 'I am fully provided with equipment and labourers for the undertaking; the enemy is ill, has the constituents estranged because of secret tests, or has made no fortifications or stores; being without reinforcements or with reinforcements, he will soon make peace with allies;' that is the time for storming (the fort).
- When a fire is accidentally caused or is produced (by agents), when there is a festival, when troops are engaged in witnessing a show, during quarrels caused by drink, when troops are tired by constant fighting, when his men are wounded or killed in many battles, when people, tired of keeping awake, are asleep, when it is raining or the river is flooded or there is a thick fog, he should storm (the fort).
- 27 Or, abandoning the camp, (and) hiding in a forest, he should kill the enemy as he sallies out.

hrībera and maṣī is a variety of śephālikā' (Cs). Meyer understands 'soot' not only of the keśa plant, but also of the flowers of pāribhadraka and palāśa. — śrīveṣṭakayuktaḥ: the masculine seems due to agniyogaḥ; actually the compound qualifies -cūrṇam neuter. — viśvāsaghātī vā: the vā is strange; for, viśvāsaghātī is only a description of the agniyoga, not an option to it. In 2.18.5, viśvāsaghātīn appears as a sthitayantra; it may have been used for throwing fire into the fort. Meyer reads viśvāsa- etc., at the beginning of the next s., which is no improvement. 21 trapusa is a kind of plant. — bāṇa can hardly mean 'arjunavṛkṣa' (Cs) in the context.

- 23 apratisamghāta- of the mss. yields little sense. apratisamkhyāta- is necessary.
- 25 upadhāviruddhaprakṛtiḥ: as upadhā has a technical sense (cf. 1.10), prakṛti would refer primarily to ministers. Meyer thinks of upadhā as 'deceit' and prakṛti as 'subjects'. purā mitraiḥ samdhatte: the idea apparently is that he might make fresh alliances with a view to raise the siege with their help; to prevent that, an immediate assault is to be made. Meyer's translation presupposes purā amitraiḥ 'make peace with his other enemies'; that does not yield a better sense. For the idiom with purā, cf. 9.6.69 and 12.3.15.
- 26 prekṣānīkadarśanasaṅga: what seems meant is prekṣādarśanānīkasaṅga 'engrossment of the troops in seeing a theatrical show'. In a foot-note Meyer suggests prekṣāyām anīkadarśanasaṅge 'when in a show, the sight of the troops is obstructed'. The inability to see a show would hardly be a reason for storming the fort.
- 27 Cs reads śatruḥ sattrāt for śatrum, and understands that the enemy is hiding in a forest. That the enemy, who is besieged, would be hiding in a forest is altogether unlikely.

- 28 Or, one posing as the chief ally or helpmate should make friendship with the besieged and send a man condemned to death as a messenger, saying, 'This is your weak point; these men are treasonable;' or 'This is the weak point of the besieger; this is the seducible party for you.' 29 As he comes out with a return messenger, the conqueror should seize him and proclaiming his offence, slay him and go away. 30 Then the one posing as an ally or a helpmate should say to the besieged, 'Come out to save me,' or 'Kill the besieger along with me.' 31 When he agrees, he should destroy him by squeezing from both sides, or, catching him alive, make an exchange of the kingdom (for his life). 32 Or, he should demolish his capital city. 33 Or, forcing out his best troops he should strike.
- 34 By that are explained the king surrendering with troops and forest chieftains. 35 One of the two, a king surrendering with troops or a forest chieftain, should send word to the besieged, 'This besieger is ill, (or) he is attacked by an enemy in the rear, (or) another weak point has appeared, (or) he wants to go to another land.' 36 When he has agreed, the besieger should set fire to the camp and go away. 37 Then he should act as before.
- 38 Or, making a collection of merchandise, he should overreach him with goods mixed with poison.
- 39 Or, one posing as a helpmate should send a messenger to the besieged, 'Come out to attack the enemy outside, already attacked by me.' 40 When he agrees, he should act as before.
- 41 Entering the fort under the pretext of (seeing) a friend or a kinsman, with sealed passes in hand, secret agents should get it seized (by the besieger).
- 28 mitrāsāramukhyavyañjano vā is from Cs. vā shows the option between mitra and āsāra; cf. s. 30. mukhya does not mean merely 'a chief officer' (Cs). It refers to the principal one among the kings who are supposed to be the enemy's allies. vyañjana shows that this king is in reality in league with the vijigīsu. ime dāṣyāh: these innocent men being removed by the enemy on this suggestion, he thereby becomes weakened. 29 apagacchet: go away with the ostensible object of attacking the mitra or āsāra who had given information about his kṛtyapakṣa to the enemy. 31 ubhayataḥ- etc.: cf. 13.3.22 and 30. 33 sārabalam vā vamayitvā, i.e., when the enemy, instead of coming out in person, sends a strong force in response to the appeal of the mitra or āsāra.
- 34 dandopanata: see 7.15. He is to pretend to be dissatisfied with his suzerain, the $vijig\bar{\imath}su$; so is the $\bar{a}tavika$ to pretend. 37 $p\bar{u}rvavat$, i.e., as in ss. 31-33.
- 38 panyasampātam 'an accumulation of goods'; this may be done when leaving the camp, as Meyer thinks, or by simply allowing goods to fall in the enemy's hands.
 - 39 bāhyam is from Cs; for the word, cf. 12.5.28.

- 42 Or, one posing as a helpmate should send word to the besieged, 'At such and such a place and at such and such a time, I shall strike at the camp; you also must fight (then).' 43 When he agrees, he should show the tumult of an attack as mentioned and destroy him as he sallies out of the fort at night.
- 44 Or, he should invite an ally or a forest chieftain (and) incite him, 'Fight against the besieged and seize his land.' 45 When he fights, he should get him slain through the subjects or by supporting his treasonable chiefs, or kill him himself with poison, achieving his object (of implicating the enemy), 'He is the slayer of his ally'.
- 46 Or, one posing as a friend should inform the enemy about (the ally etc.) wanting to attack. 47 Securing a position of trust, he should get his brave warriors slain.
- 48 Or, making peace with him, he should induce him to settle the country. 49 When settled, he should, unknown, destroy his country.
- 50 Or, after causing an injury to be done and getting part of the (enemy's) troops led against treasonable or forest troops, he should capture the fort by a sudden assault.
- 51 Treasonable, alien and forest troops, hostile men and deserters (from the enemy) who have come over, being given money and honour and supplied with signals and signs, should attack the enemy fort.
- 52 When attacking the enemy's fort or camp, they should grant safety to those fallen down, those turning back, those surrendering,
- 41 $\delta \bar{a}sanamudr\bar{a}$: this seems to be merely a sealed pass allowing entry in the fort, it being, of course, forged.
- 44 mitram: this is the ally of the besieged enemy. 45 prakrtibhih seems to be 'subjects'. dāsyamukhya- are those of the ally or forest chief. mitraghātakah describes the enemy on whom the blame is thrown for the murder, so that the other allies may leave him.
- 46 vikramitukāmam refers to mitram āṭavikam vā of s. 44. 47 This is done as in 13.3.13-14 and other places, through faked letters.
- 49 janapadam hanyāt: this goes counter to Kautilya's own opinion as stated in ss. 2-5 above. The tricks seem to be simply repeated from earlier writers.
- 50 The idea seems to be that the $vijig\bar{i}su$ causes some injury to the enemy through his $d\bar{u}sya$ and $\bar{a}tavika$ troops; the enemy would send a part of his troops, against them, whereupon the fort, with depleted troops, may be seized. For $balaikadeśam\ atin\bar{i}ya$, cf. 12.5.25. $atin\bar{i}ya$ has the sense of the causal. The usual idea of smuggling troops into the fort, which Meyer understands, does not seem meant here.
- 51 pratyapasṛta is apparently a deserter (from the enemy) who has come over to him; cf. 7.16.16. 'Meyer construes this word with each of the other words in the compound; that is not likely. samjñā is a signal for acting at a particular time or place; cihna is a sign for recognizing one's own side.

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those with loose hair, those without weapons, those disfigured by terror and to those not fighting.

- 53 After obtaining the enemy's fort, he should enter it after it is cleared of the enemy's party and after precautions against silent punishment are taken inside and outside.
- 54 After thus conquering the enemy's territory, the conqueror should seek to seize the middle king, after succeeding over him, the neutral king. 55 This is the first method of conquering the world.
 - 56 In the absence of the middle and neutral kings, he should overcome the enemy constituents by superiority of policy, then the other constituents. 57 This is the second method.
 - 58 In the absence of the circle, he should overcome by squeezing from both sides the ally through the enemy or the enemy through the ally. 59 This is the third method.
 - 60 He should first overcome a weak or a single neighbouring prince; becoming doubly powerful through him, a second prince; three times powerful, a third. 61 This is the fourth method of conquering the world.
 - 62 And after conquering the world, he should enjoy it, divided into varnas and āśramas, in accordance with his own duty.
 - 63 Secret instigation, secret agents, drawing out (of the fort), laying siege and storming, these are the five means of taking a fort.

CHAPTER FIVE

SECTION 176 PACIFICATION OF THE CONQUERED TERRITORY

- 1 The (object of the) conqueror's activity is two-fold: forests and so on, and a single city and so on. 2 Its acquisition is of three kinds: new, formerly possessed and inherited.
- 52 abhipanna: cf. 1.18.6. -śastra- is to be construed with the preceding mukta, rather than with the following bhaya.
- 56 gunātišayena: guṇa would seem to refer to the 'policy' pursued, though 'qualities in himself and his constituents' is not unlikely. ariprakṛtīḥ, i.e., the enemy and his allies. uttarāḥ, i.e., the other kings of the circle.
- 58 mandalasya abhāve, i.e., when there are only two states to be tackled, one friendly, the other hostile.
 - 60 śakyam: cf. 6.1.8. ekam, i.e., without an ally.
- 62 svadharmena refers to the king's own duties rather than to those of the varnas and āśramas, as in Cs.
 - 63 These are the titles of the Sections in the first four Chapters of this Book.

- 3 After gaining new territory, he should cover the enemy's faults with his own virtues, his virtues with double virtues. 4 He should carry out what is agreeable and beneficial to the subjects by doing his own duty as laid down, granting favours, giving exemptions, making gifts and showing honour. 5 And he should cause the (enemy's) seducible party to be favoured as promised, and more if they had exerted themselves. 6 For, he who does not keep his promise becomes unworthy of trust for his own and other people, also he whose behaviour is contrary to that of the subjects. 7 Hence he should adopt a similar character, dress, language and behaviour (as the subjects). 8 And he should show the same devotion in festivals in honour of deities of the country, festive gatherings and sportive amusements.
- 9 Secret agents should frequently point out the enemy's misconduct to chiefs in the country, towns, castes and corporations, the master's great good fortune and love for them, and the master's great regard for them. 10 And he should make use of them by looking after their customary rights, exemptions and protection.
- 11 And he should cause the honouring of all deities and hermitages, and make grants of land, money and exemptions to men distinguished in learning, speech and piety, order the release of all prisoners and render help to the distressed, the helpless and the diseased. 12 (He should order) the stopping of slaughter for half a month in every four months, for four nights (and days) on the occasion of full moon nights, for one night (and day) on the days of the constellations of the king and the country. 13 He should prohibit the killing of females and young ones and the destruction of a male's virility.

13.5

- 1 samutthānam refers to engaging in military and allied activity for conquest; atavī etc. are its objects. atavyādikam refers to extensive dominion over all kinds of territory, while ekagrāmādikam refers to the capture of a single city or fort. 2 pitryam 'inherited from the father'. Cs has 'lost by the father and recovered by the son'. That is not meant.
- 4 svadharmakarma, i.e., carrying out tasks prescribed as his special duty; cf. 1.4.16. 5 upagrāhayet, i.e., do for them what he had promised in return for their help against their master. The causal has little significance. 8 It seems that utsava is to be construed with deśadaivata and samāja, while vihāra is to be understood independently.
- 9 deśajāti- etc.: cf. 3.10.45. samgha is not to be construed with deśa, grāma and jāti, as Jayaswal (Hindu Polity, II, 65 ff.) thinks.
- 11 vidyāvākyadharmaśūra: it seems better to understand śūra as 'brave in, i.e., distinguished in', rather than independently as 'brave'. 13 yonibāla- refers to females and young ones of all species, particularly animals. Meyer has 'female children' only; K. Nag has 'girls and the newly born' (Les Théories etc., p. 112). pumstva is also that of all creatures.

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- 14 And discontinuing whatever custom he might regard as harmful to the treasury and the army, or as unrighteous, he should establish a righteous course of conduct.
- 15 And he should cause a change of residence, not in one place of those in the habit of robbing and of Mleccha communities, and of chiefs of forts, country and army. 16 And he should cause ministers, chaplains and others favoured by the enemy, to reside on the enemy's frontiers, not in one place. 17 He should put down by silent punishment those capable of injuring or those brooding on the master's destruction. 18 In the places of those removed, he should establish men from his own country or those in disfavour with the enemy.
- 19 And if any pretender from the (enemy's) family be capable of seizing easily recoverable territory, or a nobleman staying in a frontier forest be capable of troubling him, he should give him worthless land or a fourth part of valuable land, after fixing a tribute in treasury and army, such that while paying it he would rouse the citizens and country people to revolt. 20 He should get him killed through these, when they are roused. 21 He should remove one denounced by the subjects or station him in a dangerous region.
- 22 In the case of territory formerly possessed (and reconquered), he should cover up that defect of the constituents because of which he had to leave and should strengthen that quality on the strength of which he has returned.
- 23 In the case of inherited territory, he should cover up the father's defects and display his virtues.
 - 24 He should institute a righteous custom, not initiated before and continue one initiated by others; and he should not institute an unrighteous custom, and should stop any initiated by others.

Herewith ends the Thirteenth Book of the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya 'Means of Taking a Fort'

- 15 In view of the position of ca, coraprakṛtīnām is different from Mlecchajā-tīnām. 17 anukṣiyataḥ, in the context, has the sense of 'brooding over'. Cf. 5.1.55 for the normal sense of 'to survive'. 18 aparuddhān 'in disfavour', not necessarily thrown in prison, as in Cs.
 - 19 kośadandadānam avasthāpya: the amount is not stated, but must be assumed to be exorbitant. It cannot be supposed to be stated in caturbhāgam 'one-fourth of the produce' as Meyer thinks. That would hardly lead to a rising of the people.

 21 upakrustam: this would apply to any officer, not to tatkulīna or abhijāta alone.
- 23 For labdhapraśamana in the case of an inherited kingdom, cf. Raghuvańśa 4.14 and preceding verses. We need not suppose pitrya to have been lost by the father and recovered by the son, as that passage clearly shows.

BOOK FOURTEEN

CONCERNING SECRET PRACTICES

CHAPTER ONE

SECTION 177 SECRET PRACTICES FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF ENEMY TROOPS

- 1 For the sake of protecting the four varnas, he should use secret practices against the unrighteous.
- 2 The group of poisons, $k\bar{a}lak\bar{u}ta$ and others, should be introduced into articles used on his person by the enemy, by approved men and women of the Mleccha commmunities, disguised as humpbacks, dwarfs, Kirātas, dumb or deaf persons, idiots, or blind persons, in an appearance credible as to country, dress, profession, language and birth.
- 3 Secret agents should introduce weapons in the articles for the (enemy) king's sports and in objects from the stores used by him, and agents following a secret activity, moving about at night, and those living by fire, should put fire (in those objects).

The Fourteenth Book describes various secret remedies and occult practices intended for the destruction of the enemy. A great deal of magical and other lore is incorporated here.

14.1

We have in this Chapter recipes intended to kill, maim or disfigure a person. The ingredients cannot often be identified; in fact, sometimes it is not even clear if a name stands for a plant or some creature. The efficacy of the recipes cannot, of course, be tested.

- 1 It may be noted that these preparations are to be used against the unrighteous, the object being the protection of the four varnas.
- 2. viṣavargaḥ: see 2.17.12. śraddheya- etc.: cf. 1.12.6. Mlecchajātī-yaiḥ suggests that Aryans were not favoured for the work of administering poison. abhipretaiḥ 'liked', i.e., enjoying the confidence of the king on whom poisoning is to be tried. śarīropabhogeṣu 'articles used on the person' appears better than 'on the body and in the articles used by him.'
- 3 rājakrīdā- etc.: upabhoga can be construed with krīdābhānda 'articles for sport' and nidhānadravya 'goods from stores'; but it seems preferable to understand it with nidhānadravya only. śastranidhānam: nidhāna 'placing' is

- 4 The powder of the speckled frog, the insects kaundinyaka and kṛkaṇa, the pañcakuṣṭha and the centipede, the powder of uccidinga, kambalī, śatakanda, idhma and the lizard, the powder of the house-lizard, the 'blind reptile', the kṛakanṭaka, the 'stink-insect', and the gomārikā, mixed with the sap of bhallātaka and avalguja, causes instantaneous death, or the smoke of these (causes it).
 - 5 Or, any one of the insects, boiled along with the black serpent and *priyangu*—one should dry up (this mixture); this mixture is believed to cause instantaneous death.
- 6 The root of dhāmārgava and yātudhāna, mixed with the powder of bhallātaka flowers (is a preparation) for bringing on death in a fortnight.
- 7 The root of vyāghātaka, mixed with the powder of bhallātaka flowers (and) a mixture of insects, brings on death in a month.
- 8 Only a minute portion (is the dose) for men, double for donkeys and horses, four times for elephants and eamels.
- 9 The smoke of śatakardama, uccidinga, karavīra, the bitter gourd and fish, with the stalks of madana and kodrava or with the stalks of hastikarna and palāśa, when carried forth in a breeze blowing forward, kills everything to which it blows.

practically 'using' the weapon. — sattrājīvinaḥ is little more than sattriṇaḥ. — rātricāriṇaḥ: the agents appear as night watchmen etc.

- 4 pañcakuṣṭha is, according to Cs, the five products of the kuṣṭha plant (bark, leaf, flower, fruit and root). It may, however, be the name of some insect. The other words in the compound refer to insects. idhma 'fuel of palāśa' (Cs). Meyer has idhmakṛkalāsa as one 'a lizard living in fuel'. idhma, however, seems to be the name of a plant or a creature. Cf. s. 10. andhāhika 'blind reptile' is a kind of fish, according to Cs. gomārikā 'some sort of reptile' (Meyer); 'a kind of herb' (Cs). avalguja is as suggested by Meyer for avalgukā of the mss. avalguja is the name of a plant, known to this text; cf. 13.4.19.
- 5 taptah 'heated' seems to mean 'boiled' with kṛṣṇasarpa- etc. We expect kīṭam...taptam as the object of śoṣayet; that is probably why Cs has 'an insect by itself would dry up a person (śoṣayet); when mixed with black serpent and priyaṅgu it kills immediately'. It is doubtful, however, if śoṣayet contains a reference to the effect produced by the recipe; moreover, the construction is far from natural.
- 6 ārdhamāsikaḥ: we have to understand prāṇaharo yogaḥ (Cs). It seems kiṭayogaḥ is to be understood in this s. as in s. 7; the word seems to have dropped out accidentally from this s.
 - 7 kīṭayogaḥ refers to the mixture of insects mentioned in s. 4.
- 8 $kal\bar{a}$: this measure is not mentioned in 2.19, clearly suggesting a difference in sources.
- 9 Cs understands śata and kardama as two plants. palāla 'stalks' or 'grass'; it is this that makes the smoke. pravātānuvāte, i.e., when the wind is blowing forward towards the enemy. pranītaḥ 'led, directed'.

- 10 The powder of the 'stink-insect', fish, bitter gourd, śatakardama, idhma, and the indragopa insect, or the powder of the 'stink-insect', kṣudrā, arālā, hema and vidārī, mixed with the powder of the horns and hooves of a goat, makes a smoke that blinds (one).
- 11 The leaves of $p\bar{u}tikara\tilde{n}ja$, yellow orpiment, red arsenic, $gu\tilde{n}j\bar{a}$ seeds and stalks of red cotton plant, made into a dough with the sap of $\bar{a}sphota$, $k\bar{a}ca$ and cow-dung, make a blinding smoke.
- 12 The slough of a serpent, the dung of the cow and the horse and the head of a 'blind reptile', make a blinding smoke.
- 13 The urine and dung of pigeons, frogs and carnivorous animals and of elephants, men and boars, green sulphate of iron, asafoetida, the husk and broken and whole grains of barley, the seeds of cotton, kuṭaja and kośātakī, the roots of gomūtrikā and bhāndī, bits of nimba, śigru, phanirjaka, akṣīva and pīluka, the skin of a serpent and a female śaphara and the powder of the nails and tusk of an elephant—the smoke of this produced with the stalks of madana and kodrava or with the stalks of hastikarṇa and palāśa, kills each singly, wherever it moves.
- 14 The roots of $k\bar{a}l\bar{\imath}$, $ku\underline{s}tha$, nada and $sat\bar{a}var\bar{\imath}$, or the powder of the serpent, $pracal\bar{a}ka$, $k\underline{r}ka\underline{n}a$ and $pa\bar{n}caku\underline{s}tha$ this smoke produced in the manner mentioned before or with half-wet, half-dry stalks, (and) directed to (the enemy's) coming on the battle-field or crowding in a sudden assault, by men who have taken precautions for their own eyes with 'washing water', destroys the sight of all creatures.
- 15 The dung of the śārikā, the pigeon, the heron and the crane, kneaded with the milk of arka, akṣi, pīluka and snuhi plants is a blinding eye-salve and a polluter of water.
- 16 A mixture of the roots of barley and śāli-rice, the fruit of madana, nutmeg leaves and man's urine, mixed with the roots of plakṣa and vidārī, (and) mixed with a decoction of mūka, udumbara, madana and kodrava, or mixed with a decoction of hastikarna and palāśa, is a stupefying preparation.
 - 11 kāca 'a variety of salt produced from salty ground '(Cs).
- 13 kravyāda: perhaps any carnivorous animal would do. pratyekaśaḥ to be construed with mārayati (Meyer). Cs understands the smoke of each one of the objects mentioned, used singly; that appears less likely in view of ityeṣa dhūmaḥ coming after the enumeration of all the ingredients.
- 14 pūrvakalpena (from Cs) refers to madanakodravapalālena etc. ārdra-śuṣka- may be 'half-wet, half-dry' or 'wet or dry'; the former seems preferable. nejanodaka is proposed as in 14.4.2. tejanodaka in Cs is little likely.
- 16 $m\bar{u}ka$: Cs paraphrases by ' $\bar{a}vila\dot{m}$ jalam, turbid water', which is doubtful. Meyer suggests musta in place of $m\bar{u}ka$. madanayogah 'a mixture that causes stupefaction or swoon'. Cs has 'cittavibhramakarah, causing madness'.

14. 1. 17

- 17 A mixture of śṛṅgi, the gautama-tree, kaṇṭakāra and mayūrapadī, a mixture of guñjā, lāṅgalī, viṣamūlikā and iṅgudī, a mixture of karavīra, akṣi, pīluka, arka and mṛgamāraṇī, mixed with a decoction of madana and kodrava, or mixed with a decoction of hastikarṇa and palāśa is a stupefying preparation.
 - 18 Or, all these are polluters of fodder, fuel and water.
- 19 The smoke of *kṛtakanḍala*, the lizard, the house-lizard and the 'blind reptile' causes loss of eyesight and madness.
- 20 A mixture of the lizard and the house-lizard causes leprosy.
 21 The same, mixed with the entrails of the speckled frog and honey brings on a disease of the bladder; mixed with human blood, (it causes) consumption.
- 22 The (poison) $d\bar{u}s\bar{i}visa$ and the powder of madana and kodrava is a preparation for bringing on paralysis of the tongue.
- 23 A mixture of mātrvāhaka, añjalikāra, pracalāka, the frog, akṣi and pīluka causes cholera.
- 24 A mixture of pañcakuṣṭha, kauṇḍinyaka, the flowers of rājavṛkṣa and honey, causes fever.
- 25 A mixture of (the flesh of) *bhāsa* and *nakula* and (the plants) *jihvā* and *granthikā*, kneaded with the milk of a female donkey, makes one dumb and deaf, in a month or half a month.
 - 26 Only a minute portion for men and so on as before.
- 27 The administration of a decoction of bits in the case of plants, powder in the case of creatures, or the administration of a decoction in
- 17 śṛṇgi- etc.: Cs has 'the fat (gautama) of the śṛṇgi-fish and the lodhra tree (vṛṣṣa as lodhra)'. This is very doubtful.
- 18 samastāḥ 'all these', i.e., each singly, not all mixed together, as Meyer thinks.
- 19 krtakandala seems to be the name of some reptile. Cs, however, has 'whose muscles have been cooked' as adjective to $krkal\bar{a}sa$ etc., or 'mixed with the $kapikacch\bar{u}ka$ plant'. Neither is satisfactory. Meyer thinks of $krsak\bar{a}$ a magic bird mentioned in the $P\bar{a}raskara$ Grhya $S\bar{u}tra$, 1.19.10.
 - 21 śoṣam 'drying up', i.e., consumption.
- 22 dūṣīviṣam: 'in medicinal works, a dry vegetable poison which does not cause death, but remains long in the system' (Jolly-Schmidt). Cs has 'poison whose potency has been removed by herbs etc.'; that is unlikely in view of 14.4.1.

 apajiheikā 'removal of the tongue' seems to refer to loss of its use. Cs, reading upajihvikāyogah includes it in the next s. in the sense of 'a mixture of ants'. That does not sound plausible.
- 25 jihvā and granthikā are understood as names of plants; may it be that the tongue and the muscles of bhāsa and nakula are to be understood? māsārdhamāsikah: this seems to mean 'effective in a month or in a fortnight', though 'effective in a month and a half' is also possible; cf. 14.2.4 below.

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all cases, thus it becomes more potent. 28 These are the excellences of mixtures.

- 29 The man, whom an arrow, prepared with the seeds of śālmalī and vidārī, joined with mūla and vatsanābha and smeared with the blood of musk-rat, hits, bites, when wounded (by it), other ten persons, and those bitten bite other ten persons each.
- 30 The decoction of elaka, aksi, guggulu, and hālāhala, together with the flowers of bhallātaka, yātudhāna, avānu, dhāmārgava and bāna, mixed with the blood of a goat and man, is a preparation causing biting.

 31 A measure of one-half dharana of this preparation, introduced in water with barley meal and oil-cake, poisons a reservoir of water, one hundred dhanuses in extent. 32 For, a shoal of fish bitten or touched by this, becomes poisonous, also whoever drinks this water or touches its
- 33 An iguana, placed along with red and white mustard seeds in a camel-shaped vessel buried in the ground for three fortnights, (and) taken out by a man condemned to death, kills wherever it casts its glance, or a black serpent (does so).
- 34 A charcoal burnt by lightning or a flame (caused by it), caught and fed with wood burnt by lightning this fire, with offerings made into it under the Kṛttikās or the Bharaṇīs in a rite in honour of Rudra, burns, when directed (towards an enemy), without there being any remedy for it.
 - 35 Bringing fire from a blacksmith, he should offer honey in it separately, wine in the fire from the vintner, and ghee in the fire from the roads;
 - 29 dhānya 'grains', i.e., seeds. Cs understands kustumburu by it.
- 30 · avānu is uncertain and seems due to a corruption of the text; Cs drops it but reads apāmārga for dhāmārgava; for the latter, however, cf. s. 6. damśa-yogah: probably the same idea as in s. 29 is to be understood. 31 For dharana, see 2.19.5-6. 32 daṣṭa in the case of fish probably means only drunk by them, and thus introduced in their system.
- 34 -pradagdho 'ngāro jvālo vā is proposed for the corrupt-pradagdhodgārojvālo vā. Cs has ajvālo; but in view of vā, jvāla (masculine) as 'flame' appears preferable to ajvāla (adjective) 'without flame' describing angāra. anuvāsitaḥ, i.e., maintained for some days. raudreṇa karmaṇā: Meyer refers to the Atharvaveda Parišiṣṭa, 1. 406, 415.
- 85 mārgato 'gnim is a very tentative suggestion for bhāgam yo 'gnim of the mss. Meyer proposes bhāgato 'gnim, but his explanation 'fire from a brothel (bhāga from bhaga the female organ)' is quite fanciful. Cs reads bhārgyāyognim 'the fire from ayas, i.e., ayaskāra, with the offering of the bhārgī-plant and ghee.' But ayaskāra could hardly be different from karmāra, already mentioned. One might also suggest bhārgavāgnim 'fire of archers', mārganāgnim 'the fire of a beggar', mārgikāgnim 'the fire of a hunter', or bhārikāgnim 'the fire of a porter.' But none is satisfactory.

- 36 And, (he should offer) garland-flowers in the fire from a woman devoted to her husband, mustard seeds in the fire from a harlot, curds in the fire from a woman in confinement and ricegrains in the fire from one who has kept the sacrificial fires;
- 37 Meat in the fire from a Candala, human flesh in the fire from a funeral pyre, the fat of a goat, and human *dhruva* in all these together.
- 38 He should offer the wood of *rājavṛkṣa* with *mantras* in honour of Agni. This is a fire against which there is no remedy, which confounds the eyes of enemies.
- 39 O Aditi, a salutation to thee; O Anumati, a salutation to thee; O Sarasvati, a salutation to thee; O God Savitr, a salutation to thee.
 40 To Agni, hail! To Soma, hail! Earth hail! Atmosphere hail!

CHAPTER TWO

SECTION 178 DECEIVING (BY MEANS OF OCCULT PRACTICES)

(i) Working of Miracles

- 1 The powder of śirīṣa, udumbara and śamī, mixed with clarified butter, is a recipé against hunger, effective for half a month. 2 That, prepared out of kaśeruka, the bulbous root of the lotus, the root of sugarcane, lotus-fibres, dūrvā grass, milk, ghee and cream, is effective for one month.
- 3 Drinking, with milk and ghee, the powder of māṣa-beans, barley, kulattha and the roots of darbha grass, or vallī, milk and ghee
 - 36 sūlikāsu: the locative is strange.
- 37 samastān: i.e., after the separate offerings are made, all fires are put together and the offering of bastavasā etc. made. mānuṣcṇa dhruveṇa ca: Cs understands dhruva in the sense of the banyan tree, mānuṣa being human flesh. Meyer proposes ṣraveṇa 'urine' for dhruveṇa, or in the alternative manuṣyarudhireṇa ca as the last quarter. dhruva, among other things, means 'tip of the nose', but it can hardly be understood here. Can it mean flesh?
- 39-40 These are evidently formulas to be repeated after the offerings in the fire. They themselves do not constitute the agnimantra. The deities are mostly Vedic.

14.2

The 178th Section is spread over this and the next Chapter. pralambhana is 'deceiving, deluding.'

- 1. kṣudyogaḥ is a remedy for keeping off hunger. Apparently the mixture is to be taken only once at the start of the fortnightly period. 2 Meyer has kandekṣu as a kind of grass.
- 3 A vā seems necessary after payasā, so that we get four recipes in all. In the absence of vā, Meyer, proposing vallīkṣīraghṛtābhyām, has 'drinking as a drink

boiled together in equal quantities, (or) the paste of the roots of $s\bar{a}la$ and $pr\!\!\!/sniparn\bar{\iota}$ along with milk, or partaking of milk boiled together with that, along with honey and ghee, one is able to fast for a month.

- 4 Oil, prepared from mustard seeds kept for seven nights in the urine of white goats and kept in a bitter gourd for a month and half a month, is a means of disfiguring quadrupeds and bipeds.
- 5 The oil of white mustard seeds, boiled with barley-grains (taken) from the dung of a white donkey fed on butter-milk and barley, after seven nights, is a means of disfiguration.
- 6 Mustard oil, boiled along with the urine and dung of either of these two, with the addition of the powder of arka, tūla and patanga, is a means of making (a person) white.
- 7 A mixture of the dung of a white cock and a boa constrictor, is a means of making white.
- 8 White mustard seeds, kept in the urine of a white goat for seven nights, butter-milk, the milk of *arka*, salt and grains this mixture kept for a fortnight is a means of making white.
- 9 The flour of white mustard seeds, kept for half a month in a bitter gourd while still on the creeper, is a means of making hair white.
 - 10 The insect that is known as *alojuna* and the white house-lizard hair smeared with this paste would become as white as a conch-shell.

(payasā pītvā) the pulp of the roots of sāla and pṛśniparṇī prepared in equal quantities with the juice of vallī and ghee.' The rendering of payasā pītvā is doubtful.

- 4 māsārdhamāsa-: sārdhamāsa would have been better for the sense intended. 'A month or half a month' is possible, but seems less likely.
- 5 lendayavaih 'barley-grains picked from the dung' (Meyer) is preferable to 'dung and barley-grains' (Cs).
- 6 etayoh, i.e., of the white goat or white donkey. patanga 'moth' (Meyer), 'sālih' (Cs). pratīvāpa: cf. 2.25.22.
- 8 In this recipe, Cs has in addition arka, tūla, katuka, matsya and vilanga, but no lavana and dhānya. After this, Cs has two additional recipes for making white: 'A mixture of the female sea-frog, conch-shell, sudhā, i.e., mūrvā grass, kadaī, salt and butter-milk, is a means of making white. The soured juices of kadalī avalguja and kṣāra, mixed with wine, butter-milk, arka, tūla, snuhi, and salt and the sour gruel of grains,—this mixture kept for a fortnight is a means of making white.' The ss. seem to be derived from the mss. which cannot be traced now. These recipes may well be genuine, though the possibility of addition by later copyists cannot be ruled out.
- 9 For gatam Cs reads nagaram which is explained as 'dried ginger'; this is very doubtful.

- 11 One, with his body rubbed with cow-dung or with the pulp of *tinduka* and *ariṣṭa*, (and) smeared with the sap of *bhallātaka*, gets leprosy within a month.
- 12 $Gu\tilde{n}j\bar{a}$ -seeds kept for seven nights in the mouth of a black serpent or in the mouth of a house-lizard is a means of causing leprosy.
- 13 Application all over the body of the bile and the liquid of the egg of a parrot is a means of causing leprosy.
 - 14 A decoction of the pulp of priyāla is a remedy for leprosy.
- 15 One, eating (food) containing the roots of kukkuṭa, kośātakī and śatāvarī, becomes fair-complexioned in a month.
- 16 One, bathing in a decoction of vaṭa, (and) smeared with the pulp of sahacara, becomes black:
- 17 Yellow orpiment and red arsenic, mixed with the oil of śakuna and kangu, are a means of making dark.
- 18 The powder of the fire-fly, mixed with mustard oil, burns at night.
- 19 The powder of the fire-fly and the insect gandūpada, or the powder of the flowers of samudra-jantus, bhrngakapālas, khadira and karnikāra, mixed with the oil of śakuna and kangu, is a powder that makes (an object) glow.
- 20 The soot of the bark of *pāribhadraka*, mixed with the fat of a frog, is a means of making limbs burn with fire. 21 The body, smeared with the pulp of the bark of the *pāribhadraka* and sesamum seeds, burns with fire.
- 22 A lump, consisting of the soot of the bark of $p\bar{\imath}lu$, burns in the hand. 23 Smeared with the fat of a frog, it burns with fire. 24 The body, smeared with that, or, sprinkled with the oil of the
- 10 Cs has arkatūlo 'rjune kīṭaḥ in the first quarter, 'arka, tūla, two kinds of arjuna (viz., kakubha and yavasa) and an insect (to be learnt from tradition).' This is not very convincing.
 - 14 kalkakaṣāyaḥ 'decoction of the pulp '(Cs); 'pulp and decoction' (Meyer).
- 15 Cs reads kukkuļā- for kukkuļa-. Either word must be understood as referring some plant.
- 17 śakunakańgu 'vulture and the priyańgu-plant' (Cs); 'the fins of birds' (Meyer). If śakuna means a bird, taila would apparently refer to its fat.
- 19 samudrajantu etc. appear to be names of plants, as puṣpacūrṇam is to be understood of them, though Cs construes the latter only with khadirakarṇikārāṇām (looking upon samudrajantu as sea-creatures, bhṛṅga as the kaliṅga bird and kapāla as skull). tejanacūrṇam 'powder that makes an object glow'; cf. 13.2.23. Cs, interpreting it as 'the powder of bamboo', construes it with the next s., which does not appear right.

kuśāmra fruit (and) mixed with the powder of a female sea-frog, sea-foam and sarja-exudation, burns.

- 25 Oil, boiled with equal quantities of the fat of the frog, crab and so on, causes the blazing of limbs with fire all over.
- 26 The body, smeared with the roots of bamboo and moss, (and) smeared with the fat of a frog, burns with fire.
- One, with his feet smeared with oil boiled together with the fat of a frog and the pulp of the roots of pāribhadraka, pratibalā, vañjula, vajra and kadalī, walks on burning charcoal.
 - 28-29 One should prepare oil from the pulp of these, namely, upodakā, pratibalā, vañjula and pāribhadraka, by boiling together with the fat of a frog; after smearing one's clean feet with this (oil), one may walk on a heap of burning charcoal as on a heap of flowers.
- 30 Lamps of reeds, tied to the tails of swans, herons and peacocks or of other big birds swimming in water, is a manifestation of meteors at night.
 - 31 Ashes caused by lightning are a means of extinguishing fire.
- 32 Māṣa-beans, soaked in a woman's menstrual fluid (and) the root of vrajakulī, mixed with the fat of a frog, is a means of preventing cooking even when the oven is burning. 33 Cleansing the oven is the remedy for it.
- 34 A ball made of $p\bar{\imath}lu$, with fire in the interior, with a knot of the root of $suvarcal\bar{a}$ or with a knot of thread, encircled by cotton, is (a means of) emitting fire and smoke from the mouth.
- 35 Fire, sprinkled with the oil of the kuśāmra fruit, burns in rain and in strong winds.
- 23 -digdho: we have to supply pindah from the preceding, hardly hastah. 24 kuśāmra- etc. and samudra- etc. constitute a single yoga, an option to tena (pindena) pradigdham.
- 25 maṇḍūkakulīrādīnām is proposed for maṇḍūkavasākulīrādīnām of the mss. vasayā is there outside the compound; its use also in the compound is unlikely.

 abhyaṅgam is proposed for abhyaṅgo; there is no word in the masculine with which the latter can be construed. The repetition of s. 23 after this s, is clearly due to a scribal slip.
- 28 Apparently, $upodak\bar{a}$ is the same as vajra of s. 27, of which these two stanzas appear to be only a versification.
 - 30 $ulk\bar{a}$ may mean 'a meteor' or a 'fire-brand, a flame' floating on water.
- 34 pīlumayo maṇiḥ, i.e., a ball made of pīlu wood, which is hollow inside. It cannot be the lump of the soot of its bark mentioned in s. 22, as Meyer thinks. granthi refers to the stopper at the mouth of the ball; this granthi encircled by cotton (picu) burns and produces the fire and smoke coming out of the mouth.

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- 36 Sea-foam, soaked in oil, burns floating on water.
- 37 Fire, kindled by churning a speckled bamboo-reed in the bones of swimming birds, is not put out by water, (but) burns with water.
- 38 Where a fire kindled by churning a speckled bamboo-reed in the ribs from the left side of a man slain with a weapon or impaled on the stake, (or) a fire kindled by churning the rib of a human being in the bones of a woman or a man, goes round three times left-wise, there no other fire burns.
 - 39 The musk-rat, the wag-tail and the salt-insect are ground to powder; mixed with the urine of a horse, (they are) a means of breaking chains.
- 40 Or, the load-stone, made doubly powerful by the smearing of the fats of the crab, the frog and the salt-insect, (is a breaker of chains).
- 41 The foetus of a calf, ground together with the sides of the heron and the $bh\bar{a}sa$, lotus and water, is a foot-salve for quadrupeds and bipeds.
- 42 Smearing sandals made of camel-hide with the fat of the owl and the vulture, covering them with leaves of the banyan tree, one walks fifty *yojanas* without being fatigued.
- 43 The bone-marrow or the semen of the hawk, the heron, the crow, the vulture, the swan, the plover and the *vīcīralla* (enables one to walk untired) for one hundred *yojanas*, or the bone-marrow or semen of the lion, the tiger, the leopard, the crow and the owl.
- 44 After pressing in a camel-shaped vessel the aborted foetuses of all the *varṇas*, or dead infants in the cemetary—the fat produced from that (enables one to walk untired) for one hundred *yojanas*.
- 37 plavamānām is proposed for plavamānām of G M; plavangamānām 'of monkeys' is not very likely in the context.
 - 38 This is the mānuṣa agni; cf. 1.20.4.
- 39 Meyer remarks that $kh\bar{a}ra$ here and in the next s. is a Prākṛtism for $ks\bar{a}ra$ -; that appears plausible.
- "40 kulīra- is from Meyer for kulinda; Cs has kulīrānda, where anda would appear oddly placed in the compound. We have to supply nigalānām bhānjanam as the predicate. Cs, however, has a stop after pāṣāṇaḥ (so that this itself is a means of breaking chains), and includes the rest in the next s. Meyer reads a stop after pradehena and another after nārakagarbhaḥ of the next s. He explains 'it becomes doubly powerful when human fat (nārakagarbha) is added to it'. This is very doubtful.
- 41 $n\bar{a}rakagarbhah$: the $Medin\bar{\imath}$ gives $n\bar{a}ra$ in the sense of a fresh-born calf; that sense may be understood for $n\bar{a}rakagarbha$. Cs, reading $d\bar{a}raka$ -, explains it by 'pig'. utpala is a kind of fish (Cs).

45 He should cause fright to the enemy with (these) evil, miraculous portents; because it is for the consolidation of the kingdom, a similar blameworthy conduct is recommended when there is a revolt.

CHAPTER THREE

SECTION 178 (Continued)

(ii) The Use of Medicines and Spells

- 1 Taking the right and the left eyes of one, two or more of (the following), the cat, the camel, the wolf, the boar, the porcupine, the flying fox, the *naptr*, the crow, the owl or other creatures roaming at night, one should prepare two separate powders. 2 Then anointing the right eye with (the powder of) the left (eye) and the left with (that of) the right, one is able to see at night and in darkness.
 - 3 One amlaka-fruit, the eye of a boar, the fire-fly, the black $\delta \bar{a}riv\bar{a}$ —one with his eyes anointed with this (preparation), sees objects at night time.
- 4 After fasting for three (days and) nights, one should sow, on the *puṣya* day, barley-seeds in earth in the skull of a man killed with a weapon or impaled on the stake, and sprinkle them with sheep's milk. 5 Then wearing a garland of the sprouts of barley, one is able to move about with one's shadow and form invisible.
 - 44 abhiṣūya refers to infusing or distilling.
- 45 ārājyāya: this seems to mean 'for securing the kingdom on all sides, consolidating the kingdom'. nirvādaḥ 'censure, blame', i.e., blameworthy conduct implicit in the use of these manifestations. kope, i.e., when there is revolt among the officers etc. Cs construes ārājyāya 'for depriving (the enemy) of his kingdom' with the first half and then goes on 'this activity is common (to the vijigīṣu and the enemy) when passions are aroused (kope); hence it is described here (ucyate)'. Among a bewildering variety of explanations and suggestions offered by Meyer (here and in his Über das Wesen usw., p. 400 n.) one is to read ā rājyāya 'till the kingdom is obtained' or svarājyāya, further nirvāhaḥ (for nirvādaḥ) as 'means of doing things'. This latter suggestion appears not unreasonable.

14.3

- 1 vāgulī appears to be a Prākṛtism for valgulī, the flying fox. vāmānī cākṣīṇi is emended as in Meyer for vāmāni vākṣīṇi. The former is necessary as shown by what follows as well as s. 6.
- 3 amlaka 'lakuca, the bread-fruit' (Cs); 'tamarind' (Meyer). kālaśārivā is 'a black plant known as bhadrā' (Cs). Meyer thinks that we should read kālaśārikā.
- 4 yavān āvāsya: for the correctness of this reading from Cs, cf. the parallels in ss. 64 and 79 below. 5 yavavirūdha-, i.e., the sprouts of the barley sown as above.

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- 6 After fasting for three (days and) nights, one should, on the pusya day, powder separately the right and the left eyes of a dog, a cat, an owl and a flying fox. 7 Then anointing the eyes with the (powder of the) corresponding (eyes), one moves about with shadow and form invisible.
- 8 After fasting for three (days and) nights, one should prepare, on the pusya day, a pin and a salve-container out of the thigh-bone of a murderer. 9 Then, with eyes anointed with the powder of the eyes of any one of these, one moves about with shadow and form invisible.
- 10 After fasting for three (days and) nights, one should prepare, on the pusya day, an iron salve-container and a pin. 11 Then, filling the skull of any one of the night-roaming creatures with an eye-salve, one should insert it in the vagina of a dead woman and cause it to be burnt. 12 Taking out that salve on the pusya day, one should keep it in that salve-container. 13 With eyes anointed with that, one moves about with shadow and form invisible.
- 14 Where one sees a Brahmin, who has maintained the sacred fires, cremated or burning on the pyre, there, after fasting for three (days and) nights, one should, on the *puṣya* day, make a bag out of the garment of a man who has died naturally and fill it with the ashes of the funeral pyre; wearing that (bag), one moves about with shadow and form invisible.
- 15 The skin of a serpent, filled with the powder of the bones and marrow of that bull which is slaughtered in the funeral rites of a Brahmin, is the means of making animals invisible.
- 16 The skin of a *pracalāka*, filled with the ashes of one bitten by a serpent, is the means of making deer invisible.
- 17 The skin of a serpent, filled with the powder of the tail, the dung and the knee-bones of an owl and a flying fox, is the means of making birds invisible.
- 7 yathāsvam, i.e., the powder of the right eyes in the right eye and that of the left in the left.
- 8 kāndaka means a thigh-bone or an arm-bone. 9 anyatamena seems to refer to any one of the creatures mentioned in s. 6. If the option were between the powder of the right eyes and that of the left eyes, we would have had anyatarena. Meyer's proposal to read tatra nyastena (for tato 'nyatamena) is unnecessary.
 - 14 svayammṛtasya: cf. 2.2.9. citābhasmanā: this is that of the Brahmin.
- 15 bhastrā is a bag made of the creature's skin. paśūnām: these are other than mṛga, referred to in the next s.
- $17\ j\bar{a}nvasthi$ can hardly be 'knee and bones' (Cs); knee-bones would appear meant.

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- 18 These are the eight recipes for making invisible.
- 19 'I bow to Bali, the son of Virocana and to Sambara of the hundred guiles, to Bhaṇḍīrapāka, to Naraka, to Nikumbha, as well as to Kumbha.
- 20 I bow to Devala (and) to Nārada; I bow to Sāvarņi Gālava. According to the prescription of these this great sleep has been brought on you.
- 21 As the boa constrictors sleep, as also the *camūkhalas* sleep, so may men sleep, also those who, in the village, are curious.
- 22 With a thousand vessels and with a hundred fellies of chariots, I shall enter this house; let the vessels remain silent.
- 23-24 Bowing to Manu and tying the dog-kennels, and (bowing) to those who are gods in the worlds of the gods and are Brahmins among men, to holy men who have completed their study and to ascetics on the Kailāsa-mountain, (bowing) to all these holy men, this great sleep has been brought on you.
 - 25 As I go beyond, may all together go away.
 - 26 O Alitā, O Valitā, hail to Manu!'
- 27 The method of using this is: 28 After fasting for three (days and) nights, one should, on the fourteenth of the dark half of a month with (the moon in) conjunction with the puṣya-constellation, purchase from a Śvapāka woman the scrapings made by bilakhas. 29 Placing them with māṣa-beans in a basket, one should bury it in an uncrowded cremation-ground. 30 Taking it out on the fourteenth of the next fortnight and getting it pounded by a maiden, one should make pills out of it. 31 Then wherever one throws one pill after reciting this mantra over it, there one sends all to sleep.
- 32 In this same manner, one should bury the quill of a porcupine with three black and three white lines in an uncrowded cremation-
- Asuras and sages are invoked to send people to sleep. 20 anuyogena: this seems to mean 'teaching, instruction, prescription'. 21 camūkhalāḥ is obscure. Some creature is apparently meant. Meyer proposes ca mūrkhalāḥ 'and fools,' which is not convincing. 22 bhanḍaka seems to be the same as bhānḍaka 'vessel' inwhich apparently the loot is to be carried away. Meyer would read bhanḍakānām 'something for the dogs (from bhanḍ to bark), i.e., kennels' and understand bhānḍakāḥ at the end as 'dogs.' This is very doubtful. āsantu: the Parasmaipada is archaic. 23 phelakāḥ 'boxes, caskets' may refer to kennels; can it possibly mean 'muzzles'? 26 Alite may be a corruption of Adite, and Valite only a name formed by analogy.
- 28 bilakha 'a mouse-like burrowing creature '(Cs). The word literally means 'a hole-digger'.

ground. 33 Taking it out on the fourteenth of the next fortnight, wherever one throws it along with ashes from the burning ground, reciting this mantra over it, one sends all there to sleep.

KAUTILĪYA ARTHAŚĀSTRA

- 34 'I bow to Brahmānī with the golden flowers and to Brahman with the flag of *kuśa*-grass and to all the deities; and I bow to all the ascetics.
- 35 May Brahmins come under my control, and may the Kṣatriyas who protect the earth; may the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras be ever under my control.
- 36 Hail! O Amilā, O Kimilā, O Vayucārā, O Prayogā, O Phakkā, O Vayuhvā, O Vihālā, O Dantakaṭakā, hail!
 - 37 May the dogs sleep happily, and those who, in the village, are curious; and this quill of the porcupine, white in three places, is created by Brahman.
 - 38 For, all successful men are asleep; this sleep has been brought on you, up to where the end of the boundary of the village is and till the rising of the sun.
 - 39 Hail!
- 40 The use of this (mantra is as follows): 41 The quills of a porcupine with three white lines (should be taken); after fasting for seven (days and) nights, one should, on the fourteenth of the dark fortnight, offer into the fire sticks of khadira accumulating them to one hundred and eight, along with honey and ghee, reciting this mantra. 42 Then where at the village-gate or the door of a house, one of these is buried, with the recitation of this mantra, one sends all there to sleep.
 - 43 'I bow to Bali, the son of Virocana and to Sambara of the hundred guiles, to Nikumbha, to Naraka, to Kumbha, to Tantuka-ccha, the great Asura;

34-39 also contain a prasvāpana-mantra. 36 The names of these female spirits are unknown elsewhere; the correct form of the names is also uncertain. 38 siddhāḥ may be the same as siddhārthāḥ (s. 46), i.e., successful or wealthy men.

- 41 After triśvetāni, Cs supplies ādahane nikhānayet as in s. 32. But there is no reference in the sequel to 'taking out' as there is in s. 33 there. Meyer supplies gṛhṇīyāt or gṛhītvā; that appears better. aṣṭaśatasaṃpātam: this means little more than that 108 sticks of khadira are to be offered in the agni. Cs interprets saṃpāta as homa 'offering as oblation' and adds that the quills are to be dug out after the homa is over. That is possible, though there is no reference to burying and digging out, as there is in ss. 55-56 below.
- 43-47 is again a prasvāpana-mantra. 44 Kṛṣṇa-Kaṁsopacāram 'the service of Kṛṣṇa and Kaṁsa, i.e., those who wait upon these two spirits '(Meyer). That Kṛṣṇa and Kaṁsa here are unrelated to the heroes of the Harivaṁśa is likely, though not certain. So Paulomī may or may not refer to Śacī, Indra's wife. 45 sid-dhyartham is proposed for siddhārtham; if the latter is 'mustard seeds', there is no

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- 44 (I bow) to Armālava, to Pramīla, to Maṇḍolūka, to Ghaṭodbala, and to the service of Kṛṣṇa and Kaṁsa, and to Paulomī, the successful.
- 45 Consecrating with mantras, I take the dead śārikā for the sake of success; may it succeed, and it does succeed; salutation to quill-beings. Hail!
- 46 May the dogs sleep happily, and those who, in the village, are curious. May those who have achieved their object—the object which we seek—sleep happily till the rising (of the sun) after its setting, till the object is mine as the fruit.

47 Hail.

- 48 The use of this (mantra is as follows): 49 One who has fasted for four meals should make an offering in an uncrowded cremation ground on the fourteenth of the dark fortnight, and taking, with this mantra, a dead śārikā should tie (it in) a bag made of a hog's snout. 50 Piercing it in the middle with the quill of a porcupine, where it is buried with this mantra, one sends all there to sleep.
 - 51 'I seek refuge with Agni and the deities, the ten quarters; and may all go away, may they be ever under my control.

52 Hail!

- 53 -The use of this (mantra is as follows): 54 After fasting for three (days and) nights, one should, on the pusya day, make an aggregate of twenty-one pebble-stones and offer oblations of honey and ghee (in the fire). 55 Then, worshipping them with incense and flowers, one should bury them. 56 Taking them out on the next pusya day, one should consecrate one pebble with this mantra and strike a door-panel with it. 57 Within four pebbles, the door is opened.
- 58 After fasting for four meals, one should, on the fourteenth of the dark fortnight, make a bull out of the bone of a broken man, and

reference to them in the prayoga that follows. 46 siddhārthāḥ refers to wealthy men in the town. — yāvad astamayād udayo, i.e., from sunset to sunrise. — artham neuter is unusual; Meyer remarks that artha neuter is found in the Mahābhārata, 12.142.14. The Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata (12.140.14), however, has atha, not artham in that passage. It is possible to look upon yāvadartham as an adjective to phalam 'in which the total (yāvat) wealth is secured '.

- 49 caturbhaktopavāsī would mean 'who fasts for four meals', i.e., fasts for two days, rather than 'abstaining from four days' food' (Cs); for the latter, we would have had catūrātropoṣitaḥ like trirātropoṣitaḥ above. pautrīpoṭṭtalikam: potrī means 'a hog's snout'; pautri seems used in the same sense. Cs reads potrī- but understands by it 'a piece of garment'. poṭṭtalika is an obvious deśī word.
- 54 ekavimsatisampātam: cf. s. 41 above. Though agni is not mentioned here, the offering of madhu and ghrta could only be in fire. 57 The interpretation in Cs 'a hole four śarkarās in diameter is made in the door' seems quite unlikely.

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should consecrate it with this mantra. 59 A bullock-cart with two bullocks yoked is brought to him. 60 Thereafter, he moves about in the sky. 61 Becoming akin to the sun, he penetrates everything beyond the gate-bar.

- 62 'Thou art possessed of the bitter strength of the pitchergourd of a Caṇḍāla woman, and possessed of a woman's organ; hail!'
 63 This is a means of opening locks and sending (all) to sleep.
- 64 After fasting for three (days and) nights, one should, on the puṣya day, sow tuvarī-seeds in earth in the skull of a man killed with a weapon or impaled on the stake, and sprinkle them with water. 65 When grown, he should take them on the puṣya day itself and twist them into a rope. 66 Then, the cutting of it in front of bows and machines fitted with strings causes the snapping of (those) strings.
- 67 One should fill the skin of a water-snake with the earth into which a woman or a man has breathed; this is a means of blocking the nostrils and choking the mouth.
- 68 Filling the skin of a boar with breathed-in earth, one should tie it with a monkey's tendons; this is a means of causing suppression of urine and stools.
- 58 bhagnasya evidently refers to a murdered man. Meyer suggests magnasya 'drowned' for it. 61 ravisagandhaḥ parigham ati sarvam pṛṇāti is proposed with hesitation and understood to mean that the person is able to move about in the sky like the sun, flying over the bars of city-gates. With sadā raviraviḥ saganḍaparighāti sarvam bhaṇāti, Cs includes this in the mantra in s. 62. But the next mantra seems addressed to the gate-bar or lock and has asi in the Second Person, whereas in this s., we have bhaṇāti in the Third Person. Meyer in the Nachtrag ultimately agrees with Cs (only proposing bhṛṇāti for bhaṇāti) and explains 'always as loud roarer (raviraviḥ from the frequentative of ru to cry) the full-cheeked (sagaṇḍaḥ) or the stinking (with sagandhaḥ) bar bears above everything else'. This is far from satisfactory. The s. appears better as a further description of ākāše vikrāmati of s. 60.
- 62 -kumbhītumba- and -sāraughaḥ are tentatively proposed for the uncertain -kumbīttamba- and -sārīghaḥ. Meyer understands Caṇḍālīkumbā 'the petticoat of a Caṇḍāla woman' as a separate upamāna. He also proposes parigha (for sārīghaḥ) and looks upon it and -katuka as vocatives, i.e. 'o bar! you who are bitter like a Caṇḍāla woman's petticoat and like a gourd etc.' sanārībhagaḥ: this apparently has reference to the hole in the side-wall in which the bar is fixed when the gate is closed; it may also refer to the hoop-like brackets fixed to the gates through which the bar is passed when the gate is closed.
- 64 tuvarīḥ refers to a kind of pulse. 66 The idea is, when this rope is cut in front of the enemies' bows etc., the latter have their strings cut automatically.
- 67 nāsikābandhanam (from Cs) is preferable to -vardhanam 'growth', or 'cutting'.
 mukhagraha refers to obstruction of the functions of the mouth.
- 68 varāhabhastrām is proposed for varāhahastim of M. Cs reads varāhahastibhastrām, where -hasti- seems unlikely. ānāha 's uppression of urine and stools '.

- 69 On the fourteenth of the dark fortnight, one should anoint (the eyes of) an effigy of the enemy made out of $r\bar{a}javrksa$ wood with the bile of a tawny-coloured cow killed with a weapon; this is a means of of making (him) blind.
- 70 One who has fasted for four meals should make an offering on the fourteenth of the dark fortnight and make pins out of the bones of a man impaled on the stake. 71 One of these planted in the dung or urine (of an enemy) causes suppression of stools and urine, planted in his foot-step or seat it kills by consumption, planted in his shop, field or house, it destroys the source of his livelihood.
- 72 With this same procedure are explained wedges made out of a tree burnt by lightning.
 - 73-74 He, in whose house the *punarnava* turned downwards, the nimba and the $k\bar{a}mamadhu$, the hair of a monkey and the bone of a human being, tied up in the garment of a corpse, are buried, or to whose foot-step one takes it after seeing it, does not survive beyond three fortnights with his sons and wife and his wealth.
 - 75-76 He, in whose foot-step are buried the *punarnava* turned downwards, the *nimba*, the *kāmamadhu*, the *svayamguptā* and the bone of a human being, at the gate of the house or army (camp) or village or city, does not survive beyond three fortnights with his sons and wife and his wealth.
 - 77 One should procure the hairs of a goat and a monkey, of a cat and an ichneumon, of Brahmins and Śvapākas, and of a crow and an owl; the ordure (of an enemy) pounded with this causes immediate destruction.
 - 69 pratimām añjyāt: the collyrium is put in the eyes of the effigy.
- 71 pade is proposed for $p\bar{a}de$ as suggested by Meyer, supported by ss. 74, 75 and 78. pada, however, can hardly mean 'the place where he moves about, i.e., the living room' (Meyer).
- 72 etenaiva kalpena is emended from etena lepakalpena of the mss. Cs drops eva, which, however, may appear necessary for emphasis; cf. s. 32 above.
- 73 punarnavam may be the same as the plant punarnavā; cf. 14.4.2. avā-cīnam 'turned downwards' is not clear; may it be the name of some plant? 74 dṛṣṭvā vā yatpadam nayet: (yatpadam is proposed for yam padam). The object of dṛṣṭvā as of nayet is padam. It is clear that padam nayet means the same as pade nikhānayet. Cs reads pṛṣṭvā vā yam prapāyayet 'whom he gives it as a dṛṣṭvā qrɨnding it'. There seems to be nothing in the prescription that can be given as a dṛṣṭvā, Meyer suggests dviṣṭvā or sṛṣṭvā or sṛṣṭyā (by placing), all unnecessary.
- 76 $dv\bar{a}re$ from Cs is better than $p\bar{a}re$; in the case of $sen\bar{a}$, it would refer to the entrance to the camp.
 - 77 viṣṭhā- is clearly right, not piṣṭā-.

- 78 He, in whose foot-step are buried flowers removed from a corpse, fermenting stuff, the hairs of an ichneumon and the skins of a scorpion, a bee and a snake, becomes immediately impotent so long as that is not removed.
- 79 After fasting for three (days and) nights, one should, on the puṣya day, sow gun̄jā-seeds in earth in the skull of a man killed with a weapon or impaled on the stake, and sprinkle them with water. 80 When they have grown, one should cause the gun̄jā-creepers to be taken on the new moon night or full moon night when there is conjunction (of the moon) with the puṣya-constellation, and make rings out of them. 81 Vessels with food and drink, placed on them, are never exhausted.
- 82 When a night show is going on, one should cut out the udders of a dead cow and burn them in the flames of a lamp. 83 When burnt, he should grind them with the urine of a bull and smear a new jar inside (with it). 84 When one takes it round the village leftwise, whatever butter may have been kept there by those (villagers), all that comes (into it).
- 85 On the fourteenth of the dark fortnight when there is conjunction (of the moon) with the *puṣya*-constellation, one should insert into the vulva of a bitch in heat an iron signet ring. 86 One should pick it up when fallen of its own accord. 87 Fruits from trees come to one when called with it.
 - 88 Practices accompanied by *mantras* and medicines and those that are caused by illusion—with them he should destroy the enemies and protect his own people.

CHAPTER FOUR

SECTION 179 COUNTER-MEASURES AGAINST INJURIES TO ONE'S OWN TROOPS

- 1 Counter-measures against $d\bar{u}s\bar{v}visa$ and other poisons used by the enemy against one's own party (should be taken as follows):
 - 78 vrścikālyahi-: Cs understands alī 'a variety of scorpion', not ali 'a bee'.
- 79 It is proposed to drop the ca found in the mss. after udakena. Cf. s. 64 above. 80 $mandalik\bar{a}ni$ 'rings' on which vessels are placed so that they may remain steady and upright whether on the ground or on the head and the contents do not spill over.
 - 84 eṣām clearly refers to the villagers.
- 85 śuno lagnakasya: Cs has 'the masculine is not intended; hence a bitch is to be understood'.
- 88 yogā māyākṛtāś ca from Cs is quite necessary in place of yogamāyā- etc. of the mss. It provides the substantive yogāh.

- Washing water, mixed with a decoction of slesmātaka, kapittha, danti, dantaśatha, goji, śirīṣa, pāṭalī, balā, syonāga, punarnavā, and śvetāvaraņa, (and) mixed with sandalwood and the blood of a female hyena, is a wash for the private parts of women to be enjoyed by the king and an antidote against the poisoning of the army.
- 3 The powder of mahīrājī, mixed with the bile of the speckled deer, the ichneumon, the peacock and the iguana, (and) the mixture of sinduvārita, varaņa, vāruņī, taņdulīyaka, the tips of śataparvan and pindītaka, remove the evil effects of a stupefying mixture.
- 4 A drink of the decoction of one or of all of the roots of (the following), srgālavinnā, madana, sinduvārita, varaņa, vāraņa, and vallī, together with milk, removes the evil effects of a stupefying mixture.
- 5 The oil of kaidarya, pūti and sesame removes madness, when used in the nostrils.
 - 6 The mixture of priyangu and naktamāla cures leprosy.
- The mixture of kustha and lodhra cures whiteness of hair and consumption.
- 8 The powder of kaṭaphala, dravantī and vilanga, used as snuff, removes headaches.
- 9 The mixture of priyangu, manjisthi, tagara, lac-juice, liquorice, turmeric and honey, is a means of bringing back to consciousness those who have lost it through rope (strangling), water (drowning), poison beating or fall.
- 10 A measure of one akṣa (is the dose) for men, double for cattle and horses, four times for elephants and camels.

14.4

- 1 dūṣīviṣa: cf. 14.1.22. gara would refer to poisons other than this.
- 2 senāyāś ca: Cs construes this with the preceding guhyaprakṣālanam; it seems better, however, to construe it with viṣapratīkāraḥ as in Meyer.
- 3 It seems better to read -yuktam separately. mahīrājī: Cs reads maṣīrājī and explains 'the blue śephālikā (maṣī) and the royal mustard (rājī)'. mahīrājī appears to be the name of a single plant. — sataparvan is 'a bamboo'.
 - 4 vāraņa is 'gajapippalī' (Cs).
- 7 $p\bar{a}ka\acute{s}osaghnah$: Cs has 'whiteness of the hair $(p\bar{a}ka)$ and consumption $(\acute{s}osa)$ '. Meyer thinks of 'suppuration and consumption' or 'scrofulous tuberculosis'
- i 8 'kataphala: Cs reads katphala; Meyer proposes katuphala. nastahkarma s here 'use as snuff'.
 - 9 The mss. favour the form $manjisth\bar{i}$; Cs reads $manjisth\bar{a}$.
- 10 akṣa is not mentioned among the weights in 2.19. According to Cs it is equal to 16 masas. The lexicons show this measure.

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14. 4. 11]

- 11 And a pill made of these, with gold inside, removes (the evil effects of) all poisons.
- 12 A pill made of jīvantī, śvetā, muṣkaka and puṣpavandākā (and) of ásvattha growing on moist soil, removes (the evil effects of) all poisons.
 - 13 The sound of drums, smeared with these, destroys poison; by looking at a flag or a banner, smeared with these, one becomes free from poison.
 - 14 After using these remedial measures for the safety of his own troops and himself, he should use against enemies poisonous smoke and pollution of water.

Herewith ends the Fourteenth Book of the Arthaśāstra of Kauţilya 'Concerning Secret Practices'

- 11 eṣām refers to priyangu etc. of s. 9.
- 12 Cf. 1.20.5. We should read akṣīve as in that s. Cs understands puṣpa as a separate plant here. The maṇi is apparently to be worn round the neck or the wrist as an amulet.
- 13 liptadhvajam patākām vā: perhaps it might be better to read liptam dhvajam and understand lingaviparināma in the case of patākām. The difference between dhvaja and patākā is hardly that the former refers to the staff and the latter to the cloth, as Cs has it. The difference seems due to their size or purpose. Cf. 10.6.46.
- 14 visadhūmāmbudūṣaṇān: we have to supply yogān because -dūṣaṇān appears in the masculine.

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BOOK FIFTEEN

THE METHOD OF THE SCIENCE

CHAPTER ONE

SECTION 180 DEVICES USED IN THE (TREATMENT OF THE) SCIENCE

- 1 The source of the livelihood of men is wealth, in other words, the earth inhabited by men. 2 The science which is the means of the attainment and protection of that earth is the Science of Politics.
- 3 That contains thirty-two devices of treatment: topic, statement (of contents), employment (of sentences), meaning of words, reason for (establishing) something, mention, explanation, advice, reference, application, indication, analogy, implication, doubt, (similar) situation, contrary (corollary), completion of a sentence, agreement, emphasising, derivation (of a word), illustration, exception, one's own technical term, the *prima facie* view, the correct view, invariable rule, reference to a future statement, reference to a past statement, restriction, option, combination, and what is understood.

15.1

The Fifteenth Book, in a single Chapter, explains and illustrates the various stylistic devices used to elucidate a scientific subject. tantra means a science. The Suśrutasamhitā (Uttaratantra, Ch. 65) describes closely allied 32 tantrayuktis; we read there 'dvātrimśad yuktayo hyetās tantrasāragaveṣaṇe, mayā samyag vinihitāḥ śabdanyāyārthasamyutāḥ'. The Carakasamhitā (Siddhisthāna, Ch. 12) enumerates 34 tantrayuktis; the two additional seem to be pratyuccāra (repetition) and sambhava (possibility). S. Vidyabhusan (History of Indian Logic, pp. 24-25) remarks that the tantra-yukti 'was compiled possibly in the 6th century B.C. to systematize debates in pariṣads or learned assemblies. It is distinctly stated in the Suśrutasamhitā: asadvādiprayuktānām vākyānām pratiṣedhanam, svavākyasiddhirapi ca kriyate tantrayuktītaḥ.'

1 vrtti is livelihood, i.e., means of livelihood. It may also mean 'existence', i.e., men's existence on earth (Cf. Jayaswal, Hindu Polity, I, 5 n.3). According to P. Masson-Oursel (Ancient India, p. 106) vrtti, which is the basis of vārttā, refers to the whole of human activity; artha raises the question of ends, vārttā that of means. The idea here is, the earth inhabited by men following various occupations constitutes artha; the science dealing with such an earth is Arthaśāstra. Its main concern is, how to obtain such earth and how to protect it; in other words, it is the Science of Politics. 2 prthivyāh etc.: cf. 1.1.1.

- 4 The object, with respect to which a statement is made, is the topic. 5 For instance: 'This single (treatise on the) Science of Politics is composed mostly by bringing together (the teachings of) as many treatises on the Science of Politics as have been composed by the ancient teachers for the acquisition and protection of the earth.' (1.1.1)
- 6 A serial enumeration of the sections of the science is statement (of contents). 7 For instance: 'Enumeration of the sciences, association with elders, control over the senses, appointment of ministers,' and so on. (1.1.3)
- 8 The arrangement of a sentence is employment (of sentences).
 9 For instance: 'The people, of the four varnas and in the four aśramas.' (1.4.16)
- 10 That which has its limit in the word is the meaning of the word. 11 For instance: mūlahara is the word. 12 'He who consumes in unjust ways the property inherited from the father and the grandfather is mūlahara,' (2.9.21) is the meaning.
- 13 A reason proving a thing is the reason for (establishing) a thing. 14 For instance: 'For, spiritual good and sensual pleasures depend on material well-being.' (1.7.7)
- 15 A statement in brief is mention. 16 For instance: 'Control over the senses is motivated by training in the sciences.' (1.6.1)
- 17 A detailed statement is explanation. 18 For instance: 'Absence of improper indulgence in (the pleasures of) sound, touch, colour, taste and smell by the senses of hearing, touch and sight, the tongue and the sense of smell, means control over the senses.' (1.6.2)
- 19 'One should behave in this manner,' is advice. 20 For instance: 'He should enjoy sensual pleasures without contravening his spiritual good and material well-being; he should not deprive himself of pleasures.' (1.7.3)
- 21 'So and so says this' is reference. 22 For instance: "He should appoint a council consisting of twelve ministers," say the followers of Manu. "Sixteen," say the followers of Brhaspati. "Twenty," say the followers of Uśanas. "According to capacity," says Kautilya.' (1.15.47-50)
- 4 The illustration implies that by adhikarana the subject matter of the entire work is to be understood. It may be presumed, however, that the definition would cover the subject-matter of each of the fifteen adhikaranas in the text.
 - 6 vidhāna appears to be little more than a table of contents.
- 8 vākyayojanā seems to refer to a syntactical arrangement of words so as to form a sentence, though the illustration does not give a complete sentence. The illustration does not justify the explanation 'arrangement of sentences, so as to establish a mutual relation between them'.

- 23 Setting forth (a thing) with what is already said is application.
 24 For instance: 'Non-conveyance of gifts is explained by the non-payment of debts.' (3.16.1)
- 25 Setting forth (a thing) with what is going to be said is indication. 26 For instance: 'Or, by means of conciliation, gifts, dissension and force, as we shall explain in (the Section on) troubles.' (7.14.11)
- 27 Setting forth an unknown (thing) with the help of the known is analogy. 28 For instance: 'He should, like a father, show favours to those whose exemptions have ceased.' (2.1.18)
- 29 That which, though not stated, follows as a matter of course is implication. 30 For instance: 'One conversant with the ways of the world should resort to a king endowed with personal excellences and the excellences of material constituents through such as are dear and beneficial (to the king).' (5.4.1) 31 That he should not resort through one who is not dear and beneficial follows as a matter of course.
- 32 A thing with reasons on both sides is doubt. 33 For instance: '(Should one march) against a king with impoverished and greedy subjects or a king with rebellious subjects?' (7.5.12)
- 34 A thing common to another topic is (similar) situation. 35 For instance: 'In a place assigned (to him) for agricultural work and so on, exactly as before.' (1.11.10)
- 36 Setting forth (a thing) with the help of the opposite is contrary (corollary). 37 For instance: 'The opposite, as those of one displeased.' (1.16.12)
- 38 That by which a sentence is completed is completion of a sentence. 39 For instance: 'And there is loss of all activity on the part of the king, as of a (bird) with clipped wings.' (8.1.9) 40 There, 'of a bird' is the completion of the sentence.
- 41 The statement of another, not contradicted, is agreement.
 42 For instance: 'Two wings, a centre and reserves,—this is the arrangement of a battle-array according to Uśanas.' (10.6.1)
- 43 The description of a speciality is emphasising. 44 For instance: 'And in particular, in the case of oligarchies and of royal families having the character of an oligarchy, there are dissensions caused by gambling and destruction caused by that; hence it is the
- 21-22 The inclusion of Kautilya among those referred to as asau is taken to imply that he himself could not have been the author of this work. But asau is 'so and so', not 'some other person'; and if an author has chosen to refer to himself in the third person, there would be nothing strange in referring to himself as asau.
- 41-42 The author, however, recognizes two kakşas in addition to what is supposed to be approved by him. See 10.6.1.

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most evil among vices, as it favours evil men and leads to weakness in administration.' (8.3.64)

- 45 Deriving the meaning of a word through its components is derivation. 46 For instance: 'It throws out a person from his good, hence it is called *vyasana*.' (8.1.4)
- 47 Exemplifying by means of an example is illustration. 48 For instance: 'For, going to war with the stronger, he engages as it were in a fight on foot with an elephant.' (7.3.3)
- 49 Taking away from a rule of universal application is exception.
 50 For instance: 'He should always station alien troops in close proximity (to himself), except in case of fear of a rising in the interior.'
 (9.2.6)
- 51 A word, not agreed to by others, is one's own technical term.
 52 For instance: '(The would-be conqueror is) the first constituent;
 one immediately next to his territory is the second; one separated
 by an intervening territory is the third.' (Cf. 6.2.13-15)
- 53 A statement to be rejected is the *prima facie* view. 54 For instance: 'Of calamities befalling the king and the minister, the calamity of the minister is more serious.' (8.1.7)
- 55 A statement giving the final view on that is the correct view. 56 For instance: 'being dependent on him; for, the king is in the place of the head.' (8.1.17-18)
- 57 What is applicable everywhere is invariable rule. 58 For instance: 'Therefore, he should himself be energetically active.' (1.19.5)
- 59 'This will be stated afterwards' is reference to a future statement. 60 For instance: 'Weights and measures we shall explain in (the Section on) the Superintendent of Standardisation.' (2.13.28)
- 61 'This has been stated before' is reference to a past statement.
 62 For instance: 'The excellences of a minister have been stated before.' (6.1.7).
 - 48 As 7.3.3 shows, hastinā is to be read as in Cs for hastinah of the mss.
- 49 abhipluta 'what is spread all over' refers to a rule of general or universal application; vyapakarṣaṇa is 'taking away' from it.
- 51 asamitah 'not agreed to, not accepted'; paraih would seem to refer to other sciences, rather than to other authors of this science. The passage given in illustration is found with some variations in 6.2.13-15. We have there vijigīsuh, ariprakṛtiḥ and mitraprakṛtiḥ, not prathamā prakṛtiḥ etc. But dvitīyā, tṛtīyā and other terms are known to the text; cf. 7.6.1; 7.7.1; 7.18.1-2. The discrepancy in quotation is, however, difficult to explain. Understanding sva to refer to Kauṭilya alone (and not to the science), Meyer thinks that the use of the word prakṛti for princes is an innovation by Kauṭilya. That could hardly be right.

- 63 'Thus and in no other way' is restriction. 64 For instance: 'Therefore, he should instruct him in what conduces to spiritual and material good, not in what is spiritually and materially harmful.' (1.17.33)
- 65 'Either in this way or in that' is option. 66 For instance: 'Or, daughters, born in the pious marriages.' (3.5.10)
- 67 'In this way and in that' is combination. 68 For instance: 'Begotten by oneself, the (son) becomes the heir to his father and kinsmen.' (3.7.13)
- 69 The doing of what is not expressly stated is what is understood.
 70 For instance: 'And experts shall fix revocation in such a way that neither the donor nor the donee is injured.' (3.16.5)
 - 71 Thus this science, expounded with these devices of a science, has been composed for the acquisition and protection of this world and of the next.
 - 72 This science brings into being and preserves spiritual good, material well-being and pleasures, and destroys spiritual evil, material loss and hatred.
 - 73 This science has been composed by him, who, in resentment, quickly regenerated the science and the weapon and the earth that was under the control of the Nanda kings.

Herewith ends the Fifteenth Book of the Arthaśāstra of Kauţilya 'The Method of the Science'

- 59 anāgatāvekṣaṇa differs from pradeśa (s. 25) in that a future statement is not made applicable to a present case; there is only a reference to a future discussion. Similar is the difference between atikrāntāvekṣaṇa (s. 61) and atideśa (s. 23).
 - 63 For niyoga, vikalpa and samuccaya, cf. 9.7.78-76 above.
 - 64 dharmyam etc. is read here as in the actual passage, 1.17.33.
- 68 svayamjātah is read here as in the actual passage (3.7.13) for svasamjātah, which, however, means the same thing.
 - 70 As the actual passage shows, we have to read yathā ca for yathāvad of the mss.
 - 71 parasya ca: with this pālane is not to be understood, only avāptau.
- 73 śāstram ca śastram ca: apparently the Science of Politics had fallen into neglect in the author's day. The uddhāra of śastra or weapon seems to refer to its 'raising' it for striking down enemies. It could hardly mean a resurrection of the science of fighting. Meyer would interpret śastra as 'the prime minister's office (from śas to rule)'. That does not appear possible. Kāmandaka, 1.6, refers to the fact that Viṣṇugupta extracted (uddadhre) the nectar of Nītiśāstra from the vast ocean of Arthaśāstra.

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(Seeing the manifold errors of the writers of commentaries on scientific treatises, Viṣṇugupta himself composed the $s\bar{u}tra$ as well as the $bh\bar{a}sya$).

HEREWITH ENDS THE ARTHSASTRA OF KAUTILYA

The stanza that follows the colophon of the final Book is clearly a later addition. It refers to the text as containing a $s\bar{u}tra$ as well as a $bh\bar{a}sya$ on it by the same author. But the text contains only $s\bar{u}tras$ and no $bh\bar{a}sya$. It is erroneous to look upon the titles of the prakaranas as constituting the $s\bar{u}tra$ portion and the entire text as a $bh\bar{a}sya$ on it, as the commentators do. The fact that the author is referred to in the stanza by his personal name Viṣnugupta and not by his gotra name Kauṭilya used throughout in the text also raises doubts about the genuineness of the stanza.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

The following are some of the more important renderings in the Russian translation of this text, which are worthy of note.

- 1.3.9 śeṣa- 'remnants of the sacrifice.' 1.12.25 akṛtyān etc. 'should station his own chief spies (mukhyān), meriting trust (akṛtyān) revealed (darśitān) on the ground of their actions in the matter of traitors (kṛtyapakṣīyaiḥ hetubhiḥ).' 1.17.13 pratyāpatteḥ kāraṇam ' the cause of the father's disgust with him.' 1.20.23 mudrāetc. ' provided with a seal with an indication of the place of destination.'
- 2.7.3 upasthānam 'side-income from office-presence.' 2.8.4,10 avastārah 'exceeding one's authority.' 2.10.9 aśrāntapadatā 'without superfluous prolixity.' 2.13.3 rasaviddham 'obtained from streams.' 2.15.1,8 simhanikā 'receipts from treatment of agricultural products.' 2.19.11 yantram etc. 'on both sides appliances for regulation of scales (yantram) or chains for cups (śikyam).' 2.19.34 samam 'eylindrical in form.' 2.22.8 dvārādeyam 'collections meant for the doorkeeper.' 2.22.14 sītātyayah 'transgression of rules about sowing.' 2.26.12 parisūnam 'not gone through the slaughter-house' (or, 'rejected by the slaughter-house' n. 16, p. 624). 2.32.3 upavicārah 'preliminary work (necessary for training).'
- 3.1.6 avaktavyakarāh 'which do not deserve consideration (i.e., petty).' 3.1.17 karanam adhikaranam 'the essence of the matter, its circumstances.' 3.3.3 bharmanyāyām etc. 'if one keeps a lady-in-waiting for an indefinite time, then one should give her food and clothing as much as one gives to one's own servant-men or even more than that.' 3.3.14 dṛṣṭalinge etc. 'if he makes false statements that he has clear proof that she refuses intercourse or that she tells him through a woman similar to herself used as an informer (that the wife refuses intercourse).' 3.5.2 teṣām etc. 'parents directly (without anyone suggesting it) divide inheritance among them (the sons).' 3.10.16 upavāsāh 'farm labourers.' 3.11.49 tato 'rdham adhruvānām 'half that if (they emphasise) the testimony of unreliable witnesses.' 3.13.21 samrodhaś cākāranāt 'and the same fine for one who puts obstacles (to liberation) without sufficient cause.' 3.14.1 samrodhaś cākāranāt 'if he obstructs work without cause.' 3.14.13 teṣām ādhih etc. 'the time given to such a union is weekly; thereafter agreements are allowed with others and work given for carrying it out.'
- 4.1.2 'Honest leaders of artisans (arthyaprakārāh kāruśāsitārah), trusted depositaries (samnikṣeptāraḥ) independent workmen, and those having authority in their unions (śrenīpramānāh) should receive commission to do the work.' 4.4.3 pracchandaka 'middle-men' (or, 'those who carry secret messages' n. 3, p. 656). 4.7.4 avaropitam 'asphyxiated by some object being stuck into his mouth.'
- 5.1.4 dūṣya 'who ought to be removed or eliminated' (understood as tyājya by Mallinātha on Śiśupālavadha, 2.56,—n. 3, p. 665). 5.2.61 ekarūpam hiranyam

'money of one particular type.' 5.3.17 Āryayukta 'those in the service of Āryas.' — ārohaka 'a horseman.'

6.1.15 uktāḥ pratyanga- etc. 'they appear as composite parts, on which is dependent the well-being of the state' (Should not one read rājyasampadaḥ? n. 13, p. 669). 6.2.22 arivijigīṣumadhyānām etc. 'standing independently by himself away from the enemy, the conqueror and the middle king, and stronger (than the other three) on the basis of his own state (prakṛtibhyaḥ).'

7.3.20 samasya 'briefly.' 7.3.28 niruddho etc. 'concluding such a treaty where the place and time are not suitable is a mistake (atyayaḥ).' 7.3.30 atyādānābhibhā-sitaḥ 'dictated with extreme demands for payments.' 7.5.41 atisamdhānādhikye 'over one's rival one might gain superiority and benefit.' 7.6.36 'Otherwise, if he is unreliable he may be made into goods or handed over under the supervision of a reliable person, so that he may not have contact with the enemy, (and) by the way, he to whom he is entrusted can be spoiled by him. 7.6.41 ekatra tyāgaghātau 'abandoning (a bogus ally) and destruction of him when he is alone.' 7.11.40 abhihitasamdhiḥ 'an agreement with pre-conditions.' 7.12.8 anantāvakledi 'possessing considerable humidity.' 7.17.5 balāpekṣaḥ 'dependent on the measure of strength of him who gives them.' 7.18.37 upakāre nivešayet 'should make him serve oneself anew.'

8.1.32 karşakaprāye tu etc. 'if the people consist for the most part of farmers then is felt the calamity of the fort; if the countryside consists mostly of fighters, then the country suffers in the same manner' (because soldiers take away the resources—n. 17, p. 687). 8.1.42 svadandapratigrahah 'taking punitive measures in one's own property.' 8.5.19 sattrasthānā- etc. 'placing oneself in a concealed place and thus getting an opportunity to outwit the enemy and agreement with one who may take counter-action (against rebellious army?).'

9.1.18 atiryak 'in the longitudinal direction (i.e., from east to west).' (tiryak, crosswise, i.e., from north to south; we think that this is less happy, as in most ancient references to India, South India is hardly understood; therefore, atiryak, east to west, is more acceptable. N. 14, p. 693). 9.2.2 bahulānu- etc. 'not trusting hired and other troops at their presence in large numbers and at their devotion, as there is danger that they may succumb to the instigations of the enemy.' 9.2.3 alpasampātam 'which does not fail in spirits, indifferent to temptations.' 9.2.4 danādabalavyavahārah 'when the (rival) uses the army under fear of punishment.' 9.4.23 anirbandha- etc. 'received without obstacles from councillors.' 9.6.29 Eahulībhūte 'when that happens.'

10.2.4 bāhūtsārah 'infantry reconnoitring.' 10.5.53 unmathyāvadhānam 'a destructive raid.' — prakīrnikā 'scattering the array.' — vyāvṛttapṛṣṭham 'deliberately retreating to lure the enemy and then striking anew.' — anuvamśam 'turning back of a part of one's troops before the enemy.' 10.6.4 tiryagvṛttih 'exactly according to the length of the front.' 10.6.9,11 atikrāntah 'taken to the front. 10.6.10 pratikrāntah 'taken back.'

- 11.1.5 rājaśabdopa- etc. 'who derive benefit from their royal rank itself.' 11.1.42 aditikauśikastriyaḥ 'actresses.'
- 13.2.6 sthānika 'one who constantly stays in one place.' 13.4.3 utthitam 'who love their work.' 13.4.4 anyasyām 'different from where agricultural people live.' 13.4.9 balakuṭikā 'dug-outs (mud-huts) for one's own troops.' gulena 'with unwieldy objects.' 13.5.13 yonibāla 'young females.'
- 14.1.37 dhruveṇa 'with flat cakes.' 14.2.45 ārājyāyeti etc. 'but if rumour spreads that (such an action) does not serve the interests of the state, then there will be a general uprising.' 14.3.23 śunakaphelakāḥ 'a pack of hounds.' 14.3.29 asamkīrṇe 'not desecrated.' 14.3.49 potrī 'a bundle of pigs' bristles.' 14.3.61 raviraviḥ etc. 'and announces everything that appears under the sun and up to the limit of the horizon.' 14.3.62 Caṇḍālī- etc. 'O bolt, you have a sharp smell like the skirt or milk-bucket of a Caṇḍāla-woman.'
- 15.1.1 manuṣyāṇām etc. 'Riches, valuables sustain human existence; (in the present case) valuability is land populated by people.'

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al. S. C. Ameribi

Revision of the Text as Adopted in the Translation

Read	मूलचतुरश्रा वा (as in D)	in place of	मूलचतुरश्र°	(2.3.4)
Omit	देवताविधानं (as in D)			(2.5.2)
Read	भूमि प्राप्तः (as in Cp)	in place of	भूमिमप्राप्तः	(2.16.23)
Read	कार्मिकः प्रत्ययं (em.)	in place of	कार्मिकप्रत्ययं	(2.28.27)
Read	अजावीनां (em.)	in place of	अजादीनां	(2.29.41)
Read	द्वादशपणो (as in Cb)	in place of	द्वादशगुणो	(4.1.60)
Read	प्रवेश° (as in Cb)	in place of	प्रदेश°	(4.8.10)
Read	मातृव्यञ्जनयाअवरूपितः (as in'Cb)	in place of	मातृब्यञ्जना अवक्रपित	7 (5.2.64)
Read	प्रहितस्तं (em.)	in place of	प्रतिहतस्तं	
Read	पूर्वानुत्तराभावे (as in Cb)	in place of	पूर्वान्यतराभावे	(7.14.10)
Read	अमित्रविरक्तं (as in Cs)	in place of	अमित्रं विरक्तं	(9.4.8)
Read	उपरोध° (as in mss.)	in place of	अवरोध°	(12.5.12)
Read	अपकृष्टस्कन्धा° (as in mss.)	in place of	अपकृष्टः स्कन्वा°	(13.4.15)

Misprints in the Text, not Indicated in the Errata

Read	अष्टात्रिशं प्रकरणम्	for	अष्टाविशं प्रकरणम्	(2.20)
Read	°म्स्ता°	for	°मुस्त'°	(2.25.33)
Read	गणिकादासी	for	गणिका दासी	(2.27.8)
Read	निषण्णः	for	विषण्णः	(2.50.35)
Read	°राष्ट्रमुख्यं	for	[°] राष्ट्रमुखं	(5.1.50)
Read	संभय	for .	संभूयः	(7.5.38)
Read	बाह्योऽमित्रा°	for	बह्यो मित्रा°	(8.4.48)
Read	°संधायारि	for	°संघायारि	(8.5.12)
Read	पश्चात्कोप	for	पश्चात्कोपे	(9.3.4)
Read	॰न्यपचारयेयुः	for	[°] न्युपचारयेयुः	(12.4.8)
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ERRATA

TRANSLATION

P. 56	s. 1.20.16	1.4	read	Sauvīras	for	Sanvīras
P. 97	s. 2.7.32.	1.4	read	takes	for	tak s
P. 104	s. 2.9.21	1.2	read	property.	for	property
P. 105	s. 2.10.5	1.1	read	edicts,	for	edicts.
P. 185	s. 2.27.24	1.1	read	Superintendent)	for	Superintendent .
P. 234	s. 3.3.14	1.2	read	approach is	for	approac his
P. 252	s. 3.8.28	1.1	read	28	for	27
P. 258	s. 3.10.20	1.2	read	dhanuses	for	dhanus s
P. 282	s. 3.16,13	1.2	read	purchase	for	puchase
P. 285	s. 3.17.4	1.1	read	followers	for	follower
P. 286	s. 3.18.7	1.3	read	paṇas successively	for	pana ssuccessively
P. 291	s. 3.20.5	1.1	read	No,	for	No.
P. 333	s. 4.13.4	1.2	read	highest.	for	highest,
P. 333	s. 4.13.5	1.1	read	person,	for	person.
P. 336.	s. 4.13.31	1.3	read	a servant	for	servant
P. 413	s. 7.11.25	1.2	read .	cow,	for	cow
P. 507	s. 10.3.12	1.1	read	front.	for	front,.
P. 524	ss. 10.6.48-50	1.7	read	through	for	though .
P. 577	s. 14.1.32	1.2	read	it.	for	its

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P.	27	s. 1.12.6	1.2	read	s. 20	for	s. 21	
P.	45	s. 1.17.9	1.1	read	10	for		
P.	45	s. 1.17.10	1.9	read	-sattva-	for	-sattvar-	
Р.	51	s. 1.18.16	1.4	read	samrun-	for	amsun-	
P.		s. 2.2.5	1.2	read	dravyāṇām	for	dravyānām	
	78	s. 2.4.8	1.1	read	of the	for	oft he	
P.		s. 2.6.12	1.17	read	can be no	for	can no	
		s. 2.11.21	1.3	read	21-39	for	21-30	37
	113	s. 2.11.21 s. 2.12.1	1.8	read	-rasam to	for	-ras amto	
	121		1.1	read	taken	for	taken)	
	123	s. 2.12.17	1.1	read	top'	for	top	
	128	s. 2.13.14	1.4	read	tion of	for	uoijof	
P.	132	s. 2.13.59		read	paryuşitam	for	paryuştam	
P.	141	s. 2.15.11	1.9	read	'nyad	for	nyad	
P	145	s. 2.15.61	1.2	read				

P. 146	s. 2.16.10	1.3	read	nivart-	for	nīvart-
P. 170	s. 2.23.17	1.1	read	varma-	for	tarmas
P. 170	s. 2.23.17	1.2	read	varatrās	for	varatrā-
P. 191	s. 2.29.8	1.3	read	śakaţa	for	śakata
P. 203	s. 2.31.14	1.2	read	atyarālaķ	for	atya-rālaḥ
P. 221	s. 3.1.15	1.9	read	1.43	for	43
P. 227	Ch. 3.2	1.2	read	sub-sections	for	subs-ections
P. 229	s. 3.2.24	1.3	read	-sṛṣṭāyāḥ	for	-sṛṣtāyāḥ
P. 230	s. 3.2.41	1.3	read	likely	for	ikely .
P. 243	s. 3.5.32	1.1	read	patita-	for	patīta-
P. 293	s. 3.20.21	1.1	read	pilgrim.'	for	pilgrim.,
P. 293	s. 3.20.23	1.1	read	them.	for	them
P. 360	s. 5.6.11	1.2	read	13	for	
P. 368	s, 6.2.9	1.1	read	good	for	goop . Y
P. 369	s. 6.2.22	1.4	read	constituents	for	contituents
P. 370	s. 6.2.24	1.2	read	arrangement	for	arrangment
P. 377	s. 7.2.18	1.2	read	bhih	for	frih
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P. 384	s. 7.4.7	1.7	read	na yāyāt	for	nā yāyāt
P. 451	s. 8.1.62	1.12	read	abhidheyakam	for	abhidheyaka
P. 501	s. 10.1.2	1.4	read	17.5.	for	17.5,
P. 501	s. 10.1.2	1.7	read	upasthāna	for	upasthāna.
P. 548	s. 12.5.43	1.5	read	its	for	it.
	s. 12.5.43 s. 12.5.43	1.6	read	palace.		palaces
P. 548			read	sraveņa		sravenu
P. 578	s. 14.1.37	1.4				
P. 597	s. 15.1.73	1.2	read	his	for	its

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The Kautiliya Arthaśāstra is a work in three parts, the first containing a critical edition of the text with a glossary of important words, the second giving a new English translation of the text with critical and explanatory notes, and the third containing a study of the problems connected with the Arthaśāstra.

The author, Professor R. P. Kangle, after a distinguished academic career, served Government Colleges and retired as Professor of Sanskrit from the Elphinstone College, Bombay, in 1954. He has been working on the Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya for close on two decades. His work, which is the result of a close study of all available material on this important Sanskrit text, is now being published by the University of Bombay.

Many years ago, Professor Kangle had published an edition of Harṣa's *Priyadarśikā*. Recently, a book in Marathi by him on the plays of Kalidasa has been published by the Popular Book Depot of Bombay.

